

MUSIC SUPPLEMENT TO LUTE NEWS 134 (JULY 2020): MUSIC FOR QUEEN MARY - LUTE MUSIC OF EDINTHON/HEDINTON AND CIDRAC RAEL & MISCELLANEOUS MUSIC BY JACOB REIS

This supplement has an underlying Scottish theme with music dedicated to Mary Stuart Queen of Scots who was also queen regent of France, although some might instead have been for her mother Mary of Guise or her distant cousin Mary Tudor Queen of England. The illustrations below are a painting of Mary Stuart c.1558 by the French painter François Clouet, one of Mary of Guise in 1537 by the Dutch painter Corneille de Lyon/La Haye, and one of Mary Tudor in 1544 probably by the court painter known as Master John. This is combined with lute solos of several French court musicians including the Scottish lutenists known as Edinthon/Hedinton, in addition to a few known lute solos of Cidrac Real/Sidrach Rahel and a continuation of the Jacob Reis series.



Mary Stuart (1542-87) Mary of Guise (1515-60) Mary Tudor (1516-58)

EDINTHONS

Three lutenists with the name Edinthon or similar are recorded in the French royal household accounts,¹ beginning with **Guillaume Edinthon** who is cited as lute player for the years 1538, 1539 and 1540 during the reign of François I (r.1515-1547). And it may be more than coincidence that the French noblewoman Mary of Guise married King James V of Scotland in 1538 (see below). Little is known about him except that he was living in the parish of Saint-Jacques-la-Boucherie in Paris in 1538, he had two daughters named Pauline, born in 1539, and Françoise, born in 1540, and was there with his brother Philippe. His friends included the royal organists Jean and Pierre Dugué. Jean Dugué married Perrette Edinthon, presumably a relative of Guillaume, and Jean and Perrette's daughter Lucrèce married Robert Ballard (c.1525-1588), who in 1551 founded the royal publishing house in Paris with his cousin the lutenist Adrian Le Roy (c.1520-1598). Guillaume's court employment overlapped with that of the Mantuan Alberto da Ripa/Albert de Rippe who was appointed 'joueur de lut' in 1528 rising to 'valet de chambre du roi' in 1532 and remaining in post until he died in 1551. De Rippe was probably Guillaume's mentor and teacher and so would have influenced the music played and/or composed, but none attributable to him is known.

¹ Jean-Michel Vaccaro *La Musique de luth en France au XVI^e Siècle* (Paris, CNRS 1981); Christelle Cazaux *La musique à la cour de François I* (Paris, École Nationale des Chartes 2002).

² For the lute solos of Vausmenil and La Grotte, see *Lute News* 107 (October 2013) with addendum in *Lute News* 109 (April 2014).

³ Etienne Jodelle *Les œuvres et meslanges Poétiques I* (Paris, Chesneau 1574), f. 59r-59v: 'Guillaume est une Phœbus, Charles tant de la main Comme du reste imite un Amphion Thebain, Jean Dugué fait me pan Mitou qui l'accompagne Son luth,' note that only first names are given, see <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k719395/f133.item>

⁴ César de Nostredame *Vers funèbres sur la mort de Charles du Verdier Escuyer de monseig. le Duc de Guise. Et tre excellent joueur de luth... par Caesar de Nostradame Gentil-Homme Provençal* (Toulouse Colomiers 1607), p. 13: 'Tu verras Edinthon et ces sonneurs antiques, Dont encor l'univers honore les cantiques, Francisque de Milan, & Bagfar Polonois', see facsimile: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8623327q.image>

⁵ Marin Mersenne *Harmonie Universelle* (Paris, Cramoisy 1636), Première Preface

Charles Edinthon is first recorded in France in 1541 as a musician to Charles II Duke of Orleans (1522-1545), he then appears in the royal household accounts first in 1548, in 1549 as a lute player in Henri II's (r.1547-1559) chamber, and is recorded in the palaces at Blois in 1550 and Amboise in 1555. His tenure overlapped with the last year of Albert de Rippe and the other royal lutenists at this time were Antoine and Jacques Dugué. After Henri II's death Charles served for the brief reign of François II (r.1559-1560), when Mary Stuart was his queen consort (see below) and then for the first few months of the reign of Charles IX (r.1560-1574). Charles Edinthon is recorded in the royal accounts up to 1560 and his final year coincided with the court appointments of the French lutenist Guillaume Le Boulanger alias Vausmenil (1559-1584) and the keyboard player Nicolas de La Grotte (1559-1589).² The poet Etienne Jodelle praised the playing of four great French court musicians in 1559 in his *Epithalamium* published in 1574: the lutenists Charles [Edinthon] and Guillaume [Vausmenil] and the organists Jean Dugué and Mit[h]ou, alias Thomas Champion, who married Marguerite Edinthon, probably Charles' sister.³ In 1607 the historian César de Nostredame also praises 'Edinton' which could mean Charles or Jacques (see below), alongside Francesco da Milano, Valentin Bakfark, Laurenzo Tracetti and Fabritio Dentice.⁴ Decades later, Marin Mersenne includes 'Charles & Iaques Hedinton' as first rate lutenists of the past in his *Harmonie Universelle* published in Paris in 1636.⁵ Fortunately, we probably do have some lute music composed by Charles (see below).

Jacques Edinton, probably Charles' brother, is the third French court lutenist with this name. Royal accounts include an entry for 'Charles edinton Joueur de lutz' in 1575, but as the previous mention of Charles was fifteen years earlier this may be an error for the first appearance of Jacques, who is next recorded in 1580 as a lute player and is last mentioned as lutenist in the King's Chapel in 1587. Thus, he served during the reign of Henri III (r.1574-1589) concurrent with the lutenist Julien Perrichon, employed from 1576 until he died in 1595. As well as Mersenne's praise half a century later, Jacques was also honoured for his playing during his lifetime by the poet Pierre Ronsard (1524-1585) in a sonnet published in his collected works in 1578.⁶ However, the praise seems a little hollow as Ronsard repeated the same sonnet that he had dedicated to Vausmenil in 1565 just changing the name *Au seigneur de Vau[m]enyl* (1565 edition) to *Au Seigneur de Edinton* in the 1578 edition and *A[u] I[acques]. de Edinton* in the 1584 edition. However, further praise was published in 1586 by the German poet Paul Melissus in a Latin epigram to 'Tacobo

Generale au Lecteur, sig. A5v: 'Quant à ceux qui ont excellé, à jōnē du Luth, l'on fait tenir le premier rang à Vosmeny, & à son frere, à Charles & Iaques Hedinton Escossois, au Polonois, & à Julian Perrichon Parisien. Ausquels on peut ajouter les excellens joüeurs de Luth qui vivent maintenant, comme les sieurs Gautier, l'Enclos, Marandé, & plusiers autres, & ceux qui composent de la tablature pour cet instrument, comme Mezangeau, Vincent, &c. - from the Premier preface generale au lecteur'. So Mersenne sees Jacob and Perrichon as successor to the Edinthons and Vausmenil.

http://petrucci.mus.auth.gr/imglinks/usimg/e/ee/IMSLP77422-PMLP156089-MersenneM_HarmUniv_Pt1_01.pdf

⁶ Les Oeuvres de P. de Ronsard gentilhomme Vandomois Redigées en sept tomes A Paris ... 1578, I, 'Les Amours et Sonets', p. 655: 'Quand tu nasquis Edinton, tous les Cieux/ Mirent en toy toute leur harmonie,/ Et dans ton luth leur douceur infinie/ Qui peut charmer les hommes & les Dieux,/ Oyant ton chant sur tous melodieux/Je vy, je meurs, je suis pleine de manie,/Que je deviens & sage & furieux', and see Isidore Silver *Ronsard and the Hellenic Renaissance in France* (Genève, Droz 1981), II part 1.

Edintoni, Regum Fran. Musico'.⁷ Music ascribed to Edinthon in Besard's *Thesaurus Harmonicus* and Philip Hainhofer's lute book, both from 1603, was probably composed by Jacques.

Mersenne refers to 'Charles & Jaques Hedinton Escossois' and between 1575 and 1584 the royal household accounts refer to Jacques, as 'Joueur de luth, d'origine écossaise' so that Charles and Jacques (James) are identified in France as of Scottish origin, and so Guillaume (William) probably was too. But the trail goes cold when looking for them or their family in Scotland. Vaccaro linked the family to the Edington estate near Chirnside in Berwickshire, ruined during the sixteenth century and sold in 1593 (although there are still ruins of Edington Castle today), according to his personal communication with the National Library of Scotland. However, Rob MacKillop and David Smith have both assumed without giving supporting evidence that Edinthon/Hedinton is a corruption of the family name Haddington. If so they were probably from the estate of Haddington Castle (no trace today) in Haddingtonshire (now East Lothian) which is adjacent to Berwickshire,⁸ although I have found no record of family members of either name in the sixteenth century searching the Scottish Peerage or other genealogical websites.

