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FRANCESCO CANOVA AND HIS FAMILY IN MILAN:
NEW DOCUMENTS..............................................Franco Pavan

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AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES IN OXFORD,
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CONTENTS

FRANCESCO CANOVA AND HIS FAMILY IN MILAN: NEW DOCUMENTS

............................................ Franco Pavan

FRANCESCO CANOVA AND HIS FAMILY IN MILAN: NEW DOCUMENTS

................................. Franco Pavan

SONGS WITH THEORBO BY CHARLES COLMAN AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES IN OXFORD, BODLEIAN LIBRARY MS BROXBOURNE 84.9 AND LONDON, LAMBETH PALACE LIBRARY MS 1041

...................................................... Gordon J. Callon

COMMUNICATION

Piotr Pozniak

.................................................... 53
Francesco Canova and his Family in Milan: New Documents*

by FRANCO PAVAN

THE PRINCIPAL BIOGRAPHICAL AND bibliographical information on Francesco Canova, the Milanese lutenist, is to be found in H. Colin Slim's work dating from 1964 and 1965. This work presents a lucid and thorough account of the known facts about Francesco, including an accurate analysis of the available sources, a discussion of their provenance, and a chronological listing, thus allowing for a clear and rational interpretation of Francesco's biography. Whereas Slim's work relies heavily on secondary sources, the present article is based on direct access to the primary sources, particularly those conserved at Milanese institutions. From the data provided by Slim we know that Francesco had a father named Benedetto. This information is important in providing an initial point of reference in the biographical reconstruction of the Canova family.

* The present article derives from a work-in-progress of greater scope, which investigates other aspects of Francesco da Milano's career, particularly his activities in Rome, as well as relationships with contemporary lutenists. I thank Professors Dinko Fabris and William F. Prizer for their kindness. I also wish to thank Professors Paul Beier and Francesco Degrada; my work on Francesco Canova could never have been undertaken without their help.


3 See Slim, op. cit., I, p. 72.

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Benedetto Canova

The documents regarding Benedetto Canova found in Milanese archives cover the period from 1512 to 1551. We know neither the birth nor the death date of Francesco’s father. The latter should be, in any case, before 1 August, 1555.4 Most of the documents regarding Benedetto are located at the Fondo Notarile of the Italian state archives. Two notarial deeds, thirteen years apart, contain Benedetto’s signature.5

The most useful official document for the biographical reconstruction of the Canova family is from the Milanese government, dated 16 November 1536, stating that

...Benedetto Canova generated three legitimate children by [his] wife, one called Francesco, who has reached maturity, an excellent musician known by all, another called Bernardino, and another called Giovanni Battista, now deceased...6

There can be no doubt as to the identification of Francesco, an “excellent musician known by all,” the document thus revealing important information on the composition of the family. Unfortunately Francesco’s mother’s name is absent and her name does not occur in any other document. From the notarial deeds we can also deduce that Benedetto’s father was also named Francesco. This detail is significant since it allows us to distinguish between persons bearing the same name in various documents, especially since the name of the father of the originator of a deed is almost always also included in notarial deeds from this period.

On this basis, 25 notarial deeds directly relating to

4 The first document, not available for consultation at present, is conserved in the Archivio di Stato di Milano (hereafter ASM): nevertheless, see the Registro del Fondo Notarile, p. 172, Notaio Tullio quondam Pietro Lepori. The last document, of 23 April 1551, is in ASM, Fondo Notarile, c. 12393.
5 The first signature is found on a note of 15 January, 1539, inserted into a notarial deed of 10 September, 1538 in ASM, Fondo Notarile, c. 8011. The second signature is in ASM, Fondo Notarile, c. 12393, a deed of 23 April, 1551.
6 “[...] Benedictus de Canova tres filios legitimos ex una uxor superavit, unus vocatur Franciscus, etatis perfecte, optimus musicus omnibus notus, alius vocatur Bernardino, et alius vocabatur Io. Baptista, nunc defunctus [...]” ASM, Fondo Notarile, Archivio Notarile, c. 8009.
Benedetto can be identified. Some of these are crucial for the biography of Francesco da Milano. Most of the deeds regarding Benedetto concern the collection of rents or rental agreements of buildings in his possession, which amount to evidence of a continuous income for the Canova family. Certain notarial deeds, however, concern the family's private life, and it is from these that the most interesting information can be gleaned. We gather, for instance, that Benedetto married Bernardina Solari in 1525 and later on, in 1534, Francesca de Magni.⁷ Obviously, neither woman could have been the mother of Francesco da Milano, as he was already an adult by this time.

Three wills written by Benedetto survive, dated 1538, 1543, and 1551. In the will of 25 September 1538, Francesco Canova is named universal heir, subject to an important proviso:

Were that the same Master Francesco, my son and heir, as above, to die without legitimate children, ... the same Francesco, as above, ... is substituted ... by the aforementioned Master Bernardino, my son, as above.⁸

Thus, by 25 September 1538, Francesco had not yet fathered any legitimate children.⁹ Furthermore, Benedetto defines the obligations of Francesco with regards to Francesca de Magni and also dedicates a part of the testament to Bernardino, who is designated canon of the

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⁷ ASM, Fondo Notarile, c. 7998, dated 14 July, 1525. In a rental agreement of 1533 the procurator for Francesca de Magni is a paternal relative, not, presumably, a husband; the notarial document employed by Benedetto Canova in stipulating the dowry of Francesca de Magni is from July, 1534. From this we can infer a possible marriage date. For more on this problem see ASM, Fondo Notarile, c. 9450.

⁸ "[..] ubi ipse dominus Franciscus filius et heres meus ut supra decedet sine filiiis legiptimis [...] dicto Francisco ut supra substitui et substituo ore meo proprio nominando, nominavi et nomine prefatum dominum Bernardinum filium meum ut supra [...]" ASM, Fondo Notarile, c. 10112.

⁹ Slim, op. cit., I, p. 65, n11, suggests the possibility that a horoscope dedicated to one Filius Francisci C, born 20 July, 1520, by Gerolamo Cardano in Libelli Quinque, c. 231v, may refer to a son of Francesco's. The document under consideration here makes this a doubtful hypothesis.
church of San Nazaro in Brolio of Milan.

The will written by Benedetto Canova on 21 September 1543 reveals the death of Francesco in the course of the same year and also contains much information about the life of the Canova family. There is a reference to Bernardino (now described as prebendal canon\(^\text{10}\) of the church of San Nazaro in Brolio in Milan) in the will, which awards him the sum of 100 imperial lire annually. Benedetto also remembers here, for the first time, a daughter: Costanza, widow of Giovanni Ambrosio Canobio. Costanza was remarried a few months after this date to Giovanni Battista Toscano, bringing a dowry of 1,700 imperial lire. In addition, Benedetto remembers his wife, Francesca de Magni, to whom he leaves use of the family possessions.\(^\text{11}\)

Benedetto’s will of 23 April 1551 also remembers his wife Francesca, who is left 700 imperial lire annually. Furthermore, it establishes a contract with the church of Santa Maria alla Scala for twenty masses, plus one sung mass per year, to be celebrated after his death. Bernardino is also remembered, and for the first time there is mention of a certain Santina di Legnano “habitante in loco de Sizzo inter Parma et Placentia” [resident in the place of Sasso situated between Parma and Piacenza]. Sasso can be identified with modern Salsomaggiore, a community where Benedetto undoubtedly spent a period of his life.\(^\text{12}\) In this, the last will

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\(^{10}\) A prebend was part of the estate revenue of a cathedral or a collegiate church granted to a canon or a member of the chapter as a stipend. It may also refer to the portion of land or tithe from which the stipend is drawn. A prebendary is the holder of a prebend (\textit{OED}).

\(^{11}\) The will is conserved in ASM, \textit{Fondo Notarile}, c. 8018. It confirms the year of Francesco’s death that is reported by Luca Gaurico, but does not give the precise date, which, according to Gaurico, was 15 April. On Gaurico see Slim, \textit{op. cit.}, 1, p. 65, and on the difficulty, before the discovery of this document, of establishing an exact date for Francesco’s death (whether 1543 or 1544), see Slim, \textit{op. cit.}, 1, p. 72.

\(^{12}\) The presence of Benedetto Canova at Salsomaggiore is indicated in a papal brief of 1539 by Paul III reproduced in Angelo Mercati, “Favori di Paolo III a musici (Giacomo Archadelt-Ivo Barry-Bartolomeo Crotti-Francesco [Canova] da Milano),” \textit{Note d’Archivio} 10 (1933), p. 114. Furthermore, the autograph note by Benedetto in ASM, \textit{Fondo Notarile}, c. 8011, is dated from Sasso on 15
of Benedetto's of which I am aware, there is a section regarding Francesco, who was by now eight years dead. The will also includes an extensive list of belongings to be found in Benedetto's home in Milan containing no mention, strangely, of musical instruments or books related to music.13

Other documents concerning Benedetto contain references to his commercial and entrepreneurial activities: for example, a notarial deed of 21 January 1551 describes the founding of a corporation dedicated to the production of gold and silver thread by Benedetto Canova and Benedetto de Magni.14 Benedetto died, as I have already noted, before 1 August 1555, as a notarial deed on that date describes him as "quondam Benedetto" (deceased).15

Bernardino Canova

Documents regarding Francesco's brother, Bernardino, span the years 1529 to 1563. Some of the documents regarding Benedetto, as we have seen, have indicated that Bernardino was associated with the church of San Nazaro in Brolio in Milan; it is there that the principal sources dealing with him have been found. Research into the former archive of San Nazaro in Brolio is extremely difficult, however, because of its dispersion. At present it is divided between the Archivio di Stato, the Archivio Storico Diocesano and the Archivio della Basilica dei Santi Apostoli e San Nazaro Maggiore (formerly San Nazaro in Brolio), all in Milan. Furthermore, many documents have been scattered elsewhere.

The first citation regarding Bernardino is not Milanese but Roman: a document of 4 January 1529 puts him in Rome in the company of Jean Conseil (maestro di capella to Clemente VII). The Papal court had recently returned to Rome after the exile at Viterbo, which was undertaken because of the disgrace brought about by the Sack of Rome.

January 1539.
13 The will of 23 April, 1551 is conserved in ASM, Fondo Notarile, c. 12393.
14 ASM, idem.
15 ASM, idem, c. 11560.
during 1527 and part of 1528. I know of no other Roman documents relating to Bernardino, but it is not improbable that such documents may be discovered in the course of more systematic research.\textsuperscript{16}

The next document places Bernardino in Milan on 22 March 1533. As procurator on behalf of his brother, Francesco, he receives the payment of a prebend valued at 27 imperial lire and \textit{8 moggia di mistura} (measures of millet and rye) from the capitolar pension of the church of San Nazaro in Brolio. This is the first document that describes Bernardino as a prebendal canon of the Milanese church.\textsuperscript{17} Bernardino is again cited as canon in 1537, but only becomes resident canon in 1545. He remains resident at least until 1554, by which time Dionesio Filiodone succeeds him.\textsuperscript{18} In the course of these years there are numerous documents that illustrate Bernardino’s importance at the college of San Nazaro in Brolio. In the contracts that Bernardino stipulates with the tenants of the land holdings assigned to him as canon of the Milanese church, Bernardino

\textsuperscript{16} Archivio di Stato of Firenze, \textit{Conventi Soppressi} 102, vol. 329, c. 1v. The section regarding Bernardino is quoted in my study “Ex paupertate evasit:...,” cited in n2.

