

# Dancing in the Inns of Court

by D. R. Wilson

In 1965 J. P. Cunningham published under the above title an important group of manuscripts detailing the dances performed in the traditional seasonal Revels at the Inns of Court during the late-16th and 17th centuries. For a good many of these dances, including a number of almins, this is the only known record of their steps.

Unfortunately for the modern student Cunningham's publication has two major disadvantages. The first is that, although long out of print, it is still in copyright. This means that even if you can find it in a library, there is no legal way of obtaining a personal copy other than doing it laboriously in longhand. The second disadvantage is more serious: Cunningham's transcription of the original manuscripts is none too accurate. This can be seen by anyone who compares the plate facing p. 144 in Dolmetsch (1949) with Cunningham's version of the same text: in *lorayne Allemayne*, where the original reads *a duple forward hoppe viij tymes* Cunningham puts '4 tymes'. Errors of this kind not only change the character of the dance; they also make it impossible to recognise contemporary music that would have fitted it. Further investigation shows that most of the miscopyings are too trivial to warrant detailed comment, though there is another wrong numeral in one of the versions of *The Queens Almain*; but there are also misunderstandings of some substance. For example, most of the manuscripts show deletions by crossing out the unwanted words, but in Bodleian MS Douce 280 they are shown by underlining. Cunningham has not perceived this and therefore prints both versions (uncorrected and corrected) side by side, making not much sense. In the same manuscript the description of the galliard is divided between two folios, and careless reading might suppose that two separate dances were being presented. We cannot tell from Cunningham's text if he was deceived or not, but the reader is given no

guidance and he at least is likely to suppose that two different galliards are being recorded. Even a note of where the new folio began would have served as a warning.

It is hoped that this new edition of the relevant manuscripts will serve to overcome both of the difficulties set out above, by publishing an improved text and by making it widely available in the page of this journal. It is limited to those dances which have a clear association with the Solemn Revels at the Inns of Court; in order words it does not include two corantoes in Bodleian MS Rawlinson D.864 (Frank, 1984; Wilson, 1985) or the country dances in British Library MS Lansdowne 1115, all of which can be found in Cunningham (1965).

## Editorial procedures

The division into lines is that of the original manuscript. Folio and line numbers are given in the margin in square brackets: [15]. With this exception all editorial comment is relegated to the foot of the page, below the main text.

Where there is a correction in the manuscript, the corrected version is printed in the text and the original version is recorded in a footnote.

Standard abbreviations and monograms are expanded, the additional letters being shown by italics: *travers*. Letters whose reading is uncertain, being smudged or unusual in form, are indicated by a subscript dot: Çaranto. When a passage quoted in the footnotes is taken from more than one line, the line division is indicated by a vertical line: Young | to sing.

The readings of Dolmetsch (1949) and Cunningham (1965) are noted only where they differ substantially from the text presented here; minor errors of spelling and punctuation are corrected without notice.

## The Manuscripts

1. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson Poet. 108, a commonplace book of poems, songs and other items, belonging to Eliner Gunter, whose brother Edward was admitted to Lincoln's Inn in February 1563; the book is dated c. 1570.

The text is transcribed from photographs supplied by the Bodleian Library.

- [fol. 10<sup>r</sup>]                   The pavyan.  
ij Singles and a duple Forward//ij singles syde  
reprynce backe
- Turquylonye le basse
- [5]                        A duple forward reprynce backe iiij tymes//ij  
Singles syde a duple forward reprynce backe  
twyse
- my lord off Essex measures
- [10]                     A duple forward one single backe iiij times//  
ij singles syde a duple forward reprynce  
backe
- Tynternell
- A duple forward reprynce backe iij times//  
ij singles a duple rownd bothe wayes//
- [15]                     lorayne Allemayne
- A duple forward hoppe iiij times//a duple  
Forwarde reprynce backe a duple forward cast  
off a duple rownd twyse//a duple forward  
hoppe viij tymes//a duple forward reprynce  
backe a duple forward cast of a duple rownd  
twyse
- [20]

15 *lorayne Allemayne*: Dolmetsch reads *Cozayne's Almayne*.  
19 *viij tymes*: Cunningham reads 4 *tymes*.

- The old allmayne  
ij singles a duple rownd bothe ways//a duple  
forward hoppe iiij tymes
- [25] Brownswycke  
A duple forward reprynce backe twyse//A  
duple forward hoppe iiij tymes.
- The quenes allmayne  
ij singles forward cast of a duple rownd ij singles  
[30] syde reprynce backe twyse//a duple forward  
hoppe iiij tymes
- The newe allemayne  
a duple Forwad hoppe iiij tymes ij singles syde  
a duple rownde twyse. honour one single syde  
[35] one after an other a duple into your felowes  
place one single one after an other a duple  
backe into your owne place agayne
- The longe pavian  
ij singles a duple forward ij singles syde reprince  
[40] backe once//ij singles syde a duple forward reprince  
backe twyse//ij singles a duple forward one  
single backe twyse. ij singles a duple forward  
ij singles syde reprince backe once//ij singles syde  
a duple forward reprince backe twyse.//
- [fol. 10<sup>v</sup>] Cycyllya Alemayne  
ij singles a duple forward one single syde  
twyse//ij syngles backe honour ij singles  
a duple forward into eche others place honour  
& embrace ij singles backe honour ij syngles  
[50] a duple into your owne place honour and  
Embrace
- The new cycillia allemaine  
a duple forward hoppe iiij tymes//ij singles  
backe ij syngles forward <sup>ij</sup>//a duple forward  
[55] a duple backe twyse//ij singles forward  
a duple rownd one after an other take  
hands a duple into eche others place advance  
forwards iiij tymes a duple rownd into your  
owne place againe advance backe iiij times  
[60] ij singles forward ij singles backe.
- Cycyllya pavyan  
one single a duple forward once//ij singles a duple  
forward reprince backe vj. twyse//ij singles a  
duple forward reprince backe twyse//one single  
[65] a duple forward once//ij singles a duple for  
reprince back vj twyse//
- Caranto dyspayne  
iiij singles syde//ij singles a duple forward ij singles  
syde reprince backe twyse//iiij singles syde a duple  
[70] forward reprince backe twyse//iiij singles syde a duple  
forward reprince backe twyse //ij singles syde ij  
travers forward ij singles syde iij travers backe//a  
duple forward reprince backe twyse//ij singles syde  
ij travers forward//ij singles syde

23 a duple rownd: Dolmetsch reads a double forward.