The Edintons were probably talented lute players but not necessarily renown as composers, and it is difficult to judge from the little surviving lute music ascribed to them.⁹ Although the ascriptions do not make it entirely clear which of the Edintons composed it, the dates of the sources is a guide to a reasonable guess. Five pieces attributed to Edinthon were included in the modern edition of 1974,¹⁰ three fantasias in Besard's *Thesaurus Harmonicus* of 1603 and a fantasia and a courante in Philip Hainhofer's lute book dated 1603, all published or copied posthumously. Although the ascriptions lack the first name in Jean-Baptiste Besard's *Thesaurus Harmonicus* of 1603, his list of composers in the preface, copied by Philip Hainhofer in his lute book, reads 'Ioannes Edinthonius Parisiensis' (also listing Julien Perrichon as 'Ioannes' and admitting in the preface that he had difficulties quoting the names of the composers). The two pieces in Hainhofer's lute book are ascribed 'Edinthonius' and 'Joan: Edinthoni', but in all these Joan is probably a misreading of Jacques, who was the most recent member of the family in their memory. Of these five, **E4** is a reworking of a fantasia by Francesco da Milano published fifty years earlier, adding

⁷ Paul Melissus *Schediasmata Poetica secunda edita multo auctiora...*, (Paris, Arnold Sittartum 1586). p. 122: 'Reges Francigem sacros, Edinton, Henricum placidissimo secundem multi carmine, Carolumque nonum; ...'.

⁸ James Porter (ed.) *Defining Strains: The Musical Life of Scots in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, Peter Lang, 2007), pp. 39 & 354-355.

⁹ Douglas Smith *A History of the Lute from Antiquity to the Renaissance* (The Lute Society of America 1992), p. 210, went as far as to say 'One suspects that the French kings would not have been enchanted by the surviving repertory of their servants Edinthon' and of the few pieces 'the courante is quite simple'. However, the fantasias are accomplished lute solos and one wonders if the remainder of the surviving music is representative and accurately copied. Although no match for their predecessor at court, Albert de Rippe, renaissance French lute music at its apogee in the early seventeenth century had not yet developed - see App. 2-7 for other early examples of the emerging courante, and in my opinion the music of the Edintons is comparable to that published at the same time in Paris by Morlaye and Le Roy.

¹⁰ Monique Rollin (ed.) *Oeuvres de Vaumesnil, Edinthon, Perrichon, Rael, Montbryson, La Gratte, Saman, La Barre* (Paris, CNRS 1974) - CLF-Edin.

¹¹ Mathew acknowledges his source on sig. a2r thus: 'I have made some use of the old tuning, as also of Ayres whose Authours I know not: In some of them I have not followed the proper Basse, nor filled them with inward Parts; because I would not make them hard unto the Schollar'; see François-Pierre Goy 'Richard Mathew's Prefatory Epistle and the Content of *The Lutes Apology*' *Lute Society Journal* 31 (1991). pp. 2-7; at the end of the list of contents Mathew also includes the poem: 'Heavens Wisdome seene in Art, Art hath

embellishment and an extended ending which I think improves it. **E1** and **E2** are short and improvisatory in style, whilst **E3** is unique with sophisticated polyphony, beginning with the same theme as the otherwise different phantasia 112 in Mertel's *Hortus Musicalis* of 1615. E1 and E3 from Besard and E5 from Hainhofer use a course below the sixth suggesting Jacques played a lute of seven or more courses unless the diapasons were edited in later. The Englishman Richard Matthew also knew Edintons music as he adapted a fantasia (E2) for 11-course lute in French flat tuning in *The Lutes Apology* of 1642.¹¹ The courante **E5** ascribed to Edinthon is in duple time and very different to triple time courantes with characteristic rhythmic figures and flowing linear or stile brisé divisions as we know them from the early seventeenth century.¹² However, it might be typical of the form when it first developed (together with the gavotte, see Cidrac Rael below) as an additional movement in suites of branles in the mid-sixteenth century - see Appendix below for more.

Two more lute solos (**E6** & **E7**) ascribed *Hdinton/dinton* together with a section of indeterminate length headed *Chansones de hedinton*, **E8** & **E9** here the first two, are found in a manuscript now at Uppsala University (S-Uu instr.mus. hs.412),¹³ which was edited in a complete modern edition in 1989,¹⁴ although the pieces ascribed Hedinton were not discussed in detail. The manuscript dates from the 1550s and 1560s which would suggest that these ascriptions refer to Charles Edinthon (royal appointment 1548-1560?). All four pieces (E6-9) share a characteristic form of embellishment rare in other sources in which rapid runs are fingered down from the fifth fret on a single string, usually the second course (see E6 bar 2, E7 bar 20, E8 bar 4 and E9 bar 21, 23, 25-27 and 29). This is more than a notational convention as it involves an unusual movement of the left hand up and down the lute neck to finger them and might just be a characteristic of Edintons style of composition/performance. Furthermore, these embellished figures are not only in the few pieces ascribed to Hedinton but many elsewhere in the same manuscript,¹⁵ suggesting much of the anonymous music could possibly also have been composed by him. Another feature of the music ascribed to Hedinton is the use of cross relations which could reflect the influence of Albert de Rippe whose music is also characterised by similar dissonances. Surprisingly, the hand that copied most of the manuscript, as well as three other

no Foe, But of such Fooles, Whose Arts they do not know. My nimble fingers Orpheus imitate, My heart is Gods, to him 'tis consecrate'.

¹² A selection of renaissance lute music of **Gauthier** was in *Lute News* 42 (June 1997), and collected renaissance lute music of **Julien Perrichon** in *Lute News* 89 (April 2009), **Desponts** in *Lute News* 99 (October 2011), **René Saman** in *Lute News* 102 (July 2012), **Victor Montbuisson** in *Lute News* 112 (December 2014), **Charles Bocquet** in *Lute News* 117 (April 2016), **Mercury d'Orleans** & (renaissance music of) **René Mesangeau** in *Lute News* 120 (December 2016), miscellaneous composers in *Lute News* 107 (October 2013) & 128 (December 2018) and **Jacob Reis** - see below.

¹³ Online facsimile: <http://www.alvin-portal.org/alvin/view.jsp?pid=alvin-record%3A268142&dswid=5299>

The manuscript includes 74 lute solos and the heading *Chansones de hedinton* is written above no. 28 with no indication how many of the following 47 it refers to (but see fn 15 below). Vaccaro included only the first two as by Edinthon, and only these have been included here.

¹⁴ Jean-Michel and Nathalie Vaccaro (ed.) *Oeuvres pour le luth de Guillaume Morlaye* vol. II (Paris, CNRS 1989).

¹⁵ There are 5 (1 ascribed to [He]dinton, E6), before the heading *Chansones de hedinton* on f. 12r, then 24 out of 31 pieces within ff. 12r-27v (the first two E8 & E9), and then none of the 15 pieces from f. 28r to the end of the manuscript (f. 36v), except for one ascribed H[el]dinton (E7). The majority of anonymous pieces with the figuration are within ff. 12r-27v with a few outliers, suggesting that f. 27v is the end of the *Chansones de hedinton* and all 24 pieces within it were composed/arranged by Hedinton if the pattern of figuration can be used to identify his music.

related tablature books in Uppsala,¹⁶ was convincingly shown by Jean-Michel Vaccaro to be that of Guillaume Morlaye.¹⁷ However, the unique figuration seems unlikely to be the style of Morlaye as copyist, because it is quite unlike anything in the published lute books of his own music. Coincidentally, another of the examples of the figuration known to me is the setting of *Gaillarda la Royne d'Escosse* in Phalese's *Theatrum Musicum*, Louvain 1568 (see Q2 below).¹⁸ It is in fact an arrangement of the Italian song *Val cerca*, and none of the many other settings use this figuration (see below and the *Lutezine* accompanying this *Lute News*). This is a galliard presumably dedicated to Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots and also Queen regent of France 1559-1560, and to quote John Ward 'Were I mischief bent',¹⁹ I would suggest that it would make sense if Charles Edinthon composed/arranged it for his compatriot and queen, Mary Stuart, and then Phalèse published it without attribution.