\textsuperscript{17} The document is no longer found in the \textit{Fondo Notarile} and the \textit{Cancelleria Arcivescovile} of ASM, but an authentic copy survives in the Archivio Storico Diocesano of Milan (hereafter ASDM): \textit{S. Nazaro}, vol. II, n8, c. 1-1v.

made use of the usual types of contract found in the Po valley during the second half of the sixteenth century: simple rent and nine-year rent. The last document (1563) concerning Bernardino deals with the erection of the Milanese Seminary and a tax levied by Bernardino, again described as the recipient of a canonate at the church of San Nazaro in Brolio. The last notarial deed drafted by Bernardino is dated 7 August 1559, and has to do once again with a rental contract. We also have two autograph documents by Bernardino regarding receipts for payments dated 1551 and 1552 from a prebend provided by the church of San Nazaro in Brolio in Milan.

19 The most important contracts drafted by Bernardino are conserved in ASM, Fondo Notarile, c. 12393, 15 November 1550 and ibidem, 8 December 1550. See also ASM, Fondo Registri del Fondo di Religione, c. 11f, c. 367 (9 September, 1556).


21 The contract of 1559 is reprinted in an indirect source, ASM, Fondo Registri del Fondo di Religione, c. 11f, c. 368. The two autograph texts by Bernardino are found in ASDM, S. Nazaro, vol. II, n. 8, c. 5 (all of the abbreviations in the texts have been expanded):

Io Bernardino Canova Canonico di Santo Nazaro confesso avere auto et riceputo dal Reverendo Messer Francesco Pozzo Caneparo di Capitolo libre quaranta et quatro dico numero 44 quali sono per mozza octo di mistura et libre vinti et septe dico numero 27 in dinari quali sono per il livello di l’anno 1551 qual mi paga il capitulo et in fede di questo ho scripto la presente poliza de mia propria mano et sotto scripta adi 19 novembre 1551.

Idem
Bernardinus
Canova
Canonicus
scripsit et subscriptis

and c. 6:

According to the astrologer Luca Gaurico, Francesco da Milano had three brothers, all of whom were musicians. As we have seen, I have been able to identify only two brothers, as well as a sister. Bernardino, therefore, should have been a musician. The document of 4 January 1529, cited above, supports this hypothesis by associating Bernardino with Jean Conseil, but a more eloquent testimony might be found in a capitolo verse written by Francesco Berni addressed to Francesco da Milano in the first days of June 1528. In a tercet we read:

Come and unburden yourselves,
come directly, and come Bernardino,
that we may make miraculous harmony.

It is therefore not improbable that Berni refers here to the brother of Francesco, emphasizing his role as musician.

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22 See Luca Gaurico, Tractatus Astrologicus in quo agitur de praeteris hominum accidentibus per proprietis eorum genituras ad unguem examinatis (Venice, 1552), c. 80v. Cfr. Slim, op. cit., I, p. 65.

23 Francesco’s sister, or half-sister, was named Costanza. The first document to mention her is the Benedetto Canova’s will of 21 September 1543, where she is described as “relicte quondam [...] domini Io. Ambrosii de Canobio” (“widow of Mr. Giovanni Ambrosio Canobio”), with whom she also had a son named Giovanni Paolo: ASM, Fondo Notarile, c. 8018. Giovanni Paolo appears later as special procurator to Bernardino Canova in a document of 9 September 1556: ASM, Fondo Registri Fondo di Religione, c. 11f, c. 367. In a dowry contract of 19 June 1544 (ASM, Fondo Notarile, c. 8020), we gather that Costanza was remarried to Giovanni Battista Toscano and obtained from Benedetto Canova a second dowry of 1700 imperial lire.

24 Luca Gaurico, op. cit., c. 80v. I quote the capitolo by Berni from Francesco Berni, I Capitoli (Rome, 1891), p. 67: “Venite a scaricar le vostre cose, E a diritto e venga Bernardino, Che faremo armonie miracolose.”
Francesco Canova

The Milanese documents concerning Francesco are few but significant. At present, however, no autograph documents have emerged. The first Milanese testimony connects him, as we have seen, with the church of San Nazaro in Brolio. We know nothing about his childhood, except that the date of birth given by Gerolamo Cardano, 1497, is confirmed, not by a Milanese source, but by a Roman one of 1524.25

The Canova family had held a canonate at San Nazaro in Brolio from 1525 thanks to the presence in that church of Giovanni Antonio Canova, a paternal uncle of Francesco. He is described as resident canon from 1525 to 1545, at which date his post was taken over by Bernardino.26 Francesco obtained the San Arderico prebend in 1528, and maintained it at least until 1536. In that year, a climactic one in Francesco's musical career that saw the publication of the tablature books issued by Marcolini, Sultzbach, and Casteliono, he wrote, together with his father and his brother Bernardino, the appeal mentioned earlier in the section on Benedetto.27 Bernardino, apparently without motive, renounces in that document his entire inheritance in favor of Francesco. It is possible that Bernardino renounced his inheritance in order to obtain his brother's prebend and canonate in exchange, thereby initiating a brilliant ecclesiastical career. The existence of two supplications addressed to Pope Paul III (presently unavailable for consultation at the Archivio Storico Diocesano of Milan)

26 ABNM, Catalogo..., op. cit (n.p.). The familial relationship between Francesco and Giovanni Antonio is confirmed in a document conserved in ASDM, S. Nazaro, Vol. VII, n. 19, where the latter is described "patruo" (paternal uncle) of Francesco.
27 See note 6.
would seem to support this hypothesis. Francesco probably only obtained the minor orders, from which he freed himself after having left the canonate of San Nazaro.

A notarial record of the *notaio* (public notary) Lodovico Varisi, dated 10 September 1538, again places Francesco in Milan, and informs us that he received a dowry of four thousand imperial lire, an enormous sum, from Francesco Tizzoni, father of Chiara Tizzoni (whom Francesco married about two months earlier, in July of 1538). From the same document it appears that Francesco and Chiara were resident in Milan, in the district of Porta Nuova, parish of San Fedele. Francesco therefore did not remain in France

28 On the prebend held by Francesco, see ASDM, *S. Nazaro*, vol. VII, n. 19, e vol. II, n. 8, cc. 1-1v. The prebend of San Arderico was supported by income from land owned by the church of San Nazaro in Brollo near the parish of San Marziano, situated at Sesto Ulteriano in the territory of Pieve di San Giuliano, south of Milan. This parish had, and continues to have to the present time, very close ties with San Nazaro in Brollo (today San Nazaro Maggiore); up to the end of the sixteenth century the canons of San Nazaro nominated its vicar. The existence of a drawer in the archive of San Nazaro containing material copied from the register pertaining to the prebend of San Arderico is documented in *ASM, Fondo Registri del Fondo di Religione*, c. 11f, c. 91. At present both the original register and the copy are missing; an investigation into the archive of the still extant parish of San Marziano has produced no results. A document of 1558 concerning the extent of the possessions owned by the church of San Nazaro in Brollo, *ASM, Fondo di Religione*, c. 416., lists 6131 “pertiche” [a measure similar to the modern acre] of terrain belonging to the church. For further details on San Marziano, see Luciano Previato, *San Giuliano Milanese una storia da raccontare* (San Giuliano Milanese, n. d.).

The volumes published by Casteliono and Marcolini are catalogued in Howard M. Brown, *Instrumental Music Printed Before 1600* (Cambridge, MA., 1965), 1536/9 1536/3; the two volumes by Sulzbachius are: *INTAVOLATVR/DE VIOLA O VERO LAVTO CIOE/Recercate*, *Cansone francese, Mottete, Composto per lo Eccellente & Vnico Musico Francesco Milanese, non mai piu stampata*. *Libro Primo della FORTVNA*, Neapoli, Sulzbachius, 1536; e *INTAVOLATVR/DE VIOLA O VERO LAVTO COMPOSTO/ per lo Eccellente & Vnico Musico Francesco Milanese non mai piu stampata Libro Secondo della Fortuna*, Neapoli, Sulzbachius, 1536.

The two supplications addressed to Paul III are cited in the volume conserved in ASDM, *Monumenta Italiae Ecclesiastica - Visitaciones I*, p. 284.
after the famous meeting of Paul III, François I, and Charles V in June of that year, at which he participated. Because of

29 The document concerning the marriage of Francesco is in ASM, Fondo Notarile, c. 8011. Francesco undertook the journey to Nice in June of 1538, as seen in a note of the court of François I (and not of papal origin), reported correctly in Slim, op. cit., I, pp. 70-71. The citation of the payment made by the Re Cristianissimo is, however, incomplete. Henry Prunières, the first to mention this document in his study “La musique de la chambre et de l’écuér sous le règne de François Ier,” L’Année Musicale (1911), p. 224, transcribes it as follows: “A. François de Canova joueur de lute du Pape en don et faveur du plaisir qu’il a donné au Roy d’avoir joué dudit luc et autres services qu’il a faits par le passé...235 Lt.” (my italics, which comprise the section not cited by Slim). From this we may deduce that Francesco previously had contact with the court of France, possibly for extra-musical reasons. The church of San Nazaro in Brolio was closely tied with France: the most prominently francophile family of the Milanese nobility, the Trivulzio, had their sepulchral monument constructed at the entrance to the Milanese church in the beginning of the sixteenth century. Thus it would not be inconceivable to hypothesize a fairly close relationship between the Canova family and the court of France. This might help sustain Slim’s hypothesis (op. cit., I, p. 71) regarding two compositions by Francesco contained in the so-called “Siena Lutebook” (The Hague, Gemeente Museum, Ms. 28.B.39) attributed to Francesco da Parigi. According to Slim, and admitting in any case that we might be dealing here with an error of transcription, these attributions may provide a clue as to the presence of Francesco Canova in France in a period as yet unknown to us.