29 ij singles forward: after singles the word syde with *cast of* written above is all crossed out. *cast of*: written above the line, with a caret.

35 felowes: Dolmetsch reads place.

37 your owne: after your the word felowes has been crossed out.

45 Cycyllya Alemayne: Dolmetsch reads Cynthia Almayne.

52 newe cycillia allemaine: Dolmetsch reads Newe Cynthia Almayne.

54 forward <sup>ij</sup>: the numeral is presumably an abbreviation for twyse, accidentally omitted.

60 singles forward: before forward is the letter b crossed out.

70–71 iiij singles syde a duple forward reprince backe twyse: perhaps repeated in error; if the intention had been to dance this sequence four times (itself unlikely), there would be no reason not to say so plainly (e.g. iiij tymes).

72 travers: Dolmetsch and Cunningham read trads (i.e. 'treads'), but this fails to account for an extra stroke preceding the supposed d; the reading ver for this letter form is confirmed by its use in the word everye in lines 90 and 102.

- [75] iij travers backe//a duple forward reprice backe  
twyse//A dub. rownde bothe ways one single backe  
& honour. a dub. into eche others place and let the  
wemen leade a dub forwad reprice backe twyse//  
a dub. rownd bothe ways one single backe & honour
- [80] a dub into your owne place// ~~vc~~ A dub forwardꝰ  
reprice backe twyse//one single back & honour
- [fol. 11<sup>r</sup>] a duple forward reprice backe twyse  
one single backe & honour//part/iiij dub  
to & fro betwyne your wemen & when
- [85] you be all past them then come syde  
longe to them with iij travers & honour  
everye man to hys woman//A dub  
strayght forward iij dubles to & froo  
then come to your wemen with iij travers
- [90] syde honour Everye mane to hys woman  
them let the wemen leade a  
Dub. forward reprice backe twyse//  
one syngle backe & honour vc ~~vc~~

The nyne muses

- [95] A duple forward one Single backe al  
ix togeather/then the first iij pase  
forwards with ij singles & a duple and to  
torne backe to theirre companye & so the  
next &c. & then the last to honour.
- [100] to the middell and Imbrace and the  
middel to torne to the first and honour  
& Imbrace/then one of everye three to  
pase rond about the midell into his  
owne place and so the others with a soft
- [105] pace/And then so after with a galli=  
ard pace//

80 (hand): possibly a sign to repeat everything so far; see also line 93.

91 *them*: a mistake for *then*.

93 *vc*: Dolmetsch reads *vt* and understands it with the picture of the hand to mean 'lead out'. This seems improbable: it is easier to write 'take hands' than to draw one. The hand is pointing; perhaps *vc* or *vt* (either reading is possible) is an abbreviated instruction to go back to the previous symbol and repeat, in effect *ut supra* ('as above').

104 *soft*: Cunningham tentatively reads *fast*.

2. London, British Library, MS Harl. 367, a collection of papers and fragments written by J. Stowe and others in the period 1575–1625. The list of dances corresponds very closely with those explicitly connected with the Inns of Court.

The text is transcribed from photographs supplied by the British Library.

- [fol. 178] the quatheren paven  
To singles sides and a double forward to singles sides & a double backward  
all over 4 times & soe end
- [5] the turcke loene  
A double forward & a double backward 4 times to single sides with  
a double forward & a double backward then to single sides with a double  
forward & a double backe then a double forward & a double backe  
4 times & soe end
- [10] the Earle of Essex  
A double forward & a single backe 4 times then to singles  
sides with a double forward & a double backe all over againe & soe end
- [15] Tinternell  
A double forward & a double backe the tacke wright handes & goe to  
singles & a double round in your places then tacke the left hand  
& doe as much agen a double forward & a double backe 3 times  
& soe tack wright handes & goe to singles & a double round in your  
places then tacke the left hand & doe the same & soe end
- [20] the ould Allman  
Tacke both hands & goe to singles & a double to your wright hand  
round in your places & as much to the left the 4 double forward  
then all over againe & soe end

10 A double forward & a single: the words & a double have been crossed out after forward.

13 *the*: error for *then*.

20 *the 4 double*: *the* is written for *then*.

the queenes Allman  
 A double forward & a double backe to single sides face to face &  
 [25] turne a double round in your place that part over againe with  
 the other then a double forward a double forward & a double & a  
 double backe then sett to singles face to face & turn a double  
 round in your place as much with the other foote & soe end

[fol. 179] Madam sosilia  
 [30] To single sides a double forward & a single backe  
 that part over againe then to singles face to face honour with  
 the left foote then Change place with to singles & a double  
 honour with the wright foote & imbrace to single sides face to face  
 honour to singles & a double Change places as you did before  
 honour & imbrace & soe end

[35] the blacke allman  
 fouer double forward then a double backe face to face & a double  
 forward then a double to the left hand & a nother back to the  
 wright hand then sat to single sides & trune a double round

29 To singles sides: these words are followed by *face to face* crossed out.

35-36: the title is followed by a line that is smudged and apparently regarded as deleted. This reads *A double forward 4 times thin to single sides.*

38 *trune*: a mistake for *turne*. The text of this dance is incomplete. The writer was having a great deal of trouble with his pen and may have broken off for this reason.

3. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 280, a miscellaneous collection of notes, essays, translations, etc., by J. Ramsey. Ramsey was admitted to the Middle Temple on 23 March 1605/6, so his notes may well date from shortly after that time.

The text is transcribed from photographs supplied by the Bodleian Library.

[fol. 66a<sup>v</sup>] Practise for Dauncinge. The Quadran Pavin./

[5] The ould Measures: Quadran Pavin. { Honour. Two singles syde, a double forward, ij Singles syde & a double backe .4. tymes./honour./

Turkelone. { Honour (& backe) (.2. forw: 2. backe) Foure doubles forward. ^ ij Singeles syde^, 4. doub= les forwarde & .4. doubles backe. honour./

[10] The Earle of Essex measures. { Honour. One double forwardes & one single backe .4. tymes, ij. Singles syde, one double forward & & one single backe. againe all. honoure & soe ende./

[15] Tinternell. { Honour. One double forward & one double backe ij Singles & a double rounde both waies .3. doubles forwarde & .3. doubles backe change handes. honor & soe ende./

[20] The ould Almaine. { Honour. Take both handes .2. singles & a double round both waies .4. doubles forward, take both handes .2. singles & a double round both waies. soe end./

[25] The Queens Almaine. { Honour. A double forward & a .d. backe .2. singles syde & a .d. rounde on your lefte hande. a .d. forwarde & a .d. backe .2. S. syde & a .d. round on your right hande .4. d. forward. a .d. forward & a .d. backe 2. S. syde as afore./

2: this line inserted as an afterthought.

6 *Quadran Pavin*: added as an afterthought.

7: two omissions are added above l. 8 in brackets.

8-9 *Turkelone*: correction for *Tinternell*.

13 *backe*: this is followed by the number .3. crossed out. *again all*: added in brackets above the line.

15: after *backe* there is .3. crossed out.

16 *Tinternell*: correction for *Turkelone*. *ij Singles & a double*: the word *syde* is marked as being deleted after *Singles*. *both waies*: added above the line in brackets. *.3. doubles*: the numeral has been altered from .2.

17 *.3. doubles*: the numeral has been altered from .2. *change handes*: added above the line in brackets.

[30] .Cecilia. { Honour.  
Two .S. syde & a .d. forward & a .S. backe twice,  
part handes .2. S. syde & honour with your left foote,  
change places with .2. S. & a .d., honour with your right  
foote, step forward & embrace, .2. S. syde honor with your  
left foote, In to your own place, honour as afore./

[35] .Blacke. { Honour.  
Fowre doubles forward, part handes with a .d. backe,  
meete againe with a .d., A .d. on your lefte hand, a  
nother on your right hand, the man doe .2. S. & a .d.  
[40] rounde. the woman as much, take both handes,  
change places with a double & slide upwardes .4., Into  
your owne place with a .d., Slyde downe .4., backe a .d.  
one from another, meet againe. The same againe./

The cinque  
pace. { One, two, three, foure, & fiue.

[45] Robertoes  
Galliard. { Honour.  
Is performed with ye cinque pace & .4. or .5.  
seuerall trickes takinge ye gentlewoman  
out of her place & walkinge .3. or .4.  
(stepps

[fol. 66b<sup>f</sup>] .The Practise of Dauncinge. Foll: 103.

[55] The Bodkin  
Galliard./  
Marke  
williams  
his Galliard.  
Passemeasurs  
Galliard. { Stepps, soe honour, then pace further .3. stepps  
take her in your lefte hand, honour, you walke .3.  
steppes downe ye roome. shee vpp & soe fall in  
to your Cinque passe. In ye ende honour  
& conveye ye gentlewoman to her place./

The Tem=  
ple Coran=  
ta./ { Honour.  
Take handes & fall in to your pace, change  
rounde, fall from, shifte handes, voluntarylie,  
honour & soe ende./

[60] The Spanish  
Pavin./ { Honour.  
It must be learnd by practise & demonstra=  
tion, beinge performd with boundes & capers  
& in ye ende honour./

[65] The French  
Levolto./ { Honour.  
By demonstration likewise, falinge in to your  
pace, holdinge handes, & conveyinge ye gentlewoman  
with your right arme & right legg by boundes  
in to .4. severall places. honor & ende./

[70] The Ladye  
Laytons  
Measures. { Honour./  
Two doubles forwardes & one double to ye  
lefte hande. one double backe. two longe  
stepps & a double backwardes. two longe stepps & a  
double, forewardes. one .S. forwards  
[75] & a .D. backwardes, j .d. forwardes & .j. d. backe, two  
longe stepps & a .d. forwards, two longe stepps & a  
.d. backe,

[80] The Spani=  
oletta./ { Honour.  
Take handes, fall in to your pace, parte with  
your pace, traverse sydewayes, meete with your  
pace, & heave vpp ye woman in your armes, part  
againe, pace, traverse meete againe, the  
woman heave vp ye man, honor & soe ende./

30 .Cecilia.: correction for *The blacke Almaine*.

37 .Blacke.: correction for *The Cecilia Almaine*.

49 (stepps: the first word of the following page is written at the foot of this one; this confirms that the text is continuous. Cunningham assigns the first three lines to Robertoes Galliard, then appears to start again, repeating the word *stepps*. In fact all four galliards have a single description, divided between the two folios.

71 one double: a correction for *two doubles*.

72 a double: added above the line in brackets. *backwardes*: preceded by *syde*, which is marked as being deleted. *stepps* & *a*: *a* has been added with a caret.

73 double, *forewardes*: after *double* the words *syde* and *backwardes* are successively marked as being deleted.

76: the text of this dance appears to be incomplete; there is space for three further lines.