The four lute solos included here from the Uppsala manuscript are: **E6**, an incomplete setting of Arcadelt's chanson *Soupirs ardans, parcelles se mon ame*, the only lute setting in C minor, the other cognates including an anonymous setting in the same Uppsala manuscript are in D minor. **E7** is a setting of Psalm 93 'Revenge Moy, Pren la Querelle', and **E8 & E9**, the first two in the section of the manuscript headed *Chansons de hedinton*, are both on the Italian ground known as the romanesca, with a sequence of eight bars of bass notes/chords in scale degrees III-VII-i-V-III-VII-i/V-i.

| | |
|---|-------|
| E1. Besard 1603, f. 18r <i>Fantasia eiusdem [Edinthonij Galli]</i> | p. 1 |
| - CLF-Edin 2 | |
| E2. D-W Guelf. 18.7 III, f. 209v <i>Phantasia Joan: Edinthonij</i> | 4 |
| - CLF-Edin 4 | |
| cf. Richard Mathew <i>The Lutes Apology</i> 1652, pp. 40-41 31 <i>A Preludium. The unwinding of a pin, and the winding it up againe</i> - arranged for lute in French flat tuning (dedff) | |
| E3. Besard 1603, ff. 23v-24r <i>Fantasia Edinthonij</i> - CLF-Edin 3 | 4-5 |
| E4. Besard 1603, ff. 17v-18r <i>Fantasia Edinthonij Galli</i> | 6-7 |
| - CLF-Edin 1; Ness app 16; cf. Ness 21 ²⁰ | |
| E5. D-W Guelf. 18.8 XII, f. 291v <i>Courante Edinthonius</i> | 8 |
| - CLF-Edin 5 | |
| E6. S-Uu 412, f. 9v <i>Soupirs ardens par dinton</i> | 8 |
| (bars 1-17 only) ²¹ - CLFMorlaye II chanson 4 | |
| model: ²² <i>Soupirs ardans, parcelles se mon ame</i> Arcadelt RISM 1559 ⁸ | |
| See MN8b in the <i>Lutezine</i> for Melchior Neusidler's setting | |
| E7. S-Uu 412, f. 34r <i>Reueng[e] Hdinton</i> - CLFMorlaye II psaume 1 | 9 |
| cf. Le Roy III 1552, ff. 14v-15r <i>Reuenge (moy prens la querelle)</i> [header: <i>Ders Ders Mens Ad Te. Pseaul. XLIII</i>] - voice and lute | |
| E8. S-Uu 412, ff. 12r-12v <i>Chansone de hedinton - Romaine</i> - CLFMorlaye II variations 2[a] | 10-11 |
| E9. S-Uu 412, ff. 12-v13r <i>[Chansone de hedinton]</i> untitled (Romaine) - CLFMorlaye II variations 2[b] | 12 |

MUSIC FOR QUEEN MARY

James Stewart/Stuart (1512-1542) became King James V of Scotland before he was a year old and in 1538 he married the French noblewoman **Mary of Guise** (1515-1560), daughter of Claude of Lorraine (1496-1550) first Duke of Guise (1528) and Antoinette de Bourbon (1494-1583) who were prominent

¹⁶ S-Uu Vok.mus.hs.76b, and Vok.mus.hs 76c and Vok.mus.hs.87 'Codex carminum Gallicorum'.

¹⁷ Morlaye was a pupil of Albert de Rippe and publisher in Paris during the 1550s at least three of a series of six volumes of de Rippe's music as well as four lute books and three or four for guitar ostensibly of his own music. The implications of the Uppsala MS hs.412 being copied by Morlaye are that he probably lived longer than previously thought (1558 when he disappears from the records), and that he may have spent time in Sweden possibly as a protestant in exile.

¹⁸ The only other examples that I have found are in the *diminuée* to two *Pauane* in Adrian Le Roy *Premier Livre de Tablature de Luth* (Paris 1551), once on f. 21v and three times on ff. 25v-26r.

¹⁹ In Ward's article in fn 25 below, p. 360.

²⁰ Casteliono 1536, ff. 25r-25v *Fantasia del diuino Fran. Da Milano* - edited for Franceso series *Lute News* 74 (July 2005); Phalèse IIII 1546, sigs. bb3v-bb4v

members of the French court, so beginning a link between the royal households of Scotland and France. In fact, 1538 is also the year the Scottish lutenist Guillaume Edinthon appears in the French royal household accounts (see above), so one wonders whether his appointment was possible through this royal connection. Mary of Guise was Queen consort of Scotland for four years until her husband James V died in 1542. Their daughter **Mary Stuart** (1542-1587) was born the year he died and so she became queen of Scotland (Mary Queen of Scots) when only 6 days old, her Mother Mary of Guise acting as regent during young Mary's infancy. However, from 1548 onwards Mary Stuart was brought up in France marrying the dauphin (eldest son of the king of France) prince Francis in 1558 when he was fourteen and she became queen consort when he ascended the French throne as Francis II in 1559. However, he died the next year from complications of an ear infection and Mary returned to Scotland in 1561. She married her cousin Henry Stuart Lord Darnley in 1565 and their son James was born in 1566 becoming James VI of Scotland when Mary abdicated in 1567 and then James I of England in 1603. Mary Stuart was at the French court for over a decade beginning in the final years of Albert de Rippe the lutenist to Henri II, and her presence at court almost exactly overlapped with the tenure at the French court (1548-1560) of her Scottish compatriot, the lutenist Charles Edinthon (see above). Another Mary to consider as dedicatee of lute music for Queen Mary is **Mary Tudor** (1516-1558 - near exact contemporary of Mary of Guise) who was related to Mary Stewart, as Henry VII (1457-1509) of England was grandfather of the former and great grandfather of the latter. As Henry VIII's daughter Mary Tudor reigned as Queen Mary I of England 1553-1558.

Four lute solos edited here are associated with one of other of the three Marys. **Q1** is a galliard for the Queen of Scots in the Marsh lute book copied in the 1580s and is most likely to be for Mary Stuart (Queen of Scots 1542-1567), rather than her mother Mary of Guise (Queen consort of Scotland 1538-1542). After her years in France and then returning to Scotland Mary Stuart had sought refuge in England in 1568, but as a catholic she was perceived as a threat by the protestant Elizabeth I and so was detained in various castles and manor houses for nearly twenty years before her execution for treason in 1587.

The first strain of the galliard quotes the tune of the popular Spanish romance *Conde claros* which might have symbolised her allegiance to Catholic Spain. *Conde claros* is known from extended sets of variations for vihuela in the prints published by Narvaez, Mudarra, Pisador and Valderrabano, and one vihuela manuscript as well as in settings for lute or gittern in English manuscripts and in cittern and guitar prints published by Guillaume Morlaye in Paris and a lute duet based on Valderrabano's vihuela solos published by Pierre Phalèse in Antwerp. So vihuela music could have been

Fantasia da Francesco da Milano; Gerle 1552, sigs. F4v-G2r *Das 21 Preambet; Scotto diversi* 1563, pp. 2-3 *Fantasia del diuino F. da Milano*; Phalèse 1573, ff. 6v-7v *Fantasia da Francesco da Milano*; NL-DHnm Kluis A 20 (Siena), ff. 3v-4r untitled. *Fantasia E4/Ness 21* is also quoted in Ness 27: bars 44/5-49 of E4 = bars 38-47 of Ness 27; bars 44/5-49/7 of E4 = bars 120/1-130/2 of Valderrabano 1547, ff. 66v-67r *Fantasia* [otherwise different].

²¹ Cognates in D minor: S-Uu 412, ff. 29v-30r *Souspres ardans*; S-Uu 87, f. 34r *Soupirs ardans l'Arcadelt*; Le Roy *Sixiesme Livre de Luth* 1559, ff. 3r-4v *Soupirs ardans* [index: *Aracadelt*]; Phalèse 1568, f. 43v *Soupirs ardans* [header: *Aracadelt*]. Cognates in F minor: D-Mbs 266, ff. 7v-8r *Sous spirs ardans*; D-Mbs 266, f. 104v *Sou sprardans*; Neusidler I 1566, pp. 14-15 *Suspirs ardans* = Phalèse & Bellère 1571, f. 42v *Soupirs ardans* = Drusina/Neusidler 1573, sigs. C3v-C4r *Suspir ardans*.