On the possibility that Francesco might have met Alberto da Mantova (whose name had already Gallicized into Albert de Rippe by this time), see Slim, op. cit., I, p. 71. Slim makes it clear that there is no known document that confirms the presence of Alberto da Mantova at Nice in that year. Yet a further hint as to the possibility of the two lutenists having met at Nice is given by Guillaume Morlaye in his edition of the first book of lute tablature by Alberto (listed in Brown, op. cit., 1552/8), where he writes that the Mantovan had “[...] donné plaisir de son industrie à ung Pape, ung Empereur, ung Roy d’Angleterre [...]” In this connection I would like to call attention to a document that attests to the presence of Alberto da Mantova at another historic meeting between François I and the Pope, in this case Clement VII. The episode concerns the visit of Alfonso Cittadella (often called Alfonso Ferrarese or Lombardi) to Marseille in November of 1533. Cittadella was in the train of Cardinal Innocenzo Cibo who had come to the French city with other Italian ecclesiastics for the festivities given in honor of the marriage of the Duke of Orleans to Caterina de’Medici. Also present at this occasion were François I and Pope Clement VII, who remained at Marseille from 11 October to 12 November. During this period Cittadella had access to François I; in a letter to the Duke of Mantova of 25 November 1533, he writes “[...] Conoscendo M.re Teochreno [the writer Benedetto Tagliacarne] non essere ordine a Marsilia, mi disse che io andasi a Giaiese cinque legge luntano e li il re me dara tutto quelo comodo che mi bisognava, e faria provisione di cavalchature e di danari e per ogni modo ch’io non mancassi, che il re me dara gagi come ha dato al Rosso
Francesco's wedding, Benedetto was moved to change his will. As we have seen, he did this on 25 September 1538, naming Francesco as universal heir. By this time Francesco had not yet had any children. 30 When Francesco died, Benedetto was again constrained to modify his will. In a document of 21 September, 1543, he reveals the existence of Francesco's son, Lelio Donato, aged three years and 5 months, and therefore born in the month of April 1540. Lelio Donato became the new universal heir, thus guaranteeing the continuation of the Canova family. Lelio did not dedicate himself to music, but to the administration of the numerous family possessions. 31

The fact that almost none of the archival information discussed in this study directly concerns music constitutes

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30 ASM, Fondo Notarile, c. 10112.

31 The will by Benedetto is in ASM, Fondo Notarile, c. 8018. We know that Francesco was buried at the church of Santa Maria alla Scala from the epitaph of his tombstone published in Vincenzo Forcella, Iscrizioni delle chiese e degli altri edifici di Milano, (Milano, 1890), vol. IV, p. 237, n. 340. The tomb was destroyed in World War II. That Francesco's father also had close ties with Santa Maria alla Scala is shown by the bequest he left to that church, documented in ASM, Fondo di Religione, c. 400, c. 209r-v and 210. The fact that Francesco and Benedetto Canova change their allegiance from the church of San Nazaro in Brolio to Santa Maria alla Scala might be due to a change in their political thinking: San Nazaro was in fact the Milanese church closest to France while Santa Maria alla Scala was closely linked to the Empire, being an imperial affiliate. About Lelio Donato Canova see the documents in ASM and in the Archivio Storico Civico di Milano (ASCM). A document in ASM, Fondo Notarile, c. 16144, shows that he was still alive in 1590 in that he was party to a deed regarding his daughter Giulia in that year; in another document from 22 May 1594 (ASCM, Serie Famiglie, c. 348) Lelio Canova is referred to as deceased. He therefore died between 1590 and 1594.
the most relevant point of my inquiry into the Milanese roots of Francesco's life. Francesco's activities as a musician and lutenist are only indirectly documented at Milan. On the other hand, they are abundantly documented in Rome. It is thus towards Rome that we must direct our efforts in trying to unveil, with greater precision, the importance of the musical role played by Francesco Canova da Milano. The Milanese documents permit us, nevertheless, to reconstruct the structure of the Canova family with greater precision, offer new directions in which to pursue further research, and throw light on several episodes in the life of Francesco which have been, until now, shrouded in obscurity.

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Translated from the Italian by Paul Beier

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32 The experience of Jacques Descartes de Vintimille when he listened to a performance by Francesco Canova in Milan (the date, unfortunately, is unspecified) is described in Pontus de Tyard, *Solitaire second ou prose de la musique*, (Lyon, 1555), pp. 113-115.
Songs with Theorbo by Charles Colman and his Contemporaries in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Broxbourne 84.9 and London, Lambeth Palace Library MS 1041

by GORDON J. CALLON

LAMBETH PALACE LIBRARY MS 1041 and Bodleian Library MS Broxbourne 84.9 are two related mid-seventeenth-century English sources (ca. 1650-63) of solo songs in English, French, and Italian. Except for seven songs added later (ca. 1665-70) to Lp MS 1041, all of the songs in both manuscripts are provided with fully written-out accompaniments for theorbo. Many of the songs have extensive vocal ornamentation, the French songs in a manner distinctly different in style from the Italian and most of the English. (Some songs by Henry Lawes have embellishment in the French style.) As a result, the manuscripts are of

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1 This article is a revised version of a paper presented at the Canadian University Music Society session of the Canadian Learned Societies Conference, Ottawa, June, 1993. Grateful thanks are due to the Trustees of the Bodleian Library, Oxford for permission to publish this commentary and to reproduce portions of MS Broxbourne 84.9. I am also grateful to The Marquess of Bath. I also wish to thank Peter A. Ward Jones, E.G.W. Bill, Melanie Barber, Andrew Ashbee, James Tyler, Robert Spencer, H.J.R. Wing of Christ Church Library, Oxford, Leonard E. Boyle, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vicki Postl and Sandra Acker, University of Victoria Library, Lucien Bianchini, Leslie Zarker Morgan, François-Pierre Goy, and the staffs of the Bodleian Library, The Public Record Office, Lambeth Palace Library, Longleat House, and The British Library.

2 French songs are unusual in mid seventeenth-century English song books. The only other important English manuscript of this period containing French songs that I know of is New Haven, Yale University Filmer MS 25: Songbook of “Miss Wallis,” containing French and Italian songs, ca. 1640-60; the manuscript also contains a few instrumental parts added during the eighteenth century. See Robert Ford, “The Filmer Manuscripts: A Handlist,” Notes 34 (1978), p. 822.

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interest for evidence of period vocal embellishment and theorbo continuo style, as well as for the repertoire they contain—several of the songs are unique or unique variants.

*LLp* MS 1041, the song book of "The Lady Ann Blount," has long been familiar to scholars as a source of mid-seventeenth-century song.3 Until recently, *Ob* MS Broxbourne 84.9 has been almost completely unknown.4 External examination gives no indication of any relationship between the two manuscripts. Nonetheless, study of the contents reveals many similarities and parallels. Internal evidence, discussed below, suggests the music in MS Broxbourne 84.9 was entered *ca. 1660-63.* The principal

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4 The physical characteristics of Broxbourne MS 84.9 are described in Howard M. Nixon, *Broxbourne Library, Styles and Designs of Bookbindings from the Twelfth to the Twentieth Century*, Introduction by Albert Ehrman (London, 1956), pp. 141-143. The manuscript is a large folio volume, 312 x 209 mm., bound in black morocco over paste board, blocked and tooled in gold with English Fan Pattern. (For a photograph of the binding, see Nixon, *Broxbourne Library*, p. 142.) The upper cover has two leather clasps, which attach to pins on the lower cover, and a central metal clasp which locks on the lower cover. The initials "E + S" are engraved on the metal clasp. These initials possibly were added later. (Unfortunately, the hook on this clasp is damaging the edges of the leaves of the manuscript.) Nixon suggests the date *ca. 1645-50* for the binding, but 1650-55 is more likely. Except for the end sheets, the paper is ruled throughout, each page with alternating 5- and 6-line music staves, eight per page. The pages and songs were originally unnumbered; Bodleian Library staff numbered the folios in the spring of 1990. Most of the volume is empty, which suggests that the book was bound before any music was entered. Twelve secular songs occupy the first twelve folios of the volume. After a gap of almost 90 folios three psalm settings are entered on four pages toward the end of the book.
repertoire of Lip MS 1041 (except seven English songs added later) was probably entered ca. 1650-60.

Lip MS 1041 contains twenty-nine songs, Ob MS Broxbourne 84.9 fifteen, forty-four in all: twenty-nine English, seven French, and eight Italian. English composers include Henry and William Lawes, Nicholas Lanier, and Charles Colman. Three French songs can be identified as music of François de Chancy, Michel Lambert, and Jean de Cambefort. Composers of the seven later English songs include Matthew Locke, John Goodgroome, Alphonso Marsh, Edward Colman, and Henry Lawes.

Study of the hands in these manuscripts reveals that many songs were transcribed by Charles Colman (ca. 1605-64), professional singer and theorbo player. As member of the King’s Music, Colman was closely acquainted with the composers and poets represented in the manuscripts, making these sources useful in establishing reliable variants for the songs, and, no doubt, also for the poems.5 (For example, Colman signed as witness on Lanier’s Last Will and Testament.)

Provenance

Nothing is known of the early provenance of either manuscript. The elaborate binding and the deliberate penmanship of MS Broxbourne 84.9 suggest the book was intended as a formal collection, perhaps a presentation copy to preserve songs by the copyist and his close acquaintances. It was acquired from McLeish in 1933 for the library of Albert Ehrman (The Broxbourne Library).6 The Trustees of Ehrman’s estate deposited the Broxbourne Collection in the Bodleian Library in 1970. In 1978 John Ehrman presented the Collection to the Bodleian Library in memory of Albert Ehrman through the Friends of the National Libraries.7

Lip MS 1041 is described on f. 1 as the song-book of

6 The manuscript is numbered AE 1547 on the first leaf.
7 Information concerning the Broxbourne Collection in the Bodleian Library is generously supplied by Peter A. Ward Jones, Music Librarian, Bodleian Library.
“The Lady Ann Blount.” Manuscript catalogues at Lambeth Palace Library indicate MS 1041 was deposited there ca. 1725-50, at the same time as MS 1040, the only other seventeenth-century music manuscript in the Library.\(^8\)

**Notation and Copyists**

That Charles Colman is the only composer’s name to appear in MS Broxbourne 84.9, at the end of the song *Blest be those powers* (f. 9; Facsimile 1) suggests the manuscript may be in his hand.\(^9\) Comparison of the hand in this manuscript with verified sources of Colman’s hand and signature confirm this is likely. Colman’s name after his song is certainly similar to his signatures in the payment receipts of the Longleat Whitelock Papers (Facsimile 2, dated 1634, payments to Colman and “one boy” for “service performed in the musique of the...masque,” *The Triumph of Peace*).\(^10\) Several later examples of Colman’s

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\(^8\) *Llp* MS 1040 is an otherwise unrelated manuscript of seventeenth-century keyboard music. *Llp* MS 1040 is in two distinct hands, one ca. 1640, the other an autograph keyboard suite of Richard Ayleward (1626-69), probably added during the 1660s. The earlier music is unattributed, but some pieces can be identified through concordances as compositions by William Lawes and William Ellis. The earlier pieces are carefully fingered, in the original hand, numbering from left to right on both hands, the left-hand thumb being “5”. MS 1040 also contains some single instrumental parts on loose sheets: two trebles, attributed to “Mr Locke” and to “J.B.” [possibly John Bannister]; and two unrelated parts for a bass instrument (unattributed). See [Gibson], *Codicum Manuscriptorum in Bibliothecá Lambethanae. Catalogus; Catalogus Bibliothecae Lambethanae; Wilkins, Catalogus Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Lambethanae Confectus*; and Ducarel, *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts belonging to the Lambeth Library, II*; Norwich Cathedral manuscript (seventeenth-century parish records): “Saint Mary in the Marsh from 1665 to 1723,” 1669: “Mr Richard Aylward organist was buried octob. 18”. See also Spink, “Sources of English Song,” p. 131; Ian Spink (editor), *English Songs, 1625-1660 (Musica Britannica, XXXIII*). London, 1971, p. 190; Ian Spink, *English Song, Dowland to Purcell* (London, 1974), p. 272; Ducdes, “John Gamble’s Commonplace Book,” p. 46; Spencer, “Chitarrone, Theorbo and Archlute,” p. 420 n 20; Jorgens, “Introduction,” pp. vi-vii.

