

## The Mystery of The Nyne Muses

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If it were an artefact rather than twelve lines of prose in a sixteenth century commonplace book, the rarity and significance of *The nyne muses* dance would make it a treasure of English culture. It is the only sketch of an ensemble choreography, possibly a masque dance, extant in the Tudor or Stuart repertoire, and, although noticed by musicologists, deserves to be scrutinised again from a dance perspective, addressing a number of mysteries surrounding the dance.<sup>1</sup>

The following discussion pursues nine questions:

1. What is the source?
2. Who was the author?
3. What was the likely context of the dance?
4. When was the dance written down?
5. What was the significance of the nine muses in sixteenth century culture?
6. What sense can we make of the dance instructions?
7. What music might be available for the dance?
8. Can we reconstruct the dance?
9. To conclude, is the mystery now solved?

### What is the source?

The source is a manuscript in the Bodleian Library MS. Rawlinson Poet. 108, catalogued as a commonplace book, first owned by Eliner Gunter, sister to Edward Gunter, and later by the antiquarian William Oldisworth, collected by Rawlinson sometime in the eighteenth century. A small paper book with flyleaves from a fourteenth century missal, having vellum covers held together with leather thongs, it has been used from both ends by Edward and Eliner to note down

items of interest to them.<sup>2</sup> A group of dances has been noted down on folios 10r, 10v and 11r, recognisable from other sources as the English measures, followed by the steps for a complicated *Caranto dyspayne* and *The nyne muses*. Although there have been questions about the milieu to which these records of a common group of English measures belong, this particular manuscript is linked closely to the Inns of Court.<sup>3</sup>

### Who was the author?

In line with others before me, it seems reasonable to assume that the dances and other items in the same hand were the work of Edward Gunter rather than his sister.<sup>4</sup> Who was Edward Gunter? The young man was registered at Lincoln's Inn on 3<sup>rd</sup> February 1563 and called to the bar on 7<sup>th</sup> February 1574. He had therefore completed his education ready to act as a professional lawyer. During that time, the Inn built a new gallery in the Hall 'for the surplusage of the company of this Howse', kept a harper and two musicians on the payroll, enjoyed plays by the Children of the Chapel Royal, and kept up the custom of the Revels and Post-Revels, but not that of the expensive Grand Christmas, in line with the other Inns. On the down side, the Inn's finances struggled as bread was very expensive and the Inn had to suspend normal routine between June 1563 and April 1564 due to plague: one term was not kept and two were held at Hertford and Westminster. Gunter was never appointed Master of the Revels at this time, which also raises the question as to why he noted down the measures.<sup>5</sup>

Any further insights into Edward Gunter are drawn from the contents of the commonplace book. Epigrams in Latin and English, poems of varied quality, a partial alphabetical index towards a dictionary – these indicate a young man of education. The most notable items include a poem by Queen Elizabeth *The Doubt of Future Foes*, composed in response to the dangers arising from the flight of Mary Queen of Scots into England in 1568, and circulating by the early 1570s: Gunter's manuscript copy is an early exemplar, preceding its publication in 1589.<sup>6</sup> Gunter also copied two speeches for separate wedding masques in 1565/6 and 1566/7 held at Lincoln's Inn, composed by Thomas Pounce of Lincoln's Inn, a member of the landed gentry with aristocratic relations. So far, we can see that Gunter was interested in dancing, poetry and masques, and had some links to the court milieu.