²² See Albert Seay *Jacobi Arcadelt Opera Omnia* CMM 31 (American Institute of Musicology 1968) viii no. 59.

known in England²³ and France²⁴ through their diplomatic connections with Spain,²⁵ or indirectly via the Spanish colonies in The Netherlands (ruled by Spain from 1482). However, another alternative is transmission via Italy via Spanish rule of the Kingdom of Naples since 1504 and the Spanish acquisition of the Dukedom of Milan from 1556. Giovanni Pacalono from Padua copied a setting of Conde claros into his autograph manuscript dated 1565 (Castelfranco Venuto manuscript),²⁶ and quite remarkably an eyewitness account by the Spanish organist and theorist Francisco Salinas survives that relates that he heard Francesco da Milano improvise on the conde claros tenor at a performance in the presence of Pope Paul III in Rome in 1538.²⁷

One setting in an English sources of Conde claros variations is edited here (**C1**) and all the other settings I know are in the accompanying *Lutezine*. During editing I noticed a notational peculiarity that might shed some light on the transmission of Conde claros to England. It is based on a simple ground of either four bars of scale degrees IV-IV-IV-I in triple time (4x3) or six bars of scale degrees of IV-IV-IV-VII-VII-I in duple time (6x2) so both totalling twelve minimis. This could reflect two distinct ways of writing the music down after hearing it played. However, it might be significant that all the sources of Spanish origin are notated in the 6x2 form and all the English sources and the one Italian source are written in 4x3 form, whereas the sources from France and The Netherlands are a mixture of the two suggesting multiple influences. This division of forms argues against transmission to England directly from Spain, and it is more likely to have come via France or the The Netherlands and even raises the possibility that it came via Italy.

Q2 is a galliard widely known by a variety of titles, but only one lute solo and three for cittern call it *Gaillarda la Royne d'Escosse* (Queen of Scotland). These are all in prints of Phalèse in Antwerp and all but one from the 1560s. The same title is also used for a remote cognate for lute quartet in the Thysius lute book. The dedicatee is almost certainly Mary Stuart, known on the continent through her ten or so years in France. The setting edited here is unique and shares a peculiarity of figuration linking it with the music of Charles Edinton - see above where I speculated that he may even have arranged it for his compatriot and queen Mary Stuart. I say arranged, because the same music was popular across Europe where it was known by the titles *Wij sal mij troetelen* after a Dutch song and *Valvera* after an Italian street song, as well as *Milanoise* and *Piemontoise*, dance types from Milan and Piedmont near Turin. These latter three titles suggest an Italian origin for this tune - one is edited here (**V1**) and all the other settings that I know are in the accompanying *Lutezine*.

Q3 *Queene Maries Dumpe* is based on the passamezzo antico ground (scale degrees i VII i V III VII i/V i) and is found in

²³ Other vihuela music in English sources: GB-NO Mi LM16 (Willoughby), ff. 1v-2r *ffantaci de narboyes* = Narvaez *Dolphin de musica* 1538, ff. 27r-28v *Fantasia*; US-NHub osborn 13, ff. 10r-11v *the base of spayne* = Narvaez 1538, ff. 95v-97v *Baxa de contrapunto*.

²⁴ Other vihuela music in French and Netherlands sources: three fantasias from Narvaez 1538 in Guillaume Morlaye *Premier Livre de Tabulature de Lut* 1552, eight fantasias from Narvaez 1538 in Phalèse *Des Chansons Livre Deuxieme* (Louvain 1546), and three fantasias from Valderrabano *Libro de Musica - Siba de sirenas* 1547 in Phalèse *Hortus Musarum* 1552.

²⁵ John M. Ward 'Spanish Musicians in Sixteenth-Century England' in: Gustave Reese and Robert Snow (eds) *Essays in Musicology in Honor of Dragon Plamenac* (Pittsburg 1969) - thank you to John Griffiths for a copy as well as sharing his thoughts which informed my understanding of this issue; see also section on distribution in John Griffiths 'Printing the art of Orpheus: vihuela tablatures in sixteenth-century Spain' in: Iain Fenlon & Tess Knighton (eds.) *Early Music Printing and Publishing in the Iberian World* (Kassel, Edition Reichenberger 2006), pp. 181-214. The Spanish Pavan will not be

several sources from the 1580s and so, presuming this is a 'dolfull' rather than 'merry' dump,²⁸ could have commemorated any of the tragic circumstances in the lives of either of the three Marys here. It may have been known as early as the 1550s if the same music was intended for the title *ye quenes dumpe* in the tune list on the flyleaf of a copy of the book on hunting *The Maister of the Game* written by Edward Duke of York c.1406-13 (GB-Lbl Sloane 2329). A remote cognate for the music is also found untitled in the lute section of Roy. App. 58, from the late 1550s, and so Queen Mary I of England is the most likely candidate, although Mary of Guise is also a possibility. The setting here, reconstructed from the damaged pages of the fragmentary lute book Add.2764(2) from the 1580s includes more melodic interest than the other settings that seem to be grounds lacking an upper voice. The other versions are edited in the accompanying *Lutezine*.²⁹

Q4 is also titled *Queene Maries Dumpe* but is found in sources copied in the seventeenth century for lyra viol and two cognates for keyboard. However, the lyra viol setting by Richard Sumarte in the Manchester Gamba Book is in renaissance lute tuning and although different to Q3, is a set of three variations on the romanesca ground (as are E8 & E9 above) and as I can find no contemporary Queen Marys and it is probably a lyra viol arrangement of music from the sixteenth century dedicated to either of the Marys above.

Q1. IRL-Dm Z3.2.13 (Marsh), p. 61 *Gally: queen Scottes* p. 2
IRL-Dtc 408 II, pp. 108-109 *A galliard caled phillida*

C1. GB-Cu Dd.5.78.3, ff. 73v-74r untitled (Conde claros) 18-19

Spanish cognates: Narvaez 1538, ff. 82r-86r *Conde claros del sexto tono*; Mudarra 1546, ff. 15v-16v *Conde Claros*; Pisador 1552, ff. 1r-2v *Yesto primero es vn Conde claros con ciertas diferencias parolas principiantes y para los que mas saben*; Valderrabano 1547, ff. 97v-99v *las diferencias sobre el tenor del co[n]de claros*; Valderrabano 1547, ff. 99v-102v *Conde claros [otras diferentes duiferentias]*; E-SIM Legato 394 folio 130, leaf A f. 1v, *Contrapunte sobre el Conde Claro*; cf. Henestrosa 1557, f. 65v *Cinco diferencias sobre conde Claros. glosa - keyboard*. English: GB-NO Mi LM 16, ff. 38-39v *Quande claro Quande clare*; IRL-Dm Z3.2.13, pp. 232-233 untitled; US-NHub osborn 13, ff. 45v-46r *quando claro - gittern*. French/Netherlands: Morlaye I 1552, ff. 24v-25v *Conte clare - guitar*; Morlaye II 1553, f. 29r *Conteclare - guitar*; Morlaye II 1553, ff. 29v-30r *Conte clare - guitar*; Morlaye IV 1552, ff. 18v-19r *Contredclare a corde aualee - guitar*; Morlaye IV 1552, f. 27v *Contredclare [Ce qui sensuit, est pour iouer sus la Cistre] - cittern*; Phalèse 1552, pp. 102-103 *Conde claros Superius - Conde claros Tenor - lute duet*. Italian: I-CFVd, f. 55v *Conde claros*.

Q2. Phalèse 1568, f. 82r *Gaillarda la Royne d'Escosse* 3

cittern: Viaera 1564,³⁰ f. 33 *Gaiarda de la Royne de Eschoses*; Vreedman 1569, f. 44v *Gaiarda la royne d'Escosse*; Phalèse & Bellère 1582, f. 63v *Gaiillarde de la Royne d'Ecosse*. cf. **lute quartet:** NL-Lu 1666, f. 13v (*Galliard de Royne d'escosse*) *Bassus* - lute I in A, f. 14r (*Galliard de Royne d'escosse*) *Contraten[or]* - lute II in G, f. 13v *Gallarde de Royne d'escosse Sup[eriu]s* - lute III in E, f. 14r (*Galliard de Royne d'escosse*) *Tenor* - lute III in D.

considered here as it is from the late sixteenth century and probably of Italian origin - see Diana Poulton *The Lute Society Journal* 3 (1961), pp. 5-16.

²⁶ Which also includes two vihuela fantasias from Luis Milan's *El Maestro* published in Valencia in 1536: I-CFVd w.s., ff. 29v-30r *fantasia. spagnola. dolce et. alegra* = Milan 1536, sigs. E2v-E4r *fantasia*; I-CFVd w.s., f. 35r *Fantasia spagnuola* = Milan 1536, sigs. E4r-E5v *Esta presente fantasia*.

²⁷ 'Super quem tenorem ego Romae modulariter audiri coram Paulo 3. Pont. Max. Franciscum Medionalensem, qui fuit sui temporis Citharoedorum facile princeps, & mihi valde familiaris' accompanying the musical incipit of Conde Claros in Francisco Salinas' musical treatise *Di musica libri septem* (Salamanca 1577) VI p. 342.