\(^9\) A modern note from Dr. A. Rosenthal to Mr. A. Ehrman, inserted into the manuscript, suggests that the music is in Colman’s hand.

\(^10\) Longleat House, Whitelock Papers, parcel II, No. 9, Item 6, f. 2v. And see Murray Lefkowitz, “The Longleat Papers of Bulstrode Whitelocke; New Light On Shirley’s *Triumph of Peace*,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 18 (1965), pp. 42-60, Plate I (no. 39); Andrew J. Sabol, “New Documents on
Facsimile 1: Charles Colman, *Blest be those powers*, end (Ob MS Broxbourne 84.9, f. 9). (Reproduced by kind permission of the Curators of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.)

Facsimile 2: Charles Colman, signatures on receipts (for himself and "one boy") for performance in *The Triumph of Peace*, 1634 (Longleat House, Whitelock Papers, parcel II, No. 9, Item 6, f. 2v). (Reproduced by permission of the Marquess of Bath, Longleat House, Warminster, Wiltshire, Great Britain.)

Facsimile 2: Charles Colman, signatures on receipts (for himself and "one boy") for performance in *The Triumph of Peace*, 1634 (Longleat House, Whitelock Papers, parcel II, No. 9, Item 6, f. 2v). (Reproduced by permission of the Marquess of Bath, Longleat House, Warminster, Wiltshire, Great Britain.)

signature are available in various Court documents (now at the Public Record Office, London; Facsimile 3, 1663 salary receipt; Facsimile 4, Colman as witness on will of Nicholas Lanier, 1661). The music in MS Broxbourne


12 *Lpro* LC9/195 1663 and PROB 10/986 March 1666 (Nicholas Lanier's
84.9 is entered in a single hand, except perhaps one song, S’io morrò, che dirà (ff. 9v-10). The slight differences of hand in this song possibly represent a change of pen or time rather than a new scribe.

Facsimile 3: Charles Colman, signature on salary receipt as member of The King’s Music, 1663 (Lpro LC9 / 195). (Reproduced with permission of the Public Record Office, London.)

[Facsimile image]

autograph will, dated 5 March 1661).
Facsimile 4: Charles Colman and John Hingeston, signatures as witnesses to Last Will and Testament of Nicholas Lanier, 5 March 1661 (L.pro PROB 10 / 986). (Reproduced with permission of the Public Record Office, London.)

LIp MS 1041 has been long associated with Colman, though not specifically stated as being partially in his hand. In LIp MS 1041 Colman’s name appears on f. 56 (Facsimile 5, Never persuade me to it...), f. 61v, and f. 53 (the last with the spelling “Charles Coleman”). LIp MS 1041 contains at least three, probably four different hands. The

Facsimile 5: Charles Colman, *Never persuade me to it...* (Lp MS 1041, f. 56). (Reproduced with permission of the Lambeth Palace Library, London.)
oldest hand (Hand 1) in *Lp* MS 1041 (ff. 3-7v, 51v-64), is much like that of MS Broxbourne 84.9 and is almost certainly Colman's. Initial comparison of these hands might lead one to doubt a close relationship. Nonetheless, as one proceeds through *Lp* MS 1041, it can be observed that Hand 1 gradually changes to become very similar to the hand of Broxbourne MS 84.9, albeit less formal (Facsimile 6, f. 62v, *Pensieri quietate, quietate non piú*). This gradual change, and the other hands interspersed, leads one to conclude the music was entered over several years. (Watermarks in both manuscripts suggest a probable beginning date of 1648-50.)

That the hand in MS Broxbourne 84.9 is more similar to Hand 1 in the latter part of *Lp* MS 1041 suggests MS Broxbourne 84.9 was copied after *Lp* MS 1041, possibly 1660-63, shortly before Colman's death (1664). This may explain why such a large manuscript (more than 93 leaves) contains only fifteen items. This conjecture is supported by comparison of the settings of Lanier's *Silly heart, forbear*—the only item in both manuscripts. The version in *Lp* MS 1041 gives a melody common to other early sources of the song and possibly closest to Lanier's original. The version of the melody in the Broxbourne manuscript is of later sources of the song. This treble is essentially the same as

14 The paper of *Lp* MS 1041 has two watermarks: the leaves ruled with music staves have a "posts" or "pillars" type, bearing initials that may read "MSD" (the mark is unclear); the unruled leaves have a "pot" type of watermark, with the initials "IB." In Broxbourne MS 84.9 the music paper is watermarked with a foolscap. This foolscap is very similar to one in Edward Heawood, *Watermarks, Mainly of the 17th and 18th Centuries* (Monumenta Chartae Papyraceae, Historiam Illustrantia; or Collection of Works and Documents Illustrating the History of Paper, I. Hilversum, 1950), no. 1921 (PL. 273), there dated as 1648-49 (p. 108). It is also somewhat similar to W.A. Churchill, *Watermarks in Paper in Holland, England, France, Etc., in the XVII and XVIII Centuries and Their Interconnection* (Amsterdam, 1935), no. 344, there dated 1649. The end leaves have the watermark of a shield or crest bearing a fleur-de-lis, and another watermark with an imprint that may be "Ganood." Neither of these is in Heawood or Churchill. The *Lp* MS 1041 watermarks are not in Heawood or Churchill.


16 *Lbl* Add. MS 11,608 f. 32v, *Ob* MS Broxbourne 84.9 ff. 2v-3, *NYp* Drexel
the melody in Lbl Add. MS 11,608.

Of the other hands in Llp MS 1041, Hand 2 (ff. 9v-19v) copied all the French songs, and one each in Italian (Se voi, luci amate) and English (When shall I see my captive heart). Hand 3 (ff. 64v-75v) and Hand 4 (ff. 77v-79) copied the seven English songs added later. Comparison of the hands of Charles Colman's sons, Charles [II] and Edward, in the Lord Chamberlain's records in the State Papers with Hands 2, 3, and 4 of Llp MS 1041 does not lead to positive identification.

As an additional note, it is worth mentioning that one page of Lbl Add. MS 34,800 c., f. 33, contains the treble of the song Go thy way, since thou wilt go in Charles Colman's hand, very similar in appearance to the setting in Llp MS 1041, f. 5. This was added much later than the remainder of Add. MS 34,800 c., which contains completely unrelated music entered about 1620.

**Performance Practice**

Space permits only a preliminary discussion of the manuscripts as guides to performance practice. The written-out vocal embellishments suggest that interpretation of the Italian and most of the English songs in these sources is consistent with that of Italian vocal music, ca. 1620-60 (Examples 1 and 2). As mentioned above, several songs by Henry Lawes have embellishment in a manner similar to

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17 These are too numerous to cite completely. For examples see Charles Colman [II]: Lpro LC 9/198 [second section]: 29 September 1672 to 24 June 1673 1672: St. Andrew f. 17v, LC 9/198 [third section]: 29 September 1673 to 24 June 1674 1673: St. Andrew f. 16v; Edward Colman: LC 9/195 [first section]: 24 June 1660 to 25 December 1661 1661: St. Andrew f. 21v, LC 9/195 [second section]: 25 March 1662 to 25 December 1662 1662: St. Andrew f. 34v, LC 9/195 [third section]: 25 March 1663 to 25 December 1663 1663: St. Andrew f. 30v, LC 9/196 [first section]: 29 September 1664 to 24 June 1665 1664: St. Andrew f. 15, LC 9/196 [second section]: 29 September 1665 to 24 June 1666 1665: St. Andrew f. 14v.

18 Add. MS 34,800 c. is the Bassus part-book of a set of three, dating after 1618.

19 In those songs where I have transcribed the embellishments in parallel (synoptic) text—first stanza plain and second embellished—the original gives the embellishments (with the second stanza) on a separate page, sans bass.
Example 1. Charles Colman, "Never persuade me to it" (meas. 1-5)

Lip MS 1041 fol. 56

Soprano or Tenor

1. Never persuade me to it I vow I live not.

Soprano or Tenor

2. You may argue I have heat, my pulses beat;

Theorbo in G

Editorial transcription of tablature

How canst thou expect a life in me since my soul is fled to my sighs have in them living fire and my eyes sparkle with de-
Example 2. "Dove, dove, corri, mio core?" (meas. 19-26)
*Ob MS Broxbourne 84.9 fol. 10v-11*
the French songs. The embellishment given with *Je ne connais que trop que j'aime* and *Qu'un rival vienne devant moi* in *Llp* MS 1041 (Example 3) is very similar to seventeenth-century French practice in other sources. Possibly the ornaments in the manuscript were provided as a guide for someone not familiar with current French methods.

The later songs with thorough bass contain stenographic symbols indicating the use of ornaments. The precise meaning of the various symbols cannot be specified exactly. Ornament tables in sources intended for instruments may suggest possibilities. Especially suitable is the table by Charles Colman printed in Simpson's *Division-Violist* (1659)\(^{20}\) and *Division-Viol* (1665)\(^{21}\) and in various printings of Playford's *Introduction*.\(^{22}\)

At cadences, the tablature accompaniment sometimes is given with very elusive rhythmic indications, or with no rhythm at all. This suggests the accompaniment simply follows the voice, *ad lib*. The tablature of one song, *Dove, dove, corri, mio core?*, has no rhythmic indication throughout (Example 2). The song is in the style of monody, and embellished, with a simple accompaniment, so this probably indicates the vocal part is relatively free regarding rhythmic values.

One curious feature of both manuscripts is the relative pitch level of voice and theorbo. If one accepts literally the notation of the voice part, the theorbo must be tuned at several different pitch levels to correspond. One assumes the performer would not retune the theorbo; rather it appears the vocal part is transcribed at a convenient level on the staff and in performance would adjust to the pitch of the theorbo.