### What was the likely context for the dance?

The next question is what event did the Nyne Muses dance belong to? Definitely not the masques of 1566 and 1567. Gunter's text is the only evidence of these masques: the lengthy speeches provide some information on the performance.<sup>7</sup>

The first is headed 'The cople of An oration Made and pronounced by Master pownde of lyncolnes Inne with a brave Maske owt of the same howse all one great horses Att the marriage off the yonge erle of South Hampton to the lord Mountagues dawghter Abowt shrovetide 1565 [1566]'. Henry Wriothesley, 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Southampton was marrying Mary Montagu, daughter of the first Viscount Montagu: their son would later be the patron of William Shakespeare. As the wedding itself took place at Montagu House on 19<sup>th</sup> February, then the text clarifies that the party of masquers travelled through the streets on horseback out of Lincoln's Inn. The honouring of the groom in this way suggests some special relationship with the Inn, and he was subsequently registered for Lincoln's Inn by special admission on 19<sup>th</sup> March 1566.<sup>8</sup> The masquers are described:

Nowe to conclude I trust you knowe  
What trayne I bring with me  
Dyanaes knyghtz I sayd they were  
Dyanaes knightz they bee

Dressed in 'virgin lyke array' (presumably white), bearing hunting spears, and the Inn's device (a purple lion) on impresse shields to be presented to the company, these 'maiden knights' were ready to dance with the ladies present.

The second speech is headed 'The cople of an oration made and pronounced by Master pownde of lincolnes Inn with A Maske att the marriage of the earle of Sussex syster to Master myldmaye off lyncolnes Inne. 1566 [1567]. This time the groom was a regular member of the Inn, registered in 1559, an MP knighted in 1567.<sup>9</sup> His bride was Frances Radcliffe, daughter of Henry Radcliffe, 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Sussex and his second wife Anne. Her father had been dead ten years, and her mother had not only remarried, but had a scandalous reputation.<sup>10</sup> On this occasion, the masquers were knights of Pallas, bearing impresse with the Medusa's head to demonstrate their defence of virtue. The occasion was a sumptuous one in the presence of Queen Elizabeth and Guzman da Silva, the Spanish ambassador, followed by a ball and a tourney.<sup>11</sup> A compliment to Elizabeth as Pallas may have been intended, or an assertion of the bride's own blameless character.

Although Pounce invokes his muse, these masques show no evidence of requiring a dance of nine muses. Did the choreography belong to another occasion at Lincoln's Inn? The next record of a masque at the Inn is found in the documents of the Office of Revels, the department of Queen Elizabeth's court that managed the production of plays, masques and shows for the routine and special occasions of court festivity. Questions had been raised about the lending out of garments to the public: heading the list made in response for information is the following: 'lent by the offycers of the revelles syns the fyrst of Ianuarye last past 1571 [1572]. In primis the gownes of red cloth of golde whyche was altered for lyncolnes In Ianuarye

last'. The next two records concern loans to Grays Inn and the Temple, also at Christmas.<sup>12</sup> There are no clues here as to the theme of the Lincoln's Inn masque of 1571.

### **When was the dance written down?**

The manuscript is catalogued as c.1570: the trouble with a commonplace book is that you cannot be sure how it was used, as the owner may leave gaps and fill them in later, not necessarily using the book in consecutive order. Payne (2003) considers that both the dances and the masque orations were copied at the same time. A best guess is that the measures, including the Nyne Muses dance, and the masque speeches were copied by Gunter when they were most important in his life, at the time of his membership of Lincoln's Inn. Perhaps they were items garnered from contemporaries as records of special occasions.

### **What was the significance of the nine muses in mid-sixteenth century culture?**

Educated people were aware of the accumulated Greek and Roman mythology, behind the Renaissance idea of the muses. The muses' home was Mount Parnassus with its Castalian spring where they dwelt under the leadership of the god Apollo, and were also worshipped in the Vale of Tempe. Hesiod had envisioned the muses dancing and singing on nearby Mount Helicon in Boeotia. Here two springs or fountains, the Aganippe and the Hippocrene or Caballine fountain had sprung from the touch of the hooves of Pegasus. As daughters of Zeus and Mnemosyne (goddess of memory) the muses represented inspiration in the arts, and by Roman times each had been given a name and sphere of influence. They were evoked as inspiration by Renaissance poets and became associated with the return of the Golden Age, often alongside the Three Graces and the Virtues, those three theological ones of Faith, Hope and Charity, and the four Cardinal Virtues of Justice, Prudence, Temperance and Fortitude. In performance, rather than literature and art, the muses were often

presented as instrumentalists and singers, less often as dancers.<sup>13</sup> A typical evocation in French poetry is that of Hugues Salel writing on the accession of Henri II and Catherine de Medici to the throne of France through whom the harmony of the muses will overcome discord.<sup>14</sup>