[Fol. 66b<sup>v</sup>]

Practise for Dauncinge./

Honour./

[85] The Measures of - Heaven & earth./

[90] Mapeur. }

A double forwarde & a double backe, a double forwarde, two singles syde, a double backe, & slipp with ye right legg another with ye lefte a halfe caper & fall backe round in to your Cinque-pace, a halfe caper & a round crosse &c.

Honour./

[95] Basilina./

Lesters }  
Galliard. }

A double forwarde & a double backe, a double forward, & one single backe, fiue stepps forward & close, thrise together, a double forward & a double backe, a double forwarde & a single backe, fowre doubles forwarde,

Honour./

[100] The French Galliarde./

[105] }

Is performed with ye cinquepace, halfe capers, traverses, ye round turnes & such like, learned onlye by practise,

Honour./

[110] The French Brawles./

Tacke handes & goe rounde to ye lefte hande, rounde againe to ye right hande, slip twoe together, afterwarde three to ye lefte hande, three more to ye right hande, all a .d. rounde, the same againe.

Finis./

87-88: there is a gap in the text equivalent to two lines.

88 earth: this is preceded by a single letter (y) crossed out.

98-99: the dance appears to be incomplete; there is room for four more lines of text.

104: there is space here for another five lines of text; this space has been used for a doodle of a cat and the word *fulfilled*, both apparently inserted at another time.

4. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson D.864, miscellaneous papers of E. Ashmole, vol. 1. The record of the dances is in a childish hand and may therefore be dated within a few years of 1630 (Ashmole having been born in 1617). The sequence of dances once again corresponds to that used in the Inns of Court.

The text is transcribed from photographs supplied by the Bodleian Library.

[fol. 199 <sup>r</sup> ]	The/ names/	A copley of the oulde measures
[5]	/1/ The Quadrim Pavin } begening at the first } /strayne/ }	To Singles & a doble forwarde to singles a doble back /4/ tymes & soe end/
[10]	/2/ Tarquelone begening at the seconde strayne/ }	A duble forwarde & a duble backe /4/ tymes set /2/ singles a doble forward & a duble backe arise a doble forward & a duble backe /4/ tymes as you did before & so ende
[15]	/3/ The Earle of Essix measure begening at the first strayne }	A duble forwarde & a single backe /4/ tymes set tow singles a duble forward & a duble backe once doe this

10 forward: the final letter is written above the line.

11 arise: this word is unexplained; the sense requires 'twice'. (*Anise*, an otherwise attractive emendation, means 'once', which ought to rule it out.)

16 single: the last two letters are written above the line.

19 this: the last letter is written above the line.

[20]	/4/ The Tinternneyles } begening at ye first strayne	once agayne/& soe end
[25]	/5/	A duple forward & A duple backe once take rite hand in rit hande turne /2/ singles & A duple rounne both the wayes
[30]		A duple forward & A duple backe /4/ tymes take right hand in right hande tow singles both the wayes & soe ende
[35]	The oulde almane } begening at ye second strayne	Take by both the handes turne tow singles & a duple round both the wayes leade /4/ duples forwarde take by both the handes & turne tow singles & a duple round both the wayes & soe ende
[40]	/6/ The Queenes Alman } begening at the second strayne/	A duple forward & a duple backe set tow singles face to face & turne a duple round in youre one place a duple forwarde with the right legge & backe with the left legge set /2/ singles face tow face & turne a duple round leade fiue duples forward & a duple backe set tow singles face tow face & turne a duple round doe as you did before & soe ende
[45]		
[Fol. 199 <sup>v</sup> ]	/7/ Madam sicillia pauin } begening at the first strayne/	To singles & a duple forward & a singles backe twice set tow singles face to face & honer with the left legge crosse ouer into each otheres pleaces with tow singles & a duple & honer with the right legge embrace & honer with the left lagge doe this last once agayne/& soe ende
[55]		
[60]		
[65]	/8/ The blacke Almane } begening at the first strayne	
[65]	Rowland Osborne } taught me to dance/these measures	
[70]	Elias Ashmole/ } his paper/Elias Amen/	

25 wayes: the last two letters are written above the line.

35 turne: the last letter is written above the line.

42 backe with: the last two letters are written above the line.

45 fiue: Cunningham reads *two, forward*: the final letter is written above the line.

Fol. 199<sup>v</sup>: there are many scribbles on this folio which have been ignored in transcription.

66 taught: preceded by tag crossed out.

5. London, Inner Temple Records, "Revels, Foundlings & Unclassified, Miscellanea, Undated &c." vol 27 (of about 1640-75). This record was written down by Butler Buggins, who was Master of the Revels first in 1672.

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[Fol. 3<sup>r</sup>]

The Measures as they are Danced  
in the Inner Temple Hall/.

The Ceremony from fol. 6 & 7 to come in here.

[5]

First Measure the Quadryan  
pavin.

1

Two single sides and a Double forward, two  
single sides and a Double backe. Four times over  
and soe end./

[10]

2d Measure  
Turky Lonye

A Double forward and a Double backe 4 times  
2 singles Syde and a double forward and a double  
back 4 times and soe end./

[15]

3d Measure  
The Earle of Essexes Measure

2

A Double forward and a single, and a single back  
4 times. Then two singles side and a double  
forward and a double back once, Then all this  
measure once over and soe end./

[20]

[Fol. 3<sup>v</sup>]

4th Measure  
Tenternayle

[25]

A Double forward and a Double back once  
Then take your Woman by the right hand  
and slide to slides and a double rounde in Armes  
both wayes, Then a double forward and a double  
backe 3 times, Then take the woman by the right  
hand and slide two singles, and a double round  
in Armes both wayes and soe end./

[30]

5th Measure  
The old Almayne a Round  
Measure./

[35]