²⁸ Christopher Goodwin, 'What is a dump?' *The Journal of The Lute Society* xlii (2002) 47-53.

²⁹ All six sources were also edited for Michael Fink *Down in the Dumps: The Collected English Dumps* (LGV Publishing Inc. 2008).

³⁰ Thank you to Andrew Hartig for a copy of Viaera 1564.

V1. F-LYm 6244, ff. 12v-13r *Val cerca*

17

cognates in G minor: CH-Bu F-IX.70, p. 301 XVI. *Galliarda*; CZ-Pu XXIII.F.174, f. 47r ii *Gagliarda*; CZ-Pu XXIII.F.174, f. 48r *Gagliarda*; D-B 40141, f. 93v *Woll auff Mein Junges Herz*; DK-Kk Thott 841,4^o, f. 87v 164 *Woll auff mein junges hertz* *Galliarda* - voice and lute; DK-Kk Thott 841,4^o, f. 108v *Galliarda Woll auff mein junges hertz*; D-Z 115.3, f. 33r untitled; E-SIM Legato 394 folio 130, leaf B, f. 1r *la moreda*; I-CFVd, f. 108r *Val cerca Gagliarda* - *Questa gagliarda Linto Solo*; PL-Kj W 510, f. 34v *Gagliarda*; NL-Lu 1666, f. 24r-24v untitled; DK-Kk Thott 841,4^o, f. 51av 93. *Wer soll mich Trauteler*; S-Su instr.mus.hs.412, ff. 17v-18r *Milanoise*; S-Su instr.mus.hs.412, f. 24v *C'est toy*; Phalèse IV 1546, sigs. gg2v-gg3r *Gagliarda III*; = Milano & Borrono II 1546, f. 6v *Saltarello terza detto la Barbarino*; = Phalèse & Bellère IV 1573, sigs. gg2v-gg3r *Gagliarda III*; Morlaye II 1558, f. 22r *Gaillarde piemontaise*; Phalèse 1563, f. 61r *Galliarde*; Le Roy 1568, ff. 36v-37r *The thirde Milanoise*; Phalèse 1568, f. 85v *Gaill Wij sal mij troetelen*; Waisel 1573, sig. L4v 41 *Val cerca*. *Gagliarda*; Waisel 1592, sig. F2v 6. *Gagliarda*. **A minor:** CH-Bu F.IX.70, p. 309 XXXI *Galliarda*; D-DEI BB 12150, f. f. 68r *Gagliard*; PL-Kj 40032, p. 314 *Milanese*; Jobin 1573, sigs. D4r-D4v *Gagliarde*; Barbetta 1585, pp. 44-45 *Saltarello 4. detto O la val cerca*; **C minor:** D-SI G.I.4/I, f. 9v *Val cercha* - *Item. lute quartet:* NL-Lu 1666, f. 25r ii *Bassus. Wie sal mijn troetelen* - lute I in A, f. 25v ii *Contratenor* (*Wie sal mein troetelen*) - lute II in G, f. 24v *Wie sal mein troetelen. Sups* - lute III in E, f. 25v i *Wie sal mein troetelen. Tenor* - lute III in D; **cittern:** Vreedman 1568, f. 50v *Gaill Wij sal mij troetelen*; Phalèse & Bellère 1570, f. 48r *Quatrieme milanoise*. **guitar:** Phalèse & Bellère 1570, f. 67r *Troisieme gaillarde milanoise*.

Q3. GB-Cu Add.2764(2), ff. 1r-2r *Queene Maries Dump* pp. 14-15

IRL-Dtc 408/I, pp. 4-5 *Queene Maries Dump*
IRL-Dtc 410/I (Dallis), pp. 192-193 untitled
US-NH osborn 13, f. 42v-43r *pavana* - guitar
US-Ws V.b.280, f. 1r *queene Maries dump*
cf. GB-Lbl Roy.App.58 (c.1550s), f. 54v untitled

GB-Lbl Sloane 2329 (c.1550s), f. 2v *ye quenes dump* - music lacking

Q4. GB-Mp BRm 832 Vu 51, p. 11 *Queene Maries Dump* R[ichard].

S[umarte] - lyra viol (ffff) 16
F-Pn Rés.1186, f. 93r *Q: M: Dump* - keyboard
US-NYp Drexel 5609, p. 156 *Q. M. Dump* - keyboard

CIDRAC RAEL / SYDRACH RAHEL

Cidrac Rael/Sidrach Rahel was a French court composer from the early seventeenth century. He composed vocal music³¹ but two lutes solos ascribed to him are known although he is nowhere recorded as a lutenist. The first is a bransle de la gavotte 'à Cidrac Rael Biturcenti composit' in Besard's *Thesaurus Harmonicus*, that is, composed by Cidrac Rael from Bourges - however, the several anonymous cognates versions suggest he arranged an existing dance. In 1607 he is recorded as living in Bourges in central France before moving to Paris by 1610 where he was employed first by François de Bourbon, Prince de Conti (1558-1614), and after the prince died, as a musician to the French King Louis XIII (r.1610-1643), dying himself in 1626.³² Bransles were country dances adopted at the French court as 'suite de bransles' with a sequence of five comprising premier bransle, bransle gay, bransle de Poictou, bransle double de Poictou and



³¹ British Library manuscript Royal Appendix 64 is a set of 153 canons dedicated to James I for voice signed Sydrach Rahel - signature illustrated here - presumably the same composer as here - online facsimile: http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Royal_Appendix_M_S_64

³² See introductions to same edition as in fn 10 and biography of Rael by François-Pierre Goy in the facsimile edition of Lord Herbert of Cherbury's Lute Book (Albury, Lute Society Facsimile Editions 2019), I p. 23.

³³ Richard Semmens 'Branles, Gavottes and Contredances in the Later Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries' *Dance Research: The Journal of the Society for Dance Research* 15/2 (1997), pp. 35-62.

³⁴ There are several double attributions of music to Diomedes and others some transposed and one wonders if it was Diomedes who appropriated the music of others for his own use rather than having composed them: **1.** R1 here; **2.** GB-Cfm 689, f. 80r *Fantasia Sr Diomedes* = Molinaro 1599, pp. 85-86 *Fantasia XV* [but not explicitly attributed to him]; **3.** D-Hs ND VI 3238, p. 42-43 *Dio: Fantasia* = GB-Cfm 689, ff. 74v-75r *Fantasia Diomedes* = I-Gu M.VIII.24, ff. 177v-178r *Fantasia P[etrus]. Polonus?* *Konopackyl*; **4.** GB-Cfm 689, f. 38r *Fantasia Diomedes* = Molinaro 1599, pp. 125-126 *Fantasia XXV* [index]:

cinquiesme or bransle de Montirandé, and Mersenne's *Harmonie Universelle* (Paris 1636) describes the bransle de gavotte as the sixth dance in a suite, before the gavotte developed into the independent dance found in baroque suites.³³ This example by Rael is not a simple rustic dance but three cleverly constructed variations on the tune of one. The second lute solo by him is an accomplished polyphonic fantasia ascribed *Cydrac Rael* in Philip Hainhofer's lute book although the same music set a tone higher bears the name Diomedes in Lord Herbert of Cherbury's lute book. There are six fantasias doubly ascribed to both Diomedes and another composer,³⁴ casting the suspicion that he is the culprit of plagiarism. This fantasia is not typical of Diomedes' other fantasias and is more likely to have been composed by Rael, but it is possible Diomedes made a lute arrangement of a fantasia composed by Rael for other musical forces.