In this predominantly male discourse, the muses were lightly-clad water nymphs, dancing and singing for Apollo. But I suggest that at that junction in European history when three female rulers held sway in France, Scotland and England, the nine muses began to represent sisterhood, all equal with no traditional leader, and an unblemished reputation for chastity, while being only lightly subordinate to their brother Apollo. In contrast to the martial imagery of male leaders, the muses could signal that female rulers worked for that peace under which the arts can flourish. A cluster of events in the turbulent religious and political years from 1558 suggest that the trope of the nine muses was exchanged between the three queens of Catherine de Medici, Mary Queen of Scots and Elizabeth I of England, as part of cautious diplomacy, of which the following is an indicative example. When the widowed Mary Queen of Scots returned to Scotland, a masque of the nine muses was written by her court poet George Buchanan, repeating a trope developed by Ronsard, first presented at her nuptials to the Dauphin. The theme of the masque speeches was that the exiled muses would find a safe haven in Scotland: the message given in Latin and hence communicable to the network of diplomats.<sup>15</sup> Amity was the main concern of diplomacy between Scotland and England at the time. Thomas Randolph, the diplomatic agent, wrote to Elizabeth on 8<sup>th</sup> October 1561 that Mary declared: 'Yt is fetter for none...to lyve in peace then for women: and for my parte, I praye you thynke that I desyer yt with all my harte'.<sup>16</sup>

With the close connection between the Inns of Court and the royal court, Gunter will have been aware of the revels honouring Paul de Foix the French ambassador at Whitehall on 18 February 1565. The occasion was part of a series of diplomatic gestures supporting the

Treaty of Troyes between Elizabeth and Catherine de Medici: masques at Richmond in June 1564 for the French ambassador M. de Gonorre; the teenaged Charles IX invested with the Order of the Garter; Norfolk and Leicester invested with the Order of St. Michael; in Bayonne, Catherine presided over a Tournament of Love and Virtue in which nine knights of Great Britain were attended by Five Virtues and Nine Muses. Elizabeth entertained de Foix in 1565 with a play by the Children of the Chapel Royal written by their master Richard Edwards for the occasion: *Damon and Pythias* ('two of the most faithfulest friends'). A tale from classical Greece, known to all educated English men and women from Thomas Elyot's *The Booke named the Governour* (1531), which exemplified male friendship. Edwards introduced the nine muses singing in sorrow at the inevitable (apparently) death of Pithias in place of his friend Damon.<sup>17</sup> The muses sat on a hill (Mount Helicon?) and were revealed from behind a moveable screen.<sup>18</sup> The final song, after the happy resolution of the plot, addressed Elizabeth: 'The strongest garde that Kynges can have/Are constant friends their state to save.' There is no clue to suggest that the muses danced. However, the interpolation of the nine sisters into the drama signalled that the theme of friendship applied to queens as well as kings. The muses were associated once more with international peace and fellowship in the diplomacy between Elizabeth and Catherine de Medici.

### **What sense can we make of the dance instructions?**

Taking each segment of the text in turn: what kind of dance is here? <sup>19</sup>

*'A duple forward one Single backe al ix togeather'*

The instruction confirms that this is a dance for nine performers. By using the terms 'double' and 'single', we can assume that this sequence requires only three bars of music (two for the double step, one for the single step), posing an immediate problem in

identifying suitable music, as three bar strains are unconventional to say the least.<sup>20</sup> One double and a single is also Branle Simple, but repeated ad lib. The step sequence occurs in My Lord of Essex Measures in the same document, but repeated four times, fitting into a six bar phrase, repeated.