Take both hands and slyde a single and a double  
round in Armes both wayes, Then slyde 4 doubles  
rounde about the Hall and close, ye last double  
face to face then hold both Hands  
and slyde 2 singles and a double round  
in armes both Wayes and soe end./

[40]

{2}

[Fol. 4<sup>r</sup>]

6th Measure  
The Queenes Almayne  
A Round Measure

[45]

A Double forwards and a double back  
with the left Legg turne face to face, and  
sett and turne with the Left Legg  
A Double forward and a double back with  
the Right legg turne face to face and sett and  
Turne with the right legg, Then slide  
4 Doubles round about the Hall and close,  
the last double Face to face. Then the  
first and second parts once a peice over  
again and soe ende./

[50]

Cecilia 7 Measure Sicilia  
Almaine./

[55]

Two singles and a double forwards, and  
a single back twice the 1<sup>st</sup> part and  
the second time part hands and turne  
face to face./

[60]

2<sup>d</sup> pt, Then 2 single sydes the  
first with the left legg, the second

{3}

[Fol. 4<sup>v</sup>]

with the right, Then Honour with the  
left Legg and close againe, Then  
change places with 2 singles and

[65]

3 to: Cunningham reads *do*.

54 *Cecilia*: marginal note in a later hand.

60 *sydes*: correction for *slydes*.

65 *with 2*: after *with* is the word *the* crossed out.



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[70] a double over into each others places &  
turne all face to face, and Honour with  
the right legg, Then meet with 2  
stepps and embrace, Doe all this 2<sup>d</sup> part  
step for step into your owne places./

---

8 Measure

The Black Almaine

[75] 3 Syde 4 double round about the Hall  
and close the last double face to  
face, Then part your hands and Goe all  
in a double back one from another and  
meet a double againe, Then goe a  
double to the left hand and as  
[80] much back to the right hand  
Then all on the Women syde stand still  
and the men sett and turne

4

[Fol. 5<sup>r</sup>] Then all the men stand still, and  
the women sett and turne, Then hold  
[85] both hands and change places with a  
double, & slide four french slydes to the  
mans right hand, change places againe  
with a double and slyde 4 french slydes  
to the right hand againe, Then  
[90] part hands and goe back a double one  
from another and meete a double  
againe Then all this Measure once  
over and soe end./

[95] The 2<sup>nd</sup> all the men stand still & the  
Women begin sett and turne first and then  
men last./

---

Sinke a pace

[100] Then after all the measures be  
done hold hands and dance the  
Sinke a pace one round about the Hall till you  
come to your one place againe and  
soe ende./

[105] This is as plaine as I can Express it & with the Musick  
may be easily understood and practised./

B.B.

[Fol. 5<sup>v</sup>] 4  $\sqrt{5}$  Turne over  
Argulius Measure to be Danct  
about the Middle of the  
Measures.

[110] First the men walk up 4 double and  
Stand with their faces Inward. Then  
the Women walke up and stand with  
their backs against the men, Then the  
men Honour to the Women, Then passe over  
[115] one into anothers place the Women  
with their backs to the men as before  
Then Joyne all hands with their own  
and goe round

[120] Then the Women begin as the men  
did (&c) and soe end./

---

The Ceremonye

[125] For the Ceremonye at the  
at the beginning./ You first call a  
Hall & the Master of the Revells goes before  
the Masters of the Bench, the Barre and the  
Gentlemen following one after another  
round the Hall, + When the Master of

73 syde: an error for slyde.

89 to the right: preceded by againe crossed out.

100 one: an error for once.

105 B.B.: Butler Buggins

122 For the: preceded by Then crossed out.

- [Fol. 6<sup>r</sup>] Revells comes by the vpper barr table  
 [130] he calls Musicke,  
 + then when he comes to ye skreene he  
 calls Musicke Then the Musicke plays  
 Then presently after the Masters of the  
 Bench sitt downe at the vpper end  
 [135] of the Hall, + Then all the Gentlemen  
 joyne Hands and Dance 2 short  
 Tunes and then barr pass over to  
 -----  
 Sill right against them.  
 [140] Then the *Master* rises and makes his  
 Honour to Ye *Masters* of the Bench and then  
 calls for the Quadryan Pavin &c./  
 (7)
- [Fol. 6<sup>v</sup>] *Master* Butler Buggins, his  
 [145] Relation of ye Measures  
 Danced in the  
 Inner Temple Hall

129 *barr*: followed by *bench* crossed out.

130 *Musicke*: this is followed by *and calls to M<sup>r</sup> Young to|sing the M<sup>rs</sup> of the Bench a fancy*: all crossed out.

139 *Sill*: Cunningham reads *sitt*, probably correctly.

**6. London, Royal College of Music, MS 1119**, a collection principally of songs in manuscript. Fol 1–2 carry notes by Buggins similar to those in no 5 (above). Music for five of the dances (The House Measure, The Quadrian Pavin, Essex Measure, The Black Almaine, Argulius) appears on fol 23–4; this is reproduced by Cunningham (1965), 38–9.

Transcribed from photographs supplied by the Royal College of Music.