\(^{22}\) For example, *I1666*, p. 96 (sig. G8v); *I1674*, p. 116 (sig. I2v).
Example 3. [Michel Lambert], “Je ne connais que trop que j’aime” (meas. 1-5)
Lip MS 1041 fol. 9v
Manuscript Contents

The following list of contents identifies composers (where possible), concordances in English and continental sources (to about 1710), and sources of lyrics. Names of composers in brackets are those attributed from concordances.23

Colman’s song, Blest be those powers is unique to MS Broxbourne 84.9. The three psalms in the Broxbourne manuscript are in unique variant versions, as are two songs of Henry Lawes, How cool and temp’rate am I grown and Oft have I sworn I’d love no more. Lawes’s songs, in triple meter in other sources, are here in duple meter (among other variants). Lanier’s Amorosa pargoletta occurs in only one other source, Och Music MS 17 f. 11v, there as a part song à 3.

Songs unique to Llp Ms 1041 are We do account that music good, Qu’un rival vienne devant moi, Chère Phillis, puisque tous mes services, Ne vous étonnez pas, Ma Cloris, je me meurs d’amour, all anonymous, and Charles Colman’s Farewell, farewell, fond love. The anonymous Italian song Non temer, Fillia mia is probably unique to Llp Ms 1041, as is possibly Pensieri quietate, quietate non più (though this song appears as a lyra-viol solo, in tablature, in D-Kl MS 4° Mus. 108.3 ff. 52v-53 no. 88).

Of the seven English songs added later to Llp Ms 1041, Last night my fair resolved to go (anon.), Lucinda, wink or veil those eyes (Matthew Locke), Fret on fond Cupid, curse thy feeble bow (John Goodgroome), and Ye powers that guard love’s silken throne (anon.), are unique to the manuscript.

At the end of MS 1041 are several pages containing chord tables in tablature (for continuo realization, ff. 79v, 81-81v, 83), a fragment of tablature (f. 91v), and a scrap of music in the treble clef (f. 93v).

23 I am grateful to François-Pierre Goy for assistance in determining concordances and attributions in continental sources.
INVENTORY OF THE MANUSCRIPTS

BODLEIAN LIBRARY MS BROXBORNE 84.9:

1. No, no, I never was in love, ff. 1v-2 [Henry Lawes]
   Lbl Add. MS 53,723 f. 138 (orig. p. 282) (au); Nyp Drexel MS 4257 no. 188; P1659 p. 65 A Protest against Love. (attrib.) (reissued in P1669)24

2. Silly heart forbear, ff. 2v-3 [Nicholas Lanier]
   Llp MS 1041 ff. 3v-4 (no. 2); Lbl Add. MS 11,608 f. 32v (attrib.); P1659 p. 57 Cupid detected. (reissued in P1669); Nyp Drexel MS 4257 no. 214; Lbl Egerton MS 2013 f. 37v (p. 72); Ob MS Don. c. 57 f. 50 (p. 97)
   Arrangement by ?John Playford (part-song à 3): Gu MSS R.d.58-60 (à 3; MS 58 ff. 2, 59 ff. 4, 60 f. 4); P1667 p. 183 (à 3; attrib. Lanier); S1680 pp. 88-89 (attrib. Lanier); Ob MS Mus. c. 5 f. 3 “Glee a 3 voc.” (attrib. John Playford); Ob MS Mus. c. 5 f. 13v
   Cittern Solo: P1666 no. 92

3. Amorosa pargoletta, f. 3v [Nicholas Lanier]
   OcB Music MS 17 f. 11v no. 24 (à 3; attrib.)
   Another setting of the lyrics is printed in Benedetti, Musiche...Libro Quarto (Florence, 1617).25 A setting of similar lyrics, also beginning “Amorosa pargoletta,” is printed in Brunelli, Arie (Venice, 1613).26 F-Fn MS Magl. Cl.XIX.143, f. 54v (early 17th century) contains similar lyrics with guitar alfabeto. The first stanza of the poem in this manuscript is the same as that in Brunelli’s Arie, suggesting the lyrics are intended for Brunelli’s melody. The same manuscript, ff. 75v-76, contains another poem, beginning “Mi sento vinta ormai” (“sopra amorosa pargoletta”), intended to be sung to the melody of the version of Amorosa pargoletta on f. 54v.27 Severi, Arie (Rome, 1626),28 included a setting beginning with the same lyrics. The only known copy of Severi’s book is now missing, so his setting cannot be compared to these.
   Lyrics: Benedetti, Musiche...Libro quarto (Florence, 1617), p. 14.

4. Fuggi, fuggi, fuggi dileta amante, f. 4 [anon.]
   16521 41; P1659 p. 15 An Italian Ayre. (reissued in P1669)
   F-Fe Codex Barbera G.F.83 p. 158 (lyrics beginning “Fuggi...da questo cielo,” attrib. Giuseppeppino [del Biabo]);29 F-Bas Malvezzi-Campeggi MS serie IV.

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26 Antonio Brunelli, Arie, Scherzi, Canzonette, Madrigali, a una, due, e tre voci per sonare, e cantare...Opera Nona. (Venice, 1613), p. 3 (Sig. A4).
27 See Bianca Becherini, Catalogo dei manoscritti musicali della Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze (Kassel, 1959), pp. 68-69 (nr. 65).
28 Francesco Severi, Arie...Libro Primo (Rome, 1626), p. 67 [no copy of this source survives]. Some references to settings in Italian sources are supplied by James Tyler and Dinko Fabris.
29 This setting is transcribed in Federico Ghisi, “An Early Seventeenth...
b.86/746 f. 91v ("Fuggi... dolente core," lyrics with tablature)

The melody survives in a very large number of instrumental settings, often with the title "Ballo di Mantova." Continental instrumental sources include: Foriano Pico, *Nuova scelta di sonate*... (Naples, 1608), p.16 *Ballo di Mantova* (guitar alphabeto); Pietro Milioni and Lodovico Monte, *Vero, e facil modo d'imparare a sonare*... (Venice, *ca.* 1627), p. 26 *Ballo di Mantova* (guitar); Stefano Landi, *Il S. Alessio*, (Rome, 1634), pp. 159-178, "Ballertto delle virtù," as a ritornello (à 4); *I-Mt Codice Trivulziano* no. 55 p. 193 *Baraban Passeggiato* (guitar tablature and alphabeto); *I-Me* MS Santa Barbara 171/1 ff. 2v-3 *Baraban* (à 4); *I-Me* MS Santa Barbara 171/2 p. 3 *Baraban* (violin with divisions); Antonio Carbonchi, *Le Dodici chitarre spostate*... (Florence, 1643), p. 35 *Ballo di Mantova* (guitar); Gasparo Zannetti, *Il Scolaro* (Milan, 1645), pp. 122-123, *La Mantouana* (à 4 with guitar tablature); *D-DO* Mus. MS 12141 p. 39 *Ballo di Mantua* (lute); *D-Ngm* MS 33748/271.5 ff. 1v-2 Fuggi Fuggi (keyboard); *D-Ngm* MS 33748/271.5 f. 7v *Corrente del Fugi* (keyboard) [triple meter]; *D-SWi* MS Mus. 641 pp. 130-131 *Chanson* (lute, corrupt); *D-Rp* MS A N 63 p. 26 *Mantouana* (guitar alphabeto); *D-Rp* MS A N 63 p. 27, three other versions *Per D, Per +, Per O* (guitar alphabeto); *NL-DHgm* MS 10 B 7 no. 1 *Cecilia* (chimes); *NL-DHgm* MS 10 B 7 no. 33 *Cecilia* (chimes); *F-Pn* Rév. Vmf MS 48 ff. 131v-132 *Gavotte* (lute); *F-AIxM* Ms. Rs. 17 f. 113v *Pantalon, la Cascanillane* (lute); *D-MZfederhofer* [Blovin MS] p. 46 (guitar); *D-KI* MS 4° Mus. 108.2 f. 12v (lyra viol); *PL-Lw* MS 1985 f. 20v


30 Dr. Isabella Zanni Rosiello, Director, Archivio di Stato, Bologna kindly provided a copy of this setting.


32 About thirteen editions of Milioni's book were published, *ca.* 1627-1737. Several, if not all, include this setting; for example see Milioni & Monte, *Vero, e facil modo d'imparare a sonare, et accordare da se medesimo la chitarra spagnola* (Venetia & Macerata, 1675), p. 26 *Ballo di Mantova* (guitar)—the book is cited in Sotheby's Catalogue, Continental Printed Books, Manuscripts and Music: London, Thursday 3rd and Friday 4th December, no. 490 (p. 213), and was viewed at the sale by Robert Spencer, who provided this information.

33 Dr. Giovanni M. Piazza, Archivio Storico e Biblioteca Trivulziana, Milan, supplied a copy of this page.

34 Most concordances for *Fuggi, fuggi*... are provided by François-Pierre Goy, with some additions from James Tyler and Dinko Fabris.

34 Español... (Zaragoza, 1674) I f. 4 Baile de Mansua (guitar); PL-LZu MS 3779 f. 5 Le Brante de mantoue (lute); A-GÖ MS Laurententabulatur Nr. 1 f. 67v Air (lute); F-Pn Fonds Conservatoire National Rés. F. 844 p. 281 brante de Mantoue (guitar); F-Pn Fonds Conservatoire National Rés. F. 844 pp. 292-293 brante de Mantoue (guitar).

Instrumental settings are also in several English sources including: P1657 supplement no. 31 An Italian Rant (à 1); M1652 p. 11 (no. 8) New rant. (lute) [title in table of contents is A New Rant.]; C1652 p. 4 Fuggi, Fugga, or the Italian Rant (guitar); "Priscilla Bunbury's Book" no. 25 the new Rant (keyboard); M1665 no. 29 Italian Rant (Sig. D2v);36 Lbl Add. MS 63,852 f. 6 The new Rant (keyboard); Lbl Add. MS 63,852 f. 115v The new Rant (lyra viol); M1669 no. 73 (lyra viol); Mr "The Barcalure lute book" p. 85 My Mistres is Prettie, by monsieur Mouton

Marini's... Diversi generi di sonate, da chiesta, e da camera... (1655) includes a sonata Sopra fuggi dolente core, using the melody of this song as a wandering cantus firmus.37 I-Fn MS B.R. 238 (Magl. CLXIX.114) pp. 8-9 contains a setting with different music of lyrics beginning "Fuggi fuggi dolente core" (4 stanzas), in F major, triple meter (C3), solo voice with single bass line accompaniment.38

Lyrics: in Romano, Primo raccolta di Bellissime Canzonette (1618), pp. 45-46; possibly by Cataneo.39 Another text associated with the same tune, "Fuggi, fuggi dolente core," is on pp. 47-48 of Prima raccolta.

5. Je ne puis éviter, ff. 4v-5 [François de Chancy] Chancy, Airs de cour... (1635) ff. 5v-6 (different lyrics, 3 stanzas); Psg MS 2350 f. 16, keyboard with lyrics (stanza 1 only)40

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36 This setting is also in the 1678 edition.