*'then the first iij pase forwards with ij singles & a duple and to torne backe to their companye,'*

This passage suggest that the dancers are in rows of three, and that the front row moves forwards and makes a half turn, the steps requiring four bars of music, or eight bars if they turn with a second set of singles and doubles.

*'& so the next &c'*

A vague statement, but in the context it is likely that the second row then does the same with another four (or eight) bars of music.

*'& then the last to honour to the middell and Imbrace and the middell to torne to the first and honour & Imbrace'*

The statement is clear enough for the action between the back row of three with the middle row, then the middle row with the front row. Unlike single and double steps, the timing of honours can vary, but the most common practice is to take the equivalent of two doubles, or four bars; the embrace could take the same time, to complete the action with dignity and make a balanced phrase.

*'then one of every three to pase rond about the midell into his owne place'*

Here there is no clear indication as to which 'one of every three' should move. And we have a surprising use of the masculine pronoun – is this a slip of the tongue or pen, or is the dance for nine men rather than nine women? If so, we have an unusual occurrence as at the English court, female roles were not danced by male courtiers or gentry.

‘and so the others with a soft pace’

Logically this could indicate that the other three dance around the middle three, in balance to the previous move. But what is meant by ‘a soft pace’? ‘Soft’ as an adjective for movement, is given as ‘easy, leisurely, slow’ for sixteenth/seventeenth century usage by the *Oxford English Dictionary*. I wonder if it is the English equivalent for the term *sciolta* in sixteenth century Italian *balletti*, when the duple dance tune goes into compound duple metre, giving a lilting, flowing quality to the steps, and translates roughly as a ‘loosening’ of the tempo, hence giving a leisurely feel to the steps. Do both groups of three dance ‘with a soft pace’ or only this one?

‘And then so after with a galliard pace’

This indicates a definite change of dance metre and one we recognise. However, the figure is not specified. It could mean a repeat of the ‘one of every three’ or doing the cinque-pace galliard steps in place, or travelling in a new figure.

So the source provides a framework for a recreation of the dance, but not enough detail for a reconstruction. However, it remains unusual in clearly having at least two different dance metres, and possibly three, in the style of the Jacobean masque dance tunes after 1604. However, the details given indicate a fairly simple dance, like the social measures, particularly in comparison to the only other exemplar of a court theatre dance *Brando Alta Regina* by Negri in *Le Gratie d’Amore* of 1602.

#### **What music might be available for the dance?**

No music is provided or indicated. However, scholars have been in pursuit of a tune called the Nine Muses for some time, linked to a particular poetic stanza pattern. The earliest texts date from around 1566: a broadside ballad on the theme of Sodom and Gomorrah and a song of unhappy love published in *A Handeful of Pleasant Delytes* both to be sung to the tune of The Nine Muses: the words

only are given as it is assumed that everyone will know this tune.<sup>21</sup> Of similar date, the same stanza pattern is used by Sir Richard Maitland of Scotland for his ballad on the *Creatioun of the World* ‘maid to the tone of the Bankis of Helecon’. As Helena Mennie Shire argued in 1969, the tune known as the Nine Muses in England is the same as the Banks of Helicon in Scotland. The principal record of the tune itself is a four-part setting by Andrew Blakehall, of the Scottish Chapel Royal, probably for another poem in the same stanza, Montgomerie’s *The Cherry and the Slae* for presentation to James VI in 1584.<sup>22</sup>

Of all the ballads and poems using this stanza, the following by Sir Richard Maitland’s daughter, Mary, compiled about 1584 is particularly relevant and attractive.<sup>23</sup> The poem comprises two stanzas: I have subdivided the first stanza in order to relate it to music.