- |                        |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
|------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Fol. 1 <sup>r</sup>    | A Coppy of the old Measures in ye<br>Inner Temple.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| [5]                    | 1 <sup>st</sup><br>Quadrian pavin.<br><br>Two singles sides and a double forwards, one single sides and a double back four times over and so end.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| [10]                   | 2 <sup>d</sup><br>Treky Lorny.<br><br>A Double forwards and a Double back four times, two singles sides, and a Double forwards and a Double back four times and so end.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| [15]                   | 3 <sup>d</sup><br>Earle of Essex Measure.<br><br>A Double forwards and a Single back four times, then two Singles sides & a Double forwards and a Double back once, then all this measure once over and so end.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| [20]                   | 4 <sup>th</sup><br>Tentarnayle.<br><br>A Double forwards and a Double back once, then take your woman by the right hand and slide two slides and a Double round in armes both ways then a Double forwards and a Double back three times then take <i>your</i> woman by the right hand and slide two singles and a Double round in armes both ways and so end.                                                                                               |
| [Fol. 1 <sup>v</sup> ] | 5 <sup>th</sup><br>The old Almane<br>a round measure.<br>5 <sup>th</sup><br>The old Almayne.<br><br>Take both hands and slide two singles and a Double round in armes both ways then slide four Doubles round about the house and close the last Double face to face, then hold both hands and slide two singles and a Double round in armes both ways and so end.                                                                                          |
| [30]                   | 6 <sup>th</sup><br>The Queens Almayne<br>a round measure.<br><br>A Double forwards and a Double back with the left legg turne face to face and set and turne with the left legg, a Double forward and a Double back with the Right legg turne face to face and set and turne with the right legg, then slide four doubles round about the house and close the last Double face to face, the the first and second part once a piece over againe, and so end. |
| [40]                   | 7 <sup>th</sup><br>Sissilea Almayne.<br><br>Two singles and a Double forwards and a single back twice 1 part<br>and the second time part hands and turne face to face 2 part                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |

Fol. 1: before the descripton of each dance (at the right of its title) parallel lines are ruled to form two staves for the music; but no music has ever been added. (See above for music elsewhere in the MS.)

37 *the the*: error for *then the*.



It should be noted, however, that the dance called the Queens Almain in MS no 1 is not the same as the dance of that name in MSS nos 2–6.

To these seven dances Cunningham might have added an eighth,

The Black Almain,

which is present in all the MSS except no 1. This omission, if not mere carelessness, may reflect a difference of tradition between one Inn and another. Similarly, discrepancies in the description of a particular dance, if not due to poor memory or carelessly copied notes, may have the same cause. Differences of practice would develop naturally, or would become established through the precepts of a chosen dancing master, like Robert Holeman at the Inner Temple. The attribution of the MSS to individual Inns, though not always certain, appears to be as follows:

Inner Temple	nos 5, 6
Lincoln's Inn	no 1
Middle Temple	no 3
Unknown	nos 2, 4

Notes on the individual dances are given below. The structure of each is analysed to facilitate the identification of appropriate music, but length and phrasing are expressed in terms of doubles or their equivalent (=d) rather than musical bars, to accommodate different barring conventions.

**Almains.**—Whatever its history in its German homeland, the almain came into fashion in western Europe in the middle of the 16th century. Its distinctive feature was to end both the double and the single steps with one leg raised, instead of closed to the other (Arbeau, 1589). MS no 1 agrees with the evidence of lexicographers in Britain that the almain double, or 'Alman leape', was performed with a spring or hop (cf Florio, 1598, s.v. 'Chiaranzara'; Cotgrave, 1611, s.v. 'Pas'). Arbeau, however, specifically rules out any kind of leap ('sans sault'). Our MSS nos 2–5 make no mention of the hop, either because its use was too well known to need explicit reference, or because it was no longer done. In nos 5 and 6 the relevant steps are said to be slid, which certainly does not suggest that a hop was current at that time (c. 1675).

The dance described by Arbeau is a simple procession of 7d (repeated), followed by a faster section, usually known as the *recoupe* or *reprinse*, in which hops are introduced on the *beginning* of each step, as in the coranto. Nearly all of the almains described in our MSS fall into a different pattern, in which a promenade of 4d or 8d alternates with a figure of varied length done more or less in place. MS no 1 shows that the distinctive almain doubles are limited to the promenade, while plain singles and doubles are used in the figures.

(a) Black Almain

In MSS nos 2–6, but the description is omitted from no 4 and is incomplete in no 2; the clearest version is in nos 5 and 6. Length: 18d (repeated).

Structure: 4d+14d (4+4+4+2d).

Music: in MS no 5 (Cunningham, 1965, 39). 'The Blacke Almaine' was one of 'the newest tunes that are now in vse' in 1584 (Robinson et al., 1584).

(b) Brunswick

Only in MS no 1.

Length: 8d (? repeated).

Structure: 4d+4d.

Music: two settings of the Almande Bruynswijck for solo cittern are cited by Brown (1965) from collections published 1569–82; one of them has a *reprinse*. John Bull's arrangement of The Duke of Brunswick's Alman in the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book (Maitland & Squire, 1899, no 142) was used for this dance by Mabel Dolmetsch (1949).

(c) Cicilia Almain

In all six MSS, though described as 'Madam sicillia pauin' in no 4. There are several minor discrepancies in the execution of the single steps (whether forwards, sideways or backwards), but the general pattern of the dance is unaffected.

Length: 18d.

Structure: 6d+6d (repeated).

No specific music.

(d) Lorayne Almain

Only in MS no 1.

Length: 28d.

Structure: 4d+4d (repeated)+8d+4d (repeated).

Music: 5 settings of the Almande Loreyne are cited by Brown (1965) from collections published 1569–83; the tune is identical with a further 6 arrangements described simply as 'Almande', 'Almande tournee' or 'Ballo francese'. A 16th-century setting for the virginals is in the British Library, Additional MSS 29485, reproduced by Wood (1952).

(e) New Almain

Only in MS no 1.

Length: 14d (? repeated).

Structure: 4d+4d+6d.

Music: 5 settings of 'Almande nova' for solo cittern cited by Brown (1965) from a collection of 1578 are all provided with a *reprinse*; the same tune also reappears simply as 'Almande' in 1582. Dolmetsch (1949) used 'Allemande nouvelle' in an arrangement for keyboard by B. Schmid (1577). The 'new Almaine' was another of 'the newest tunes that are now in vse' in 1584 (Robinson et al., 1584).

(f) New Cicilia Almain

Only in MS no 1.