R1. D-W Guelf. 18.7, ff. 202v-203v *Phantasia Cydrac Rael* 20-21
cf. GB-Cfm Mus.689, ff. 59v-60r *Fantasia Diomedes* - a tone lower

R2. Besard 1603, f. 146r *Branle de la gavotte alterius toni à Cidrac Rael Biturcenti* [of Bourges] *composit* 22
PL-Kj Mus.40143, ff. 34r-34v *Gavotte Ao 1601 3 Martij*
Besard 1603, f. 145v *Branle de la gavotte*
cognates in corde avalee tuning (fehfn):

CZ-Pnm IV.G.18, ff. 157v-158r *Branle de la Gavotte*
Besard 1603, ff. 148r-148v *Branle de la gavotte a. C[orde]. A[ualee].* -
Ripressa ad superiorem choream

JACOB REIS - MISCELLANEOUS MUSIC PART I

This supplement continues the series of the complete lute music of another French court lutenist but one of Polish origin. Jacob Reis/Polak/Polonois (c.1550-1605) was royal lutenist from 1588 or earlier, in which case he might have played alongside Jacques Edinthon. Jacob died in 1605 and so serving during the reigns of both Kings Henri III (r.1574-1589) and Henri IV (r.1589-1610).³⁵ The seven pieces here of the fifty or so ascribed to him are a sarabande, a ballet, four galliards, and a bransle of doubtful attribution.³⁶

A 'wild' dance popular in the Spanish colonies called *zarabanda* (sarabande) is first mentioned in 1539 and may have originated in Mexico or Guatemala. It was considered indecent and banned in Spain in 1583 but became popular in Italy and was then adopted as a court dance in France in the seventeenth century. A huge number are known for lute in transitional and baroque tunings, but Jacob's is one of only a few for renaissance lute. Sarabandes are in triple time and incorporate hemiolas and dissonant harmony as seen in Jacobs' here (**J1**), which is a set of eight variations on a sixteen bar strain, except that four bars seem to be missing from the beginning of the first statement. According to the eighteenth-century historian Henri Sauval, Jacob was particularly famous for his galliards,³⁷ so it is a pity that we only have the music

Giovanni Batista dalla Gostenda; **5.** D-W Guelf. 18.7/III, ff. 204v-205v *Phantasia Diomedes* = Dorico 1546, sigs. A3v-A4v *Fantasia Francesca da Milano - Ness 33*; **6.** Besard 1603, f. 29v *Fantasia Diomedis* = PL-Kj 40032, ff. 76v-77r *Fantasia di Lorenzino*.

³⁵ The series of music by Jacob Polak so far comprises a selection of eight items in *Lute News* 34 (May 1995); *En me revenant/Bransle de Saint. Nicolas* in the *Lutezine* to *Lute News* 115 (October 2015); *Un jeune fillette* in the *Lutezine* to *Lute News* 119 (October 2016); eight courantes and eight voltes in *Lute News* 123 (October 2017); 9 preludes and 10 fantasias in *Lute News* 126 (July 2018); and another 6 preludes and 9 fantasias in *Lute News* 130 (July 2019).

³⁶ Recordings of the items here: Paul O'Dette *Lord Herbert of Cherbury's Lute Book* (Harmonia Mundi 907068, 1992): J1, J6; Paul Kieffer *Jacques Le Pollonois: Pièces de Luth* (Aevitas AE-12157, 2015): J1, 3-5 & 6; Martin Eastwell *Dark Lord* (Music & Media MMC117, 2018): J1; Joachim Held *Polish Lute Music* (Hanssler classic CD HC19034, 2019): J2.

³⁷ H Sauval *Histoire et recherches des antiquités de la ville de Paris* (Paris 1724), p. 322: 'Les Musiciens sont grand cas de ses Gaillards, qui pour lors étoient à la mode; aussi sont-elles les meilleures de ce tems-là'. Online facsimile at Gallica: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k1040561p.image>

for four ascribed to him (J2-5) although they are enough to show his great skill in composing them. Ballet, a title used for single compositions although also referring to whole entertainments can be called bransle or allemandes in concordant sources, are duple time dances and only one (J6) is known attributed to Jacob. The branle here (J7) is titled *Branle 6* with the page header *Branle d. S. Nicola. p. Sig. Jacobum. 6* in Fuhrmann's *Testudo Gallo-Germanica* and Jacob's branle on the previous page is *Branle 5* with the page header *Branle d. S. Nicola. [a.k.a. En me revenant] p. Sig. Jacobum. 5* which was edited earlier in this series. Branle 6 is not a setting of *En me revenant* and thus the header has the wrong title and so may have been duplicated from the previous page in error by the typesetter (although the number was changed from 5 to 6) casting doubt on the ascription to Jacob. It is also one of the most corrupt pieces in Fuhrmann's print, and I have adopted the reconstruction in Piotr Pozniak's edition,³⁸ although still not entirely satisfactory.

| | |
|---|----------------------------|
| J1. GB-Cfm 689, f. 84v-85r <i>Sarabande Jacob</i> - JacobP p. 140 | pp. 24-25 |
| J2. I-Coc 1.1.20, ff. 25v-27r <i>Gagliarda</i> - JacobP p. 186 Besard 1617, sig. L2v i 37 <i>Gagliarda del Signor Jacob già chiamata il Polloneze</i> ³⁹ - JacobP p. 112 = CH-Bfenyves Mus. Ms., f. 40v <i>gia chiamata il Poloneze</i> : GB-HAdolmetsch II.B.1, ff. 71v-73r <i>Gagliarde</i> ; I-Coc 1.1.20, ff. 21r-22r <i>Gagliarda</i> ; Hove 1601, f. 98v <i>Galiarda</i> - HoveB ⁴⁰ no 370 | 26-27 |
| J3. Besard 1617, sig. L2v ii 37 <i>gagliarda eiusdem authoris</i> [Jacob] - JacobP p. 114 | 27 |
| J4. GB-Cfm 689, f. 46r <i>Gagliarda Jacob</i> - JacobP p. 115 J5. GB-Cfm 689, f. 53r <i>Gall: Pollonois</i> - JacobP p. 117 J6. GB-Cfm 689, f. 18v ii <i>Balet Jacob</i> - JacobP p. 144 J7. Fuhrmann 1615, p. 142 <i>Branle 6</i> . [header: <i>Branle d. S. Nicola. p. Sig. Jacobum. 6</i>] - JacobP p. 174 | 28-29 30 29 30-31 |

APPENDICES

The first item (**App 1a**) in this supplement is an anonymous *bransle d'escosse* (that is, Scottish, although it does not sound it) from the Uppsala manuscript described above. It is the only lute setting of a bransle d'Escosse,⁴¹ although cognates include settings for guiterne in Phalèse & Bellère *Selectissima Elegansissima in Guiterna Ludenda* (Antwerp 1570), and for cittern (**App 1b**) in Le Roy *Second Livre de Cistre* (Paris 1564)⁴² and Phalèse & Bellère *Hortulus Citharae* (Antwerp 1570), both called *Passepied* - or passing of the feet referring to a type of branle adopted by the French court.

Suites of *Branle d'escosse* for instrumental ensemble were published in Paris in the 1550s and later in Louvain,⁴³ so that Scottish bransles were a type of dance and might have been

introduced at the time of the presence in France (1548-1560) of Mary Stuart Royne d'Escosse and her entourage of attendants, possibly even composed by her musicians from Scotland. Arbeau *Orchesographie* (Paris 1589), ff. 80r-81r includes choreography for 'Bransle d'Escosse', describing them as 'a suite of a number of different movements' that were 'in vogue about twenty years ago' [my translation] (that is c.1569). The description is accompanied by the melody for the first two of a suite in mensural notation as *Air du premier/second branle d'Escosse*.

The other items in this appendix are the earliest examples I can find of lute settings of courantes, which occur in either duple or triple time. The title courante is first seen appended to other dances such as *Branle/Branle courant* or *Allemande courante* in settings for instrumental ensemble or cittern, and so courantes seem first to have been one of a suite of branles or other dances.⁴⁴ The earliest example for lute is titled *Currendo* and is in duple time (**App 2**), published by Pierre Phalèse in Louvain in 1549, in the lute book *Carminum Quae Chely vel testudine canunter*, the third revised edition of his *Livre Premier* of 1545. There are none in the prints of Guillaume Morlaye or Adrian Le Roy and the next courantes for lute that I can find are three in duple time (**App 3,4,7**) and one in triple time (**App 6**) in Emmanuel Adriaenssen *Pratum Musicum* of 1584, retained in the revised edition of 1600, although he included none in his *Pratum Musicum Norvae* of 1592.⁴⁵ The first appearance of a courante in manuscript is a more typical example found in the German tablature lute book of Philip Agricola of Tübingen begun in 1580, where it is called *Courrente nouvelle* (**App 5**), suggesting the form was developing into something new!

| | |
|---|------|
| App 1a. S-Uu instr.mus.412, f. 30v <i>Premier branle d'escosse</i> CLFMorlaye II 49 | p. 1 |
| App 1b. Le Roy 1564, f. 23r <i>Passepied</i> - diatonic cittern [index: <i>Branle d'Escosse</i>] Phalèse & Bellère 1570, f. 50v <i>Passe pied</i> - diatonic cittern Phalèse 1570, f. 76v <i>Branle d'escose</i> - guitar cf. Du Terte 1557, f. 18v <i>Premier Branle d'Escosse</i> - instr. ens. à4 Arbeau 1589, ff. 80r-80v <i>Air du premier/second branle d'Escosse</i> - melody | 15 |
| App 2. Phalese IV 1549, sig. H1v <i>Currendo</i> ⁴⁶ | 11 |
| App 3. Adriaenssen 1584/1600, f. 89v/76r <i>Courrante</i> | 13 |
| App 4. Adriaenssen 1584/1600, f. 90v/77r <i>Courrante 2</i> | 13 |
| App 5. D-DEI BB 12150, f. 76r <i>Courrente nouvelle</i> | 13 |
| App 6. Adriaenssen 1584/1600, f. 90v/77r <i>Courrante [1]</i> | 23 |
| App 7. Adriaenssen 1584/1600, f. 91r/79r <i>Courrante 3</i> | 23 |

A commentary to the music in this supplement is at the end of the supplement to the accompanying *Lutezine*.