A1 Declair ye banks of Helicon  
Parnassus hills and daillis ilkon  
and fontaine Caballein

A2 gif onye of your muses all  
or nymphes may be peregall  
unto my ladye schein,

B1 or of the ladyis that did lave  
thair bodyes by your brim

B2 so seimlie war or yit sa suave  
so bewtifull or trim

C1 Contempill  
Exempill  
take be hir proper port

C2 gif onye  
so bonye  
amang you did resort.

To put the three traces of the stanza into metre, music and dance terms, they are:

- A1 12 feet (iambic) in 3 lines  
6 bars 3 doubles
- A2 12 feet in 3 lines  
6 bars 3 doubles
- B1 8 feet /2 lines  
4 bars 2 doubles
- B2 8 feet/2 lines  
4 bars 2 doubles
- C1 2 feet (amphibrachic) + 4 feet  
4 bars 2 singles and 1 double
- C2 2 feet (amphibrachic) + 4 feet  
4 bars 2 singles and 1 double

One concordance to the tune *The Nyne Muses/Banks of Helicon* is an untitled dance in the Lumley collection. (See music example, of the top line of four parts). Not only is it of interest for its link to the Nine Muses tunes, but it is rare in being a dance tune of two metres.<sup>24</sup>

It comprises 5 strains, A – D in duple time; E in galliard metre. The phrasing within each strain suggests the step pattern of singles and doubles; the barring is editorial and a modern convenience, but what is important is what the dancer hears:

- A 6 bars 3 doubles
- B 8 bars 4 doubles
- C 4 bars 2 singles and 1 double
- D 8 bars 2 doubles, 2 singles  
and 1 double
- E 8 bars 4 cinque-pace galliard steps

Strains A - C are concordant with “The Banks of Helicon” by Blakehall, and also the poetic stanza form. The Lumley tune appears closer to the dance tune required for Gunter’s dance, ending as it does with a galliard section. The penultimate section D provides a new strain for the ‘soft pace’ and could easily be played in compound duple metre. The Lumley books containing this anonymous tune had belonged to Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel and the dance tune was probably written down by a household musician at Nonsuch Palace, Fitzalan’s residence, about 1560 – 1570, where he employed 126 musicians and kept a choir.<sup>25</sup>

### Can we reconstruct the dance?

To reconstruct a dance from a verbal source, we need the choreographic sequence combined with the music proper to the dance and sufficient information on the steps, style and context to be confident in establishing a well-considered version (as found in manuals by Caroso and Negri). If we only have partial information for a dance, then we can recreate the dance, filling the gaps with informed imagination.

The Nyne Muses text is not a complete choreographic sequence, in that it becomes a mere sketch in the final phrases, while I suggest that the first statement ‘*A duple forward one Single backe*’ is too brief as an opening sequence. However, double and single steps, as in the measures recorded by Gunter, are known to us. It would be judicious to use the Nine Muses/Banks of Helicon tune, particularly the anonymous version in the Lumley collection, for the dance, with the added advantage of providing a step sequence in the phrasing of section D.<sup>26</sup> An informed recreation is therefore possible, so we can all explore interpretations to produce a choreography that will be a little closer to an original than a completely made-up one.

I prepared a version for a conference at Canterbury in June 2015 on Pre-Modern Queenship, using the Blakehall tune (adapted to provide a *sciolta* and galliard section), a film of which illustrated this paper during my

presentation. However, the anonymous tune from the Lumley books is clearly the better choice. I would revise my recreated choreography to the Lumley tune as follows:

AA All do a double forward and a single back, four times (this will fit 6 + 6 bars of music, going across the phrasing, as in the second part of My Lord of Essex Measures)

B1 First row 2 singles and 1 double forward, 2 singles sideways and 1 double to turn halfway to face second row.

B2 Second row as much to face third row.

C1 Third row honour to second row (2 bars) and embrace (2 bars)

C2 Second row as much to first row.