38 MS B.R. 238 (Magliabechiano CLXIX.114), collection of vocal music (solo with basso continuo) from the first half of the seventeenth century, including music by Monteverdi; once in the collection of the Medici Palace; see Becherini, Catalogo dei manoscritti musicali della Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze, pp. 49-50 (nr. 48), and M.A. Bartoli Becherini, La Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze (Florence, 1990).

39 Remegio Romano, Prima Raccolta di Bellissime Canzonette (1618), pp. 45-47 (1620, p. 47) (1625, pp. 63-64). [1618 Lbl 1463.a.9.(1), apparently unique, is missing; 1620 Lbl 11429.aaa20.(2) and Lbl 1463.a.9.(2) likewise are missing at the British Library].

Instrumental settings include: \(^{41}\)

Keyboard: Kk MS Gl. Kgl. Saml. N° 376 ff. 3v-4, Sarabande; Lr MS Ant. Pract. K.N. 146 f. 60v, Saraband; \(^{42}\) Lr MS Ant. Pract. K.N. 148 f. 54v, Saraband; \(^{43}\) Och Mus. MS 1236 pp. 8-9, Sarabande; Pn Réés. MS 1185 p. 321, Sellabrand; S-KMS 4b ff. 16v-17, Saraband

Other: Jacob van Eyck, Der Fluyten lust-Hof; Eerste deel (1649) ff. 36v-38, Phìlis schoone Herderinne (solo recorder, with 3 variations by van Eyck); Jacob van Eyck, Der Fluyten lust-Hof; Eerste deel ff. 91v-92, Phìlis schoon Herderinne, met 2. (2 recorders, with 1 variation by van Eyck); Paulus Matthysz, 't Uitnemend Kabinets 1 ff. 9v-10 (no. 10), Je ne puis évíter. (1 instrument) M° Pieter de Vois, with one variation setting by Steven van Eyck (strain A), Pieter de Vois (strain B), and J. van Eyck (strain B); \(^{44}\) Oude en nieuwe Hollandse Boeren lietjes en Contredansen. Tiende Deel (ca. 1709) pp. 8-9, no. 731 je ne puis évíter (1 instrument), probably derived from 't Uitnemend Kabinet; Godfredus Benischer’s lute book, 1676 no. 7, Sarabande (lute). \(^{45}\)

In Chancy’s Airs de cour this is not called Sarabande, even though others are. The melody of “Je ne puis évíter” is indicated as timbre to the lyrics of a canticle, “Autre [cantique] sur l’air si ma siluie na point d’amour je suis,” in F-T MS 1686 p. 83. This canticle is in the oldest portion of the manuscript, ca. 1637. \(^{46}\)


6. How cool and temp’rate am I grown, ff. 5v-6 [Henry Lawes]

Lbl Add. MS 53,723 f. 161v (orig. p. 339) (au); NYp Drexel MS 4041 f. 69v; NYp Drexel MS 4257 no. 266; En Adv. MS 5.2.17 f. 17 (treble only); P1652 I 11; P1653 I 14; P1659 p. 42 Love in a Calme. (attrib.) (reissued in P1669)

Lyrics: in several contemporary manuscripts, including Lbl Harley MS 3991 ff.

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26.

41 Instrumental concordances for this song are all provided by François-Pierre Goy.

42 See Friedrich Welter, Katalog der Musikalien der Ratsbüherei Lüneburg (Lippstadt, 1950), p. 122 (Nr. 689).

43 See Welter, Katalog der Musikalien der Ratsbüherei Lüneburg, p. 122 (Nr. 686).


45 Whereabouts of this manuscript is not known—it is probably in private hands. For a modern transcription see F.J. Giesbert, Godfredus Bensberg, Tabulaturbuch für Laute 1676, Handschrift aus dem Besitz von Robert Engel. (Neuwied, 1970).

46 Concordance from François-Pierre Goy.
8. "Of I have sworn I'd love no more," ff. 7v-8 [Henry Lawes]

Lyrics: Henry Hughes; in several contemporary manuscripts, including Ob MS Rawl. poet. 147 p. 159, "Lord Mainard to Mrs. Kirke."; MS Rawl. poet. 65 f. 29v (beg: "Once have I...").

9. [La Folia], f. 8 [anon.]

At the bottom of the page is another short passage (in tablature) in the nature of a transitional exercise moving from C major to D minor.

10. "Blest be those powers," ff. 8v-9 Cha: Colman: (au)

11. "Si morro, che dirà," ff. 9v-10 [anon.]

Lyrics: The lyrics of this song are an extensive reworking of a poem in Diaconta Fedele, Scelta di vanelle Napoletane bellissime... (Vicenza, 1628), Sig. A2, beginning "Che dirà se io moro," there with guitar alabeto.

12. "Dove, dove, caro, mio core," ff. 10v-11 [anon.]

Lyrics: There is a different anonymous setting in I-Fe Codex Barbera G.F.83 pp. 3-4 (early 17th century), with the heading "Spirituale." Gesualdo set the same lyrics (with several variants), issued in a posthumous printing of his Madrigali a sei voci (1626), beginning "Dove fuggi o mio core" (two stanzas).

47 Lbl Harley MS 3991: poetry, song lyrics, and topical verse; after 1670.

48 See Willetts, The Henry Lawes Manuscript, p. 77.


Lyrics: a similar poem is in Annibale Pocaterra, Dialoghi della vergogna (Reggio, 1607), p. 45.\textsuperscript{52}

13. \textit{How happy art thou and I}, ff. 11v-12 [Henry Lawes]

\textit{Lbl} Add. MS 53,723 f. 154v (orig. p. 315) (au); \textit{Lbl} Add. MS 11,608 f. 57v; \textit{NYp} Drexel MS 4257 no. 270; \textit{P1652} I 21; \textit{P1653} I 15; \textit{P1659} p. 60 [misnumbered 56] \textit{On Liberty} (reissued in \textit{P1669}); \textit{P1667} p. 184 (à 3); \textit{C1673/72} p. 91 \textit{Liberty}; \textit{S1680} pp. 90-91 (à 3; attrib. Mr. Henry Lewis [sic]); \textit{F1682} Sig Nv-N2 (à 3; attrib. Mr. Henry Lewis [sic])

Cittern Solo: \textit{P1666} no. 89

The version of "How happy art thou and I" in MS Broxbourne 84.9 is peculiar, providing a minor accompaniment to the major tonality of the tune.

Lyrics: in several contemporary manuscripts, including \textit{Ob} MS Rawl. poet. 65 f. 35; MS Rawl. poet. 116 f. 60v;\textsuperscript{53} \textit{US-Ws} MS V.a.169 II f. 1v (rev); MS V.a.308 ff. 1v-2\textsuperscript{54} and in \textit{The New Academy of Complements...} (1671), p. 178.

14. \textit{Lord, to thee I make my moan}, ff. 91v-92 [Sternhold & Hopkins melody with added embellishment]

Lyrics: Psalm 130: \textit{S1617}.

15. \textit{Lord, in thy wrath reprove me not}, f. 92 [St. Davids Tune with added embellishment]

Lyrics: Psalm 6: \textit{S1617}; the Sternhold & Hopkins printings do not provide a melody.

16. \textit{Blessed art they that perfect are}, ff. 92v-93 [Sternhold & Hopkins melody with added embellishment]

\textit{Lbl} Harley MS 7549 f. 14; \textit{S1680} pp. 66-67; music for this psalm is in various of \textit{Playford...Introduction...}, for example \textit{I1666} (& \textit{I1667}) p. 68 (Sig. F2v), \textit{I1674} p. 89 (Sig. G5), \textit{I1679} p. 87 (Sig. G4), \textit{I1694} Sig. E2

Lyrics: Psalm 119: \textit{S1617}.

LAMBETH PALACE LIBRARY MS 1041:

1. \textit{We do account that music good}, f. 3 [anon.] (Hand 1—Charles Colman)

2. \textit{Silly heart forbear}, ff. 3v-4 [Nicholas Lanier] (Hand 1)

Concordances are listed above with no. 2 of MS Broxbourne 84.9.

3. \textit{Go thy way, since thou wilt go}, ff. 5-4v [Charles Colman] (Hand 1)

\textit{Lbl} Add. MS 34,800 c. ff. 33 (in Colman's hand), treble only; \textit{Ob} MS Don. c. 57 f. 38 (p. 73); \textit{NYp} Drexel MS 4257 no. 13; \textit{Lbl} Add. MS 63, 852 ff. 51v-52

4. \textit{Sing aloud harmonious spheres}, f. 5v [anon.] (Hand 1)

\textit{Ob} MS Don. c. 57 f. 80v; \textit{Eu} MS Dc.1.69 p. 167/\textit{Ob} MS Mus. d. 238 p. 164 [à

\textsuperscript{52} The poem is not in an earlier book of Annibale Pocaterra, \textit{Due dialogi della vergogna} (Ferrara, 1592).


\textsuperscript{54} See Willetts, \textit{The Henry Lawes Manuscript}, p. 75.
Lyrics: possibly William Strode; in US-Ws MS V.a.170 p. 27 "W.S."

5. **Light in a Dungeon: Beat on proud billows, Boreas blow, ff. 7-6v [anon.] (Hand 1)**

Ob MS Don. c. 57 ff. 34 (p. 65); a different setting of the same text is in NYp Drexel MS 4257 no. 326 [numbered "3016" = "316" in the manuscript]

Lyrics: Roger L'Estrange; in a great number of seventeenth-century manuscripts, including Ob MS Add. B. 106 ff. 45v-47; MS Rawl. poet. 142 ff. 46v-47 ("M's L'Estrange his prison solace."); Lbl Sloane MS 1454 ff. 29-30v "The Liberty and Requiem of an Imprisoned Royalist"; Lbl Harley MS 3511 ff. 8-9 ("M's Le Strange his verses in the Prison at Linn"); US-Ws MS V.a.85 pp. 44-45, "Loves freedomes"; MS V.a.148 I ff. 119v-120 inverted, "Contentment"; MS V.a.169 II ff. 8-10 (rev); MS V.a.232 pp. 40-41; MS X.d.171. pp. 1-2, "A song made by S' Wm. Davenant when confined in Cowes Castle in the Isle of Wight". The sources of this poem provide various stanzas in differing order.

6. **Ask me no more whither doth stray [Ask me no more where Love bestows], f. 7v [anon.] (Hand 1)**

Ob MS Don. c. 57 f. 36v (p. 70); NYp Drexel MS 4257 no. 3

William Lawes's setting of these lyrics is in his autograph manuscript, Lbl Add. MS 31,432. f. 11. John Wilson's setting is in his *Cheerfull Ayres or Ballads*. (Three partbooks. Oxford, 1660). *Cantus Primus* pp. 42-43, and Ob MS Mus. b. 1 f. 113v.