Length: 22d ?

Structure: 4d+4d (repeated)+4d+4d ?+2d.

No specific music.

(g) Old Almain

In all six MSS.

Length: 8d (repeated).

Structure: 4d+4d.

Music: in Holborne (1597, no 11). Dolmetsch (1949) used an Almain in the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book by R. Johnson (Maitland & Squire, 1899, no 146).

(h) Queens Almain (no 1)

In MS no 1 only.

Length: 12d (? repeated).

Structure: 4d (repeated)+4d.

Music: William Byrd's arrangement in the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book (Maitland & Squire, 1899, no 172) is mainly arranged in sections of 12d and is adapted to this version of the dance by Dolmetsch (1949).

(i) Queen's Almain (no 2)

In MSS nos 2–5; although there is agreement over the first section of 8d, there is much divergence thereafter. MSS nos 5 and 6 appear to give the full dance, while no 2 and nos 3 and 4 provide two alternative abbreviated versions, probably contrived to fit music composed in 8-bar phrases.

Length: 20 d or 16d.

Structure: 4d (repeated)+4d+4d (repeated) or 4d (repeated)+4d+4d.

Music: see above.

**Basilina**

In MS no 3, but apparently incomplete. (See also below under Galliards.)

Length: 15½d so far ?

Structure: 3½d+1½d(×3)+3½d+4d ?

'Baselena' appears in a list of 16th-century dances added to a 15th-century hunting treatise in the British Library (MS Sloane 3501, fol 2v). In 1596 'Basilino' was one of the dances you might expect to see going on the green of a Sunday evening (Nashe, 1596).

**Brawles.**—The French Brawles is the final dance in MS no 3. Despite the name, it does not reproduce any of the bransles found in Arbeau (1589), though it does feature the characteristic alternation of movement to left and to right. The description of the dance is not sufficiently precise to allow a sure analysis of the structure. The elaborate sequences are to be found in some brawles are satyriized in the contemporary play by J. Marston, *The Malcontent* (1604), IV ii: "Why t'is but two singles on the left, two on the right, three doubles forward, a traverse of six-rounde; do

this twice, three singles side, galliard tricked of twenty, curranto pace: a figure of eight, then singles broken down, come up, meete two doubles, fall backe, and then honour.”

**Corantos.**—The coranto, like the almain, came into fashion in western Europe in the middle of the 16th century. Arbeau (1589) describes an invariable sequence of *ss d ss d*, either in an improvised floor pattern or (in his youth) in a kind of pantomime for three couples. The Temple Coranto seems to be of Arbeau's type, with no specific step-sequence and only a general framework for the dance, part of which is to be done 'voluntarily'. The Coranto d'Espagne, by contrast, has a long and detailed step-sequence with many specific figures.

(a) Coranto d'Espagne

In MS no 1. It is assumed that one figure is repeated in error, as suggested in the footnote to the text.

Length: 73d or 100d?

Structure: 2d+4d (repeated)+4d (repeated)+8d (repeated)+4d+4d+4d; +5d (repeated)+6d (repeated)+5d? The whole section following the semicolon may also have to be repeated (see footnote to text).

No specific music: Dolmetsch (1949) fitted the dance to a coranto in the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book (Maitland & Squire, 1899, no 225), dividing it into sections of 4×4d. This involved some rearrangements, and at one place provision was made for three couples to move in sequence, one after the other, to fill out a strain.

(b) Temple Coranto

In MS no 3. There is no precise information about length or structure, and no specific music.

**Galliards.**—The plain cinque pace is featured in MSS nos 5 and 6 as the culmination of the Old Measures at the Inner Temple. A brief note of the cinque pace also appears in MS no 3, immediately before a general galliard arrangement equally suitable for each of four named tunes. As with the Temple Coranto that follows it, this provides a general framework only, leaving room for individual improvisation. This could be protracted, as there seems to have been no set length for the dance. Arbeau (1596, 38b–39a) said the [male] dancer continued making new passages, showing off what he could do, until the musicians stopped playing, while Bacon (1625, 196), with a rather different emphasis, said it was up to the musicians to find means to take off those 'that dance too long Galliards.' The galliard was the standard 'after-dance' for the pavin, but was also frequently danced on its own. Of the four named tunes, the *Passemeasures Galliard* was linked with a popular pavin, with which it sometimes appears in MS and printed collections, e.g. the Mulliner Book (British Library Additional MS 30,513, dated late in the reign of Henry VIII), Gervaise (1555) and Holborne (1597).

A fifth galliard in MS no 3 (Lester's Galliard) seems to be intended as the after-dance for *Basilina*, a pavin-like measure, but no details are given. The preceding dance is another measure, which does conclude with a galliard section including half-capers, perhaps under the name 'Ma peur' – unless, of course, this has been misplaced and really belongs with *Basilina* as the missing Lester's Galliard.

An even more ambitious example in MS no 3 is the French Galliard, which was performed with half-capers, traverses, round turns and such like, but this again is not described in detail. There are two settings of the French Galliard in the British Library: in the Mulliner Book for cittern, and in Additional MS 29,485 (c. 1599) for virginals. Brown (1965) cites three settings of *Gaillardé Francoise* published between 1571 and 1583.

**Lavolta**

In MS no 3. The instructions are again generalized, but it is clear that the man stays on the left of his partner and that the couple is therefore turning to the left. This contrasts with Arbeau's instructions (1596, 64–5) which, despite some confusion between left and right, seem to imply that turning to the right was normal, and turning to the left merely an expedient against giddiness. The epithet 'French' in the dance's title is likely to be

conventional, but a setting of *Volte de France* for solo lute published in 1584 is cited by Brown (1965).