D1 One of every three (plenty of choice here for the figuring) move with 2 doubles, 2 singles and 1 double

D2 Another three repeat. D might be adapted to a compound duple metre to use courante steps as an interpretation of 'soft pace'.

EE All nine (or groups of three) execute figures with 8 cinq-pace galliard steps or 8 double steps. This section could be repeated ad lib.

### **To conclude, is the mystery now solved?**

Although there is sufficient information for an informed recreation of the dance, we are no further forward currently on the context for the dance. No record has survived for an occasion in the years immediately following 1563 at which this dance might have been performed. However, that does not mean that it was not part of a masque at the Inn, now lost to the record. It may well be a masque dance as it is for nine dancers and has two or three changes of metre in the choreography, but it is very straightforward, using

elementary sequences found in the measures, and seems too simple to convince as a theatre dance.

The tune of the Nine Muses/Banks of Helicon was in circulation in the 1560s, exactly contemporary with Gunter's time at Lincoln's Inn. One source, *A Handeful of Pleasant Delytes*, includes other ballads to dance tunes, including the following English measures current at the Inns of Court: Cecilia Pavin, the Black Almaine, The Gods of Love/Turquylonye, and the New Almaine. As Gunter's other dance notes are all for social dances, as you would expect from someone who was neither a courtier nor a dancing master, should we re-consider the Nyne Muses dance as more a social dance, rather than a masque dance? The notion of the nine muses as symbols of peace was current in the culture of diplomacy, to which the Inns of Court were closely linked, both by the profession of law and social interaction. Two features of the dance should be re-visited: does the use of the masculine pronoun mean that this was, in fact, a dance for nine men, and should the honour and embrace be interpreted as a kiss of peace? Was this dance, in fact, a unique record of a dance devised in the Inn as a quasi-social dance for the male community (not in disguise as goddesses) to symbolise living in accord rather than discord, devised to a tune very familiar to all in popular culture? The mysteries of the likely context for the Nyne Muses dance may never be unravelled, but as a rare example of a choreography for nine dancers, with a sequence of varied metres, it remains a treasure of English dance culture.

The image shows a musical score for a piece titled 'The Almain' by Anne Daye. The score is written in 4/4 time and consists of five systems of music, labeled A through E. System A is the first line, System B is the second line, System C is the third line, System D is the fourth line, and System E is the fifth line. The music is written in a single melodic line on a five-line staff. The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is 4/4. The piece ends with a double bar line at the end of System E.

**Music example:** R. App. 76 f.24; anonymous and untitled

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### End Notes

- <sup>1</sup>. H. M. Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry of the Court of Scotland under King James VI* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969); J. M. Ward, 'Newly Devis'd Measures for Jacobean Masques,' *Acta Musicologica* 60, 2, (1988) pp.133 – 135; I. Payne, *The Almain in Britain c.1549 – 1675* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2003), p. 23, fn. 12
- <sup>2</sup>. See also description by Payne, op. cit., pp. 11 – 12.
- <sup>3</sup>. J. P. Cunningham, *Dancing in the Inns of Court* (London: Jordan & Sons, 1965); D. Wilson, 'Dancing in the Inns of Court,' *Historical Dance* (1986-7), pp.3 – 16; Payne, *The Almain in Britain*. See also J. Stokes & I. Brainard, 'The olde Measures in the West Country; John Willoughby's manuscript,' *Records of Early English Drama*, 17, 2, (1992) pp. 1 – 10; J. M. Ward, 'Apropos the olde Measures' *Records of Early English Drama* 18, 1, pp. 2 – 21.

<sup>4</sup>. Payne, pp. 11 – 12.

<sup>5</sup>. *Ibid.*, (1896), 1: pp. xxiv – 329.

<sup>6</sup>. L. S. Marcus, J. Mueller & M. B. Rose, (eds.), *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), pp.133 – 134.