Lyrics: Thomas Carew, *Poems* (London, 1640). p. 180. This poem is in many other sources, including *Ob* MS Ashmole 38 p. 137; MS Ashmole 47 ff. 53-53v; MS Eng. poet. f. 25 f. 63; MS Tanner 465 ff. 60-60v (attrib. in different ink: "Sr. H. Worton"); Lbl Harley MS 3511 ff. 73-73v ("Ode."); US-Ws MS V.a.148 I f. 125v (inv) "Answer Affirmative"; US-Ws MS V.a.160 (second pagination) p. 14, "Of a fayre and vertuous Mistress. A Sonett"; MS V.a.169 II f. 11 (rev); MS V.a.319 f. 75 (inv) "Song."

55 MS V.a.85, Poems, ca. 1600-ca. 1670.

56 The poetry of MS V.a.148 was entered ca. 1660.

57 This poem is the only item in MS X.d.171.


59 Lbl copy has date "Sept: 20 1659" written in a contemporary hand.


7. *Je ne connais que trop que j'aime*, ff. 9v, 11-11v [Michel Lambert] (Hand 2)

*Lbl* Harley MS 7549 ff. 24-23v (treble only)

*F-Pn* Vm\(^7\) 501 f. 48v (in a section headed "Airs de Mr Lambert," 1 stanza only)\(^62\); *F-Pn* MS Cabinet des Estampes, Kb 88 f. 8, "Air" (treble only, 2 stanzas); *F-Pn* MS Fr. 19097 ff. 15v-16, "Air" (2 stanzas, 2 voice with bass line), beginning "Je ne cognois que trop que l'ayme"; *Livre d'airs de devotion à deux parties* (Paris, 1656), ff. 5v-6 (with sacred text by Pater François Berthod, 2 stanzas)

This song was never printed with the original lyrics; neither is it included in the main collections of Lambert's airs (such as *F-Pn* Rés. 584: *Airs de Mr Lambert non imprimés*...). This song is perhaps one of his earliest works. *Llp* MS 1041 is the only source which provides written-out embellishments.


8. *N'entendez-vous point ce langage?* f. 11v [Jean de Cambefort] (Hand 2)

*Lbl* Harley MS 7549 ff. 13-12v (treble only)

Cambefort, *Airs de couv*... (Paris, 1651) ff. 5v-6 (4 stanzas); *Pn* Rés. Vma MS 854 p. 76 (1 stanza only)\(^63\)

Instrumental arrangement: *Pig* MS 2344 ff. 8v-9, "Air nouueau" (guitar tablature and lyrics, no voice, three stanzas)\(^64\); *Pig* MS 2351 f. 17 (guitar tablature and lyrics, no voice, 1 stanza, in same hand as MS 2344)\(^65\)


9. *Qu'un rival vienne devant moi*, ff. 13-14 [anon.] (Hand 2)


10. *Se voir, luci amate*; f. 15 [Gabriel de Rochechouart, marquis de Mortemart?] (Hand 2)

*Lbl* Add. MS 11,608 f. 60; *Lbl* Harley MS 7549 ff. 6-5v (treble only)

Instrumental settings: Woodford Green (Essex), Spencer Collection, "The Burwell Lute Tutor" f. 61v, "This saraband was made by the Marquis of Mortmar." (lute)\(^66\) *Pn* Fonds Conservatoire National Rés. 1402 p. 45 *Sarabande Se Voi Lucia mate* (guitar tablature); *D-SWi* MS 641 pp. 10-11

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62 Continental music concordances for *Je ne connais* provided by François-Pierre Goy.
63 The two vocal and the instrumental concordances provided by François-Pierre Goy.
The Marquis of Mortmart mentioned in "The Burwell lute tutor" was Gabriel de Rochechouart, Marquis de Mortemart, premier gentilhomme de la Chambre du Roi, made duke and peer 1650. He was the father of Madame de Montespan, mistress of Louis XIV. Another air by him is in F-Pn Rés. Vma MS 854, p. 161. The attribution may refer to the song itself or to only the lute setting in this manuscript. The setting in SWl MS 641 is the same as that in "The Burwell lute tutor" but with each strain repeated.67

11. When shall I see my captive heart, ff. 15v, 17 [Henry Lawes?] (Hand 2)

Lbl Add. MS 53,723 f. 167v (au); Lbl Harley MS 7549 f. 19 (treble only);

HLIII1658, p. 13 Future Hope (reissued in P1669/iii)

Lyrics: Henry Hughes.68

12. Chère Phillis, puisque tous mes services, f. 17v [anon.] (Hand 2)

13. Ne vous étonnez pas, f. 19 [anon.] (Hand 2)

Lyrics: in Recueil de tous les plus beaux airs bachiques ...(Paris, 1671), p. 175, "Air"

(2 stanzas only).

14. Ma Cloris, je me meurs d'amour, f. 19v [anon.] (Hand 2)

15. Cloris, when I to thee present, ff. 51v-52 [Henry Lawes] (Hand 1)

Lbl Add. MS 53,723 f. 146v (au)

16. Bright Aurelia, I do owe, ff. 53-52v Charles Colman (Hand 1)

P1652 I 30 (attrib. in table of contents); P1653 I 29 (attrib.); P1659 p. 30 To Aurelia. (attrib.) (reissued in P1669)

The signature, spelt "Charles Coleman," is doubtful autograph; (other autographs spell the name "Colman").

Lyrics: in Wits Interpreter (London, 1655) and US-Wi MS V.a.169 II f. 23 (rev)

17. O mia Fillia gradita, ff. 53v-54v [anon.] (Hand 1)

Vincenti, Arie de Diversi Raccolte (1634), p. 38; F-Pn Rés Vmc MS 77 pp.

213-215

A different setting is in Lazzaro Valvasensi, Terzo giardino d'amorosi fiori...(Venice, ?1634), pp. 18-19.71

18. Never persuade me to it, ff. 56-56v Cha†; Colman (Hand 1)

P1652 I 30-31 (attrib. in table of contents); P1653 I 30

Lyrics: in US-Wi MS V.a.169 II f. 24v (rev) and Westminster–Drollery (1671),

pp. 18-19, "A Song at the Kings House"

19. Perfect and endless circles are, ff. 58-57v [William Lawes] (Hand 1)

Lbl Add. MS 31,432 f. 29v (au)

67 The instrumental concordances and additional information provided by François-Pierre Goy.

68 Attributed to Hughes in the table of contents of ML III 1658. See Willetts, The Henry Lawes Manuscript, p. 77.

69 Alessandro Vincenti, Arie de diversi raccolte (Venice, 1634).

70 The Paris concordance provided by François-Pierre Goy.

71 Only one damaged book, lacking title page, survives (Switzerland, Maienfeld, private collection of Sprecher von Bernegg).
20. *Farewell, farewell, fond love*, ff. 58v-59, 60, 60v, 62-61v Charles Colman (Hand 1)

21. *Pensieri quietate, quietate non piú*, ff. 62v-63 [anon.] (Hand 1)
*D-K* MS 4° Mus. 108.3 ff. 52v-53 no. 88 (solo lyra viol in tablature)

22. *Non temer, Fillia mia*, ff. 63v-64 [anon.] (Hand 1)

23. *Last night my fair resolved to go*, ff. 64v-65 [anon.] (Hand 3)

24. *Lucinda, wink or veil those eyes*, ff. 67-66v Mat: Locke (Hand 3)
Lyrics: used in Mountfort, *The Injur'd Lovers* (1688)—probably Draghi’s setting (in some printed sources).

Lyrics: in *Ob* MS Rawl. poet. 65 f. 26v (attrib. “Jer Savil” [a composer])

26. *Ye powers that guard love’s silken throne*, ff. 71-71v [anon.] (Hand 3)

27. *Oft have I searched both court and town*, ff. 73-72v Alp: Marshe [Alphonso Marsh] (Hand 3)

*P1669/i* 63 *Loves Hue and Cry.* (attrib.)

28. *The glories of our birth and state*, ff. 75-74v, 75v Ed: Colman (Hand 3)
*Gu* MSS R.d.58-61 (58 f. 2v attrib., 59: f. 2v; 60: f. 2v; 61: f. 7v); *F-Pc* Rés MS 2489 p. 336 (from: “scepter...” cho. à 3 (attrib.); *Pe* Rés MS 2489 p. 340 (à 2); *P1667* pp. 146-147 (attrib.); *P1669/i* 74-75 *The Triumphs of Death.* (attrib.); *C1673* 72 pp. 156-157 (à 3, attrib.); *B1678* pp. 116-117; *S1680* pp. 92-93 (attrib.)
Lyrics: James Shirley, *The Contention of Ajax and Ulysses* (1659); in many other sources, including *Ob* MS Rawl. poet. 37 p. 46-47; *MS Rawl.* poet. 65 p. 27; *MS Rawl.* poet. 90 ff. 41-41v; *MS Rawl.* poet. 196 f. 14v; *US-W* MS V.a.232 p. 62 (“by James Shirley.”).74

29. *Cloris when that you do intend* [treble only] [Chloris, whence’er you do intend], ff. 77v-79 [Henry Lawes] (Hand 4)
*Lbl Add.* MS 53,723 f. 157v (au); *H11165* p. 4 *Counsel to a Maid.* (reissued 72 MS Eng. poet. e. 30: “Hannah’s manuscript”, named after Archdeacon John Hannah, who borrowed it for his edition of 1643 from his publisher William Pickering: poetry, including works by Henry King. Most of the manuscript was copied by Thomas Manne, Chaplain of Christ Church, Oxford, 1605-35. A second hand added ten poems, ca. 1636-38. The manuscript contains corrections in King’s hand. A fourth hand added a few prose items at the end of the manuscript, ca. 1657. See Margaret Crum, “Introduction,” *The Poems of Henry King* (Oxford, 1965), pp. 48-49, 150, 226.

Lyrics: Henry Hughes.

PRIMARY MANUSCRIPT SOURCES EXAMINED FOR CONCORDANCES (with abbreviations):

**GB: GREAT BRITAIN**

**Ed**
Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland

**Eu**
Edinburgh, University Library
MS Dc.1.69: *Canus I* of three part-books in the hand of Edward Lowe, ca. 1645-60 or slightly later; companion to Ob MS Mus. d. 238 (*Canus II*).

**Gu**
Glasgow, University Library (Euing Music Collection)

**Lbl**
London, British Library
Add. MS 11,608: A large collection of songs, ca. 1640-60, in three hands, one probably of John Hilton.

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75 See Spink, *English Song, Dowland to Purcell*, p. 273.
78 Except the canon "Ora et Labora" (f. 39), entered probably in the eighteenth century.

Add. MS 34,800 c: Bassus, one of three part-books belonging to William King; after 1618.

Add. MS 53,723: Henry Lawes’s autograph song-book, before 1626 to 1652 (or perhaps 1662).