**Measures.**—Measures have recently been defined, not as a specific type of dance, but as any dance with a set step-sequence done to a set tune (Ward, 1986). It is nevertheless convenient to collect here the dances with Measure in their title as well as those with which they were equated. Several of them seem to have comprised a pavin-galliard sequence, as noted above under 'Galliards'.

(a) Argulius Measure

In MS no 5. The title is noted as an afterthought in MS no 6.

Length: 14d (repeated).

Structure: 4d (repeated)+6d.

Music: in MS no 6 (Cunningham, 1965, 39).

(b) Earl of Essex Measure

In all six MSS. The first line of the version in MS no 5 is probably in error.

Length: 9d (repeated).

Structure: 1½d(×4)+3d.

Music: in MS no 6 (Cunningham, 1965, 39).

(c) Heaven and Earth

In MS no 3, where it is equated with *The Measures of* —. The dance is of two parts: a pavin, probably incomplete, and a galliard (perhaps called 'Ma peur') to which reference has been made above. The pavin, as preserved, has a length of only 5d.

Music: British Library Royal Appendix 58 (early 16th-century setting for lute) and Fitzwilliam Virginal Book (Maitland & Squire, 1899, no 105).

(d) The House Measure

This precedes the standard sequence of Old Measures in the Inner Temple, as described in MS no 6. The equivalent passage in MS no 5 says that 'all the gentlemen join hands and dance two short tunes'. The music is given in MS no 6 (Cunningham, 1965, 38): it has two strains each of 8 bars in duple time, and two strains each of 4 bars in triple time. This suggests a short pavin-galliard sequence.

(e) Lady Layton's Measures

In MS no 3. The description may be incomplete, or space may have been left for a galliard.

Length: 16d.

Structure: 4d+4d+4d+4d.

No specific music.

**The Nine Muses**

In MS no 1: a dance for nine, perhaps originally devised for a masque.

Length: 20d?

Structure: 8d+4d+4d+4d?

Music: although no music is known under this name, there is a Scottish tune which is thought to have essentially the same structure (see Shire, 1969, 165ff). The music is in Elliott & Shire (1964), 1049.

**Pavins**

(a) Cicilia Pavin

In MS no 1. (The dance of this name in MS no 4 is really the *Cicilia Almain*.) The meaning of *vj* in sections two and five of the dance is not clear: it is difficult to believe in a sequence of 6 reprinses, especially as the conclusion of the whole dance; yet *vj* must have some real meaning, otherwise sections two and three of the dance would be identical.

Length: 21d?

Structure: 1½d + 3d? (repeated) + 3d (repeated) + 1½d + 3d? (repeated).

No specific music.

(b) Long Pavin

In MS no 1.

Length: 26d.

Structure: 4d+3d (repeated)+3d (repeated)+4d+3d (repeated).

Music: Dolmetsch (1949, 97–100) adapted this dance to a pavin in the Dolmetsch Library of about 1550; but this involved using a reprinse equivalent to 2d for which there is no direct evidence.

(c) **Quadrian Pavin**

In all six MSS. There is some disagreement whether the initial singles are done forwards or to the sides. Unless there was a different tradition at Lincoln's Inn, the discrepancy is probably due to carelessly drafted notes.

Length: 4d(×4).

Structure: 4d(×4).

Music: the Quadro or Quadrant Pavin is one of the commonest found in collections of music for keyboard or plucked instruments. The earliest (though not specifically named) is in the Mulliner Book; arrangements by John Bull and William Byrd are in the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book; Holborne included four versions in *The Citharn Schoole* (1597); and there are others in various MSS in the British Library.

(d) **Spanish Pavin**

In MS no 3. This is another dance which, like the galliard, defied description on paper. Even Arbeau felt able to give only a sample (1589, 96b–97a).

Music: this is widely found. Chappell (1893, vol 1, 251) cites the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book, William Ballet's Lute Book, Dorothy Welde's Lute Book, Sir John Hawkins's transcripts of virginal music, and various MSS in the British Library and the University Library, Cambridge; to which we may add Holborne (1597) and five Continental publications noted by Brown (1965).

**Spanioletta**

In MS no 3. The framework of the dance is given, but the type of step is assumed to be already known. There appears little connexion with the Spagnoletta of Caroso or the Spagnoletto of Negri.

Music: in the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book (Maitland & Squire, 1899, no 54, by Giles Farnaby; also no 289, The Old Spagnoletta, also by Farnaby).

**Tinternell**

In all six mss, with several variants. The best description is in MS no 2.

Length: 16d.

Structure: 2d+4d+6d+4d.

No specific music.

**Turkeyloney**

In all six MSS, with several variants. The best description is in MS no 2.

Length: 22d.

Structure: 8d+6d+8d.

Music: in William Ballet's Lute Book at Trinity College, Dublin. This is another dance typical of the village green (Nashe, 1596).

**Final note**

There are still a number of difficulties or ambiguities unresolved in the interpretation of these dances. In addition to the

mysterious abbreviations *vj* in the Cicilia Pavin and *vc* or *vt* in Coranto d'Espagne, there are problems in the execution or timing of particular steps which affect the structural analyses offered above.

One single performed on its own may take either half the time or the whole time of a double. Both alternatives have been used above, as seemed appropriate in each case. A final decision would have to depend on the music being used.

An honour will normally be equivalent in time to one double, but in a coranto it seems possible to make a quick honour in the time of a single, without being too hasty. This has been assumed in the Coranto d'Espagne, where each honour is preceded by one single.

In the same dance the reading *travers* now replaces *trads*. How is the traverse in the coranto related to that in the galliard? Both could be understood as plain steps without hop, skip or bounce. In Coranto d'Espagne the context suggests that *ijj* travers are equivalent in time and space to one double; if so, the new reading will make little practical difference in performance.

At least there is no difficulty with the reprints in MS no 1. Comparison with the other five MSS shows this to be the name given to a double made backwards.

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