John H. Robinson - July 2020

³⁸ Piotr Pozniak (ed.), *Jakub Polak: The Collected Works* (Krakow: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1993).

³⁹ Also edited for *Lute News* 10 (January 1989) & 34 (May 1995).

⁴⁰ Jan Burgers *Joachim van den Hove: Life and Works* (Utrecht, Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis 2013).

⁴¹ Elsewhere in the manuscript are fragmentary dances in *cordes avalée* titled just *second* and *troisième* that could be others.

⁴² Thank you to Peter Forrester for a copy of Le Roy 1564.

⁴³ Du Terte *Septieme Livre de Danceries* (Paris 1557), f. 18v *Premiere suytte de Bransles d'Escosse. Premier Bransles d'Escosse / Bransle 2/ Bransle 3/ Bransle 4* and ff. 21r-22v *Seconde suytte de Bransles d'Escosse* (the second suite is in the index but the music is lost in the unique copy); Estrées *Second Livre de Danceries* (Paris 1559), ff. 11v-12v *Premier Bransles d'Escosse/2/3/4/5/6/7*, the last one also in

Phalèse *Liber Primus Leviorum Carminum* (Antwerp 1571), f. 19r *Branle D'escose* and Phalèse & Bellère *Chorearum Molitorum Collectanea ... Recueil de Danceries* (Antwerp 1583), f. 35r *Branle d'Escosse* - all instr. ens. à4

⁴⁴ Gervaise *Sixieme Livre de Danceries* (Paris 1555), f. 15v *Branle courant I & f. 16v Branle courant II* - instr. ens. à5; Estrées *Tiers Livre de Danceries* (Paris 1559), f. 7r *9 Allmande courant - 10 Allemande courant* - instr. ens. à4; also Le Roy *Second Livre de Cistre* (Paris 1564), f. 22r *Branle* [index: *Vn branle courant*], known from an earlier cognate without courante in the title: Attaingnant *Second Livre ... en Musique a quatre parties* (Paris 1547), f. 16v *Branle*.

⁴⁵ Except for Adriaenssen 1592, f. 82r *Courante* - which is a setting of the popular tune Hansken/Jog on, several versions edited for the *Lutezine* to *Lute News* 122 (July 2017).

⁴⁶ Also edited for *Lute News* 121 (April 2017).

App 1a. Premier Branle d'Escosse - A4B2C8

S-Uu 412, f. 30v

1

6

11

E1. Fantasia (Jacques?) Edinthon - 7D

Besard 1603, f. 18r

1

a

8

Q1. Queen of Scots Galliard - (7F) ABCBC8

IRL-Dm Z3.2.13, p. 61

1

7

13

19

25

30

Q2. Gaillarda la Royne d'Escosse - AABB8CC4

Phalese 1568, f. 82r

1

3

8

13

18

24

29

34

E2. Phantasia (Jacques?) Edinthon

D-W Guelf. 18.7, f. 209v

1

2

3

4

5

E3. Fantasia (Jacques?) Edinthon - 7F

Besard 1603, ff. 23v-24r

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

18

22

29

40

40

E4. Fantasia (arr. Jacques?) Edinthon

Besard 1603, ff. 17v-18r

1

6

11

16

21

26

35

Handwriting practice sheet showing vertical strokes and horizontal strokes with various diacritics.

40

Handwriting practice sheet showing vertical strokes and horizontal strokes with various diacritics.

45

Handwriting practice sheet showing vertical strokes and horizontal strokes with various diacritics.

50

Handwriting practice sheet showing vertical strokes and horizontal strokes with various diacritics.

55

Handwriting practice sheet showing vertical strokes and horizontal strokes with various diacritics.

60

Handwriting practice sheet showing vertical strokes and horizontal strokes with various diacritics.

Handwriting practice sheet showing vertical strokes and horizontal strokes with various diacritics, ending with a large circle.

E5. Courante (Jacques?) Edinthon - 7F AB8

D-W Guelf. 18.8, f. 291v

Musical score for E5. Courante (Jacques?) showing three staves of music with square neumes and Latin vocalizations. The score consists of three staves, each with a clef (C), a key signature of one sharp, and a time signature of common time. The music is divided into measures by vertical bar lines. The first staff begins with a measure of two eighth notes followed by a sixteenth note. The second staff begins with a measure of two eighth notes followed by a sixteenth note. The third staff begins with a measure of two eighth notes followed by a sixteenth note.

6

11

E6. Soupirs ardens (Charles? E)dinton

S-Uu 412, f. 9v

Musical score for E6. Soupirs ardens (Charles? E)dinton showing three staves of music with square neumes and Latin vocalizations. The score consists of three staves, each with a clef (C), a key signature of one sharp, and a time signature of common time. The music is divided into measures by vertical bar lines. The first staff begins with a measure of two eighth notes followed by a sixteenth note. The second staff begins with a measure of two eighth notes followed by a sixteenth note. The third staff begins with a measure of two eighth notes followed by a sixteenth note.

1

7

13

E7. Reveng(e moy Charles?) H(e)dinton

S-Uu 412, f. 34r

1

8

14

21

28

34

E8. Romaine (Charles?) Hedinton - 3x16bars

S-Uu 412, ff. 12r-12v

3

6

12

17

21

26

34

Staves 1-4: Rhythmic patterns with 'a' and 'b' markings. Stave 5: Rhythmic pattern with 'a' and 'b' markings.

34

Staves 1-4: Rhythmic patterns with 'a' and 'g' markings. Stave 5: Rhythmic pattern with 'a' and 'g' markings.

39

Staves 1-4: Rhythmic patterns with 'a' and 'g' markings. Stave 5: Rhythmic pattern with 'a' and 'g' markings.

44

App 2. Currendo - A5B2C3D2

Phalese 1549, sig. H1v

Staff: Rhythmic patterns with 'a' and 'c' markings.

1

Staff: Rhythmic patterns with 'a' and 'c' markings.

5

Staff: Rhythmic patterns with 'a' and 'c' markings.

9

E9. (Romaine Charles? Edinton?) - 2x16bars

S-Uu 412, f. 12v-13r

3

7

12

16

20

24

28

App 3. Courante - A8B6

Adriaenssen 1584, f. 89v

Musical score for App 3. Courante - A8B6. The score consists of two staves of music. The top staff starts with a treble clef, a common time signature, and a key signature of one sharp. The bottom staff starts with a bass clef, a common time signature, and a key signature of one sharp. The music is written in tablature with vertical stems and letter notation below the notes. Measure numbers 1 and 8 are indicated.

App 4. Courante 2 - A4B4

Adriaenssen 1584, f. 90v

Musical score for App 4. Courante 2 - A4B4. The score consists of two staves of music. The top staff starts with a treble clef, a common time signature, and a key signature of one sharp. The bottom staff starts with a bass clef, a common time signature, and a key signature of one sharp. The music is written in tablature with vertical stems and letter notation below the notes. Measure numbers 5 and 7 are indicated.

App 5. Courante Nouelle - A12

D-DEI BB 12150, f. 76r

Musical score for App 5. Courante Nouelle - A12. The score consists of two staves of music. The top staff starts with a treble clef, a common time signature, and a key signature of one sharp. The bottom staff starts with a bass clef, a common time signature, and a key signature of one sharp. The music is written in tablature with vertical stems and letter notation below the notes. Measure numbers 1 and 7 are indicated.