<sup>7</sup>. Edition also M. Pincombe, (ed.) (1987) 'Two Elizabethan Masque-Orations by Thomas Pounce,' *Bodleian Library Record* 12 (1987), pp. 349 – 380.

<sup>8</sup>. J. G. Elzinga. "Wriothesley, Henry, second earl of Southampton (*bap.* 1545, *d.* 1581)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: OUP, 2004). Online, ed. David Cannadine, May 2011. [www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30072](http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30072) (accessed November 29, 2016).

<sup>9</sup>. [www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1558-1603/member/mildmay-thomas-ii-1540-1608](http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1558-1603/member/mildmay-thomas-ii-1540-1608) (accessed November 29, 2016)



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- <sup>10</sup>. David Grummitt, "Radcliffe, Robert, first earl of Sussex (1482/3–1542)." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, [www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22991](http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22991) (accessed 29 November, 2016).
- <sup>11</sup>. M. Wiggins, *British Drama*, 1: 1533 – 1566. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), item 424
- <sup>12</sup>. A. Feuillerat, *Documents Relating to the Office of the Revels in the time of Queen Elizabeth* (Louvain: A. Uystpruyt, 1908), pp. 409 – 410.
- <sup>13</sup>. See also M. McGowan, *Dance in the Renaissance: European Fashion, French Obsession*. (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2009).
- <sup>14</sup>. L-A Bergounioux, (ed.) *Hugues Salel (1504 – 1553): Oeuvres Poétiques*. (Paris: Editions Occitania, 1929), pp. 298 – 306.
- <sup>15</sup>. P. Davidson, D. Montserrat & J. Stevenson, 'Three Entertainments for the Wedding of Mary, Queen of Scots Written by George Buchanan: Latin text and translation,' *Scotlands 2.2* (1995), pp 1- 10. *Apollo et Musae Exules/Apollo and the Muses as Exiles* is clearly not part of the nuptials and I argue that it was performed for her entry into Scotland from France.
- <sup>16</sup>. "Elizabeth: October 1561," *Calendar of State Papers, Scotland: Volume 1, 1547-63*, ed. Joseph Bain (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1898), 557-568. *British History Online*, [www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/scotland/vol1/pp557-568](http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/scotland/vol1/pp557-568) (accessed 4 December 2016)
- <sup>17</sup>. A. Brown, (ed.), *Damon and Pythias*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957).
- <sup>18</sup>. Feuillerat, *Documents Relating to the Office of the Revels*, pp. 116 – 117.
- <sup>19</sup>. The text is from Wilson 1986; Payne 2003 has minor differences, not affecting the interpretation.
- <sup>20</sup>. This constant of Renaissance dance practice is presented in A. Daye, 'Taking the Measure of Dance Steps 1650 – 1700, through the Publications of John Playford,' *On Common Ground 3: John Playford and The English Dancing Master 1651*, (DHDS Conference 2001), pp. 13 – 20.
- <sup>21</sup>. E. Arber, (ed.) *A handful of pleasant delights containing sundry new sonnets and delectable histories in divers kinds of metre, etc. Clement Robinson and divers others*. (London: 1878).
- <sup>22</sup>. H. M. Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry of the Court of Scotland under King James VI* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), pp. 163 – 173.
- <sup>23</sup>. Shire (1969) prints one verse, p.170; both are printed in P. Doe, (ed.), *Musica Britannica* 44, (London: Stainer & Bell, 1979), p. 214.
- <sup>24</sup>. *Ibid.*, Appendix 19. Thanks to Derek Guyatt for extracting the single line as an example.
- <sup>25</sup>. *Ibid.*, p. xxi; Lock, Julian. "Fitzalan, Henry, twelfth earl of Arundel (1512–1580)." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, [www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9530](http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9530) (accessed 30 November, 2016).
- <sup>26</sup>. Ward (1988, pp. 133 - 135) also makes the link between the Lumley tune and the Nyne Muses dance, without being specific as to how the choreography might fit the music.