Q3. Queene Maries Dumpe - 5x16bars

GB-Cu Add.2764(2), ff. 1r-2r

1

9

2

17

23

29

36

51

51

58

58

65

65

73

73

App 1b. Branle d'Escosse - diatonic cittern A4B4C8

Le Roy 1564, f. 23r

1

1

9

9

Q4. Queene Maries Dumpe R(ichard) S(umarte) - lyra viol (ffeff) 3x16bars

GB-Mp BRm 832 Vu 51, p. 11

1 | | | | | | |

11 | | | | | | |

21 | | | | | | |

30 | | | | | | |

37 | | | | | | |

V1. Val cerca - AABB8CC4

F-LYm 6244, ff. 12v-13r

1

3

1

8

15

22

35

C1. (Conde Claros) - 7F 23x4bars

GB-Cu Dd.5.78.3, ff. 73v-74r

1

10

19

27

34

39

45

52

Handwritten musical score for a string instrument. The score consists of two staves. The top staff has six measures. The bottom staff has four measures. The notes are represented by vertical strokes on a grid. Some notes have horizontal dashes or dots above them. The lyrics 'ih i h f' are written below the first measure of the bottom staff.

52

59

Handwritten musical score for a string instrument. The score consists of two staves. The top staff has eight measures. The bottom staff has five measures. The notes are represented by vertical strokes on a grid. Some notes have horizontal dashes or dots above them. The lyrics 'ih i h f' are written below the first measure of the bottom staff.

59

66

Handwritten musical score for a string instrument. The score consists of two staves. The top staff has five measures. The bottom staff has four measures. The notes are represented by vertical strokes on a grid. Some notes have horizontal dashes or dots above them.

66

71

Handwritten musical score for a string instrument. The score consists of two staves. The top staff has five measures. The bottom staff has four measures. The notes are represented by vertical strokes on a grid. Some notes have horizontal dashes or dots above them.

71

76

Handwritten musical score for a string instrument. The score consists of two staves. The top staff has five measures. The bottom staff has four measures. The notes are represented by vertical strokes on a grid. Some notes have horizontal dashes or dots above them. The lyrics 'ih i h f' are written below the first measure of the bottom staff.

76

82

Handwritten musical score for a string instrument. The score consists of two staves. The top staff has five measures. The bottom staff has four measures. The notes are represented by vertical strokes on a grid. Some notes have horizontal dashes or dots above them. The lyrics 'ih i h f' are written below the first measure of the bottom staff.

82

87

Handwritten musical score for a string instrument. The score consists of two staves. The top staff has five measures. The bottom staff has four measures. The notes are represented by vertical strokes on a grid. Some notes have horizontal dashes or dots above them. The lyrics 'ih i h f' are written below the first measure of the bottom staff.

87

R1. Phantasia - Cydrac Rael - 7F

D-W Guelf. 18.7, ff. 202v-203v

1

12

21

29

35

40

51

7 measures of musical notation with vocalizations below each measure.

| | | | | | | |
|-------|---------|------------|--------|---------|-----|---------|
| f d b | a b a d | a c d a .. | a b | a b a | d b | a a |
| c e | b c | a c | a c e | c c a | d c | a c |
| a | c d | a c | a .. d | d d a c | d c | e a e c |
| e | c | d | c | a a | a | d |

58

6 measures of musical notation with vocalizations below each measure.

| | | | | | | |
|-------|---------|-------|-----------|-------|-------|----------|
| d f e | a d b | a b d | e a c d a | b d a | b b a | a b d |
| e e c | b c b c | b c | f a b d | c | c a | a b .. d |
| f c | | | | c | a e | c f |
| c | | | | | | |

64

6 measures of musical notation with vocalizations below each measure.

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|----------|----------|-------|-------|-------|--------|
| a d b | a .. a b | a b .. a | a d c | a a | a b d | c a a |
| a c e e c | a c | a c b | c b | c a c | b a | b .. a |
| c a | c a | a d c a | a e | d a | c a | c |
| a | | | | | | a |

70

5 measures of musical notation with vocalizations below each measure.

| | | | | | |
|-----------|-----------------|---------------------|-----------|-----|----------|
| d | c d c d c a c d | a | d b d | a | a b d |
| e c | a .. . c .. . e | c a e c e c e c a c | e .. c .. | c a | c c .. b |
| e .. f e | c | a | d | c a | e |
| a c d a c | . | | | | |

76

8 measures of musical notation with vocalizations below each measure.

| | | | | | | | |
|------|------|-----|----------|---------|-------|-----|-----|
| c | a a | e a | c d | a c c a | d f c | a b | |
| a f | a .. | a c | d a b .. | a c .. | f d | b | |
| b .. | c | e c | b c | e f .. | e d | c | |
| c a | d | c a | a | | e | b c | e c |

83

9 measures of musical notation with vocalizations below each measure.

| | | | | | | | |
|-----------|--------|----------|-------------|-----|---------|--------------|--|
| a d b a b | b a a | d b a | a d e | a a | a b c e | a d c a .. a | |
| b .. | a .. c | e c .. b | b c e f e c | b c | c | b | |
| c a | a e | a c e | d c | a d | a | c | |
| a | | | | b | | | |

R2. Branle de la Gauotte - Cidrac Rael - 7F8Ef

Besard 1603, f. 146r

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

22

23

App 6. Courante (1) - 7F A8B8

Adriaenssen 1584/1600, f. 90v 77r

3

7

12

App 7. Courante 3 - 7F AA3B3CC5

Adriaenssen 1584/1600, f. 91r 79r

C

7

13

J1. Sarabande - Jacob - 7F8Ef10C 12+7x16bars

GB-Cfm 689, ff. 84v-85r

1

10

19

28

37

46

54

63

63

72 a

72 a

81

81

89 //a a

89 //a a

98

98

107 //a a /a

107 //a a /a

116

116

J2. Gagliarda - (Jacob) - 7F8Ef AA8B8C6D8D9

I-COc 1.1.20, ff. 25v-27r

1

7

12

15

20

25

30

34

38 /a

43

J3. Galliarda - (Jacob) - 7F A8B10

Besard 1617, sig. L2v

1

7 /a

13

1

8

18

23

28

33

39

Stave 1: $\overline{\text{d}} \text{b} \text{a}$, $\text{d} \text{b} \text{d}$, a , d
Stave 2: $\text{a} \text{b} \text{a}$, b , $\text{d} \text{b} \text{a}$, $\text{b} \text{a}$, c , a , f , a , f , g , f , d , $\text{f} \text{a} \text{d}$

44

Stave 1: $\text{d} \text{c} \text{a}$, a , $\text{c} \text{a} \text{d}$, a , $\text{f} \text{d} \text{a} \text{c}$, d , a , $\text{d} \text{c} \text{a} \text{c}$, d , a , $\text{b} \text{a}$, $\text{d} \text{c} \text{a} \text{c} \text{d}$, a , b
Stave 2: f , $\text{d} \text{f} \text{d} \text{c} \text{a}$, c , $\text{d} \text{b} \text{a}$, c , $\text{a} \text{c} \text{a}$, $\text{d} \text{c} \text{a} \text{c} \text{a}$, a , d , a , a

J6. Bal(l)et - Jacob - 7F8Ef10C A12B11

GB-Cfm 689, f. 18v

1

Stave 1: d , $\text{f} \text{d}$, d , b , a , b , d , b , g , f , d , f , b , a , d , b , a , b , a , b , a , b , a , c
Stave 2: $\text{c} \text{a}$, $\text{f} \text{d} \text{c}$, a , a , b , a , f , d , a , f , d , a , b , c , a , a , c

7

Stave 1: f , $\text{h} \text{i} \text{l} \text{h} \text{i}$, f , d , a , b , d , b , a , c , d , a , b , d , a , b , f
Stave 2: h , h , h , $\text{d} \text{f}$, g , e , a , $\text{d} \text{b} \text{a}$, a , $\text{d} \text{b} \text{a}$, a , $\text{d} \text{b} \text{a}$, a , d

13

Stave 1: f , $\text{f} \text{d} \text{f} \text{g} \text{d}$, f , f , d , b , a , b , d , a , b , d , $\text{f} \text{g} \text{f} \text{d}$, $\text{g} \text{f}$
Stave 2: a , f , e , $\text{f} \text{d}$, $\text{c} \text{a}$, $\text{d} \text{b}$, a , a , $\text{d} \text{b}$, a , $\text{d} \text{b}$, a , d

18

Stave 1: b , b , a , b , d , b , a , b , d , b , a , b , d , $\text{f} \text{g} \text{d} \text{i} \text{g}$, f , $\text{a} \text{b} \text{d} \text{a}$, d , b , a , a , a , a
Stave 2: b , $\text{d} \text{c} \text{a}$, $\text{d} \text{b}$, d , a , b , d , b , a , d , b , a , d , f , d , a

J5. Gall(iard) - Pollonois - 7F8Ef A8B10C11

GB-Cfm 689, f. 53r

1

7

13

18 /a

25

J7. Bransle - Jacob - 7F 7x4+3x6bars+bars

Fuhrmann 1615, p. 142

8

15

22

29

38

46

54