Add. MS 63,852: The Boynton virginal and lyra viol book, ca. 1640-80.

Egerton MS 2013: 73 songs, many before 1644, some with tablature; probably the collection of an amateur.

Harley MS 7549: Psalms and songs in English, Italian, and French; late seventeenth century.

Lip London, Lambeth Palace Library


Mu Manchester University Library

Tabley Song Book: Manuscript additions (ca. 1653-60) in P 1653 and Henry Lawes, Ayres and Dialogues, 1653.

Mr Manchester University Library, Deansgate Branch (John Rylands Library)

The Balcarres lute book: A manuscript from Balcarres House, Fife, on loan at Mr, ca. 1705-1715.

Ob Oxford, Bodleian Library

MS Broxbourne 84.9: twelve solo songs and three psalms with tablature, ca. 1660-63.

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84 See Spink, “Sources of English Song, 1620-1660,” 131; Spink (ed.), English Songs, 1625-1660, p. 190; Spink, English Song, Dowland to Purcell, p. 272.

85 Information concerning the Tabley Song Book was provided by Robert Spencer, who is preparing a study of this source.
MS Don. c. 57: Songs, dialogues, etc. entered ca. 1625-1650; about 1800 horticultural information was written over the original contents in a heavier ink.  

MS Mus. c. 5: Glee and part-songs in the hand of Philip Hayes (1736-97), ca. 1763-97.  

MS Mus. d. 238: “the 2d Treble” or “Cantus 2dus” of three part-books; companion to Eu MS Dc.1.69.  

Och  

Oxford, Christ Church College Library  

Music MS 17: English and Italian vocal music, in the hands of Lowe and Aldrich, late seventeenth century.  

Music MS 1236: French and English keyboard music, belonging to William Ellis (d. 1674).  

Poulton Lancelyn (Cheshire), private collection of Scirard Lancelyn Green  

“Priscilla Bunbury’s Book”: keyboard music, ca. 1635.  

Woodford Green (Essex)  

Spencer Collection  

The Burwell Lute Tutor: Elizabeth Burwell’s instruction book for lute, ca. 1660-72.  

FRANCE:  

Pc  

Paris, Bibliothèque du Conservatoire  

Rés. 1185: keyboard music, 1613-52, in the hands of John Bull and Ben Cosyn.  

Rés. 2489: John Playford’s song-book, ca. 1660. The manuscript was probably much larger originally.  

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92 See John P. Cutts, “Seventeenth-Century Songs and Lyrics in Paris
USA:  
NYp  New York, Public Library at Lincoln Centre, Library and Museum of the Performing Arts

Drexel MS 4041: Songs, possibly in the hand of John Atkins, ca. 1640-50; evidently related to Drexel MS 4257.93

Drexel MS 4257: "John Gamble his booke amen 1659 ano domine";94 large collection of songs, ca. 1630-60 or later; in three hands, two being probably Ambrose Beeland and Gamble.95

MANUSCRIPTS OF CONTINENTAL PROVENANCE:

AUSTRIA:

GÖ  Furth bei Göttweig, Benediktinerstift, Musikarchiv
MS Lautentabulatur Nr. 1 (in camera praefecti): various pieces for 11-course lute etc., ca. 1735-1739.96

GERMANY:

DO  Donaueschingen, Fürstlich Fürstenbergische Hofbibliothek
MS mus. 12141: Lute music, ca. 1640-45.

KL  Kassel, Murhard'sch Bibliothek der Stadt und Landesbibliothek
MS 4° Mus. 108.2: Music for viola da gamba in French lute tablature; in at least four hands, ca. 1690-1700.97
MS 4° Mus. 108.3: Viola da gamba music in tablature, in the hand of Willem Deutekom, ca. 1690-1700.98

Lr  Lüneburg, Ratsbücherei der Stadt

94 Drexel MS 4257, f. Iv.
96 RISM B VII 127; Josef Klima, Die Lautenhandschriften der Benediktinerabtei Göttweig, N.Ö. (Maria-Enzersdorf bei Wien, 1975), passim.
97 RISM B VII 138.
98 RISM B VII 138-139.


MZfederhofer Mainz, Hellmuth Federhofer (private collection)
Manuscript (unnumbered) of tablature for lute and for guitar, with and without alphabetto, ca. 1670-75, in several hands, including Julien Blovin. On f. 18v is written “Julien Blouin A Rome le IIºme Auril 1673.”101

Ngm Nürnberg, Bibliothek des Germanischen National-Museums
MS 33748/271.5: Keyboard music, possibly ca. 1640-50.

Rp Regensburg, Proske’sche Musikbibliothek
MS A N 63: 5-course guitar alphabetto, ca. 1660. On the title page is written “DI DOMENICO ROMANI.”102

SWI Schwerin, Mecklenburgische Landesbibliothek, Musikabteilung
Mus. MS 641: An important source of lute music in tablature, mainly in Pinel’s hand, dated “Le dixiesme octobre 1651” (p. 178).103 Many of the pieces are heavily embellished and “may present the most accurate guide we have to performance practices at mid-century.”104

DK DENMARK:

Kk København, Det Kongelige Biblioteket, Musikafdelningen

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100 See Welter, Katalog der Musikalien der Ratsbücherei Lüneburg, p. 35 and passim; Apel, The History of Keyboard Music to 1700, p. 384.

101 RISM B VII 204-206.

102 RISM B VII 299.


105 On f. 2 is written “Año 1626, 3 Janur fecit”; on f. 7v “Anfangen 1639, 3 Januar.”

FRANCE:

**AIXm** Aix-en-Provence, Bibliothèque Municipale, Bibliothèque Méjanes
MS Rés. 17: Two collections in one: I. Italian lute tablature, ca. 1585-20; II. French lute tablature, ca. 1665-75.\(^{107}\)

**Pn** Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
Cabinet des Estampes, Kb 88: songs, mid-seventeenth-century, some in Dutch; with drawings added after 1757 by Pierre-Jean-Paul, Chevalier de Berny (1722-79), in Brussels.\(^{108}\)
Fonds Conservatoire National Rés. 1402: 5-course guitar tablature (without alphabeto), ca. 1650-1700.\(^{109}\)
Fonds Conservatoire National, Rés. F. 844: 5-course French guitar tablature (without alphabeto), ca. 1735.\(^{110}\)
MS Fr. 19097: Airs, courantes, and sarabandes, all à 2; in the same hand as Cabinet des Estampes, Kb 88.
Rés. Vm\(^7\) 501: Airs by Boësset, Lambert, Lully, and Le Camus, late seventeenth-century (ca. 1670-80?).\(^{111}\)
MS Rés. Vmc 77: Italian vocal music, in the possession of Henry Roper, Baron of Teynham 1703.
MS Rés. Vmf 48: French lute music, ca. 1665-68.

**Pg** Paris, Bibliothèque Ste Geneviève
MS 2344: French guitar tablature (without alphabeto), ca. 1649-70.\(^{112}\)
MS 2350: Keyboard music and some arrangements of songs with lyrics; eighteenth century.\(^{113}\)
MS 2351: French guitar tablature (without alphabeto) for 5-course guitar, ca. 1650-70.\(^{114}\)

**T** Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale
MS 1686: About 250 French canticles composed and copied ca. 1637-1716 by nuns of the Monastère de la Visitation in Troyes, without

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\(^{107}\) *RISM* B VII 3-5.

\(^{108}\) François-Pierre Goy provided this information.

\(^{109}\) *RISM* B VII 273.

\(^{110}\) *RISM* B VII 274.

\(^{111}\) François-Pierre Goy provided the information concerning these French manuscripts.

\(^{112}\) See Garros and Wallon, *Catalogue du fonds musical de la Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève de Paris*, pp. 18-21; see also *RISM* B VII 275-276.


\(^{114}\) See Garros and Wallon, *Catalogue du fonds musical de la Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève de Paris*, pp. 26-28; see also *RISM* B VII 277.
music, but the lyrics have indications of the melodies intended.\textsuperscript{115}

\textbf{ITALY:}

\textit{Bas}  
Bologna, Archivio di Stato  
Malvezzi-Campeggi MS serie IV, b.86/746: Italian lute tablature (13 courses for theorbo), ca. 1630-50.\textsuperscript{116}

\textit{Fc}  
Florence, Conservatorio di Musica Luigi Cherubini  
Codex Barbera G.F.83: A collection of monody in the private Barbera Collection, ca. 1595-20.\textsuperscript{117}

\textit{Fn}  
Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale  
MS Magliabechiano Cl.XIX.143: song lyrics with guitar tablature (5 courses), a few with alphabetto, ca. 1640-50, and dances in Italian tablature for guitar, attributed to Antonio Carboni.\textsuperscript{118}

\textit{Mc}  
Milan, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica Giuseppe Verdi  
MS Santa Barbara 171/1: One of a large collection of manuscripts from the Santa Barbara Cathedral, Mantua.

MS Santa Barbara 171/2: Another of the Santa Barbara Cathedral collection.

\textit{Mt}  
Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana e Archivio Storia Civico  
Codice Trivulziano n° 55: late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century frottole; Guitar tablature and alphabetto was added ca. 1650 (pp. 140-198).\textsuperscript{119}

\textbf{THE NETHERLANDS:}

\textit{DHgm}  
The Hague, Gemeente Museum  
MS 10 B 7: “The Ghent Chime Book”: “Den Boeck van den Voorslahe van Ghendt, toebehoorende myn edele Heeren Schepenen van der Keure”; a nineteenth-century transcript from the original of 1661-93.\textsuperscript{120}

\textbf{POLAND:}

\textit{Lw}  
Lublin, Biblioteka Publiczna im. H. Lopacinskiego

\textsuperscript{115} François-Pierre Goy provided this information.


\textsuperscript{119} See Fabris, “Prime Aggiunte Italiane,” pp. 113-114.

MS 1985: Count Casimir Wodzicki’s Lute book, dated 5 October 1694; French lute tablature (11-courses).  

L Zu Lodz, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka

MS M 3779: Various pieces for lute in tablature, dated 1699.

S SWEDEN:

K Kalmar, Stadsbiblioteket, Stifts- och gymnasiebiblioteket

MS Mus. 4b: Keyboard music, copied ca. 1709.

Location Unknown

Godfredus Bensberg’s lute book, 1676: Once owned by Robert Engel of Vienna, now likely in private hands.  

PRIMARY PRINTED SOURCES EXAMINED FOR CONCORDANCES (with abbreviations):


P1652 Select Musicall Ayres, and Dialogues…London, 1652. [Books I and II]


P1653 Select Musicall Ayres and Dialogues…London, 1653.


The only surviving example of this state of the third edition (lacking the title page) is in Glasgow University Library. This book differs from the more common 1665 issue of the third edition in the preliminary pages and is the only copy which has this supplement.  


P1659 Select Ayres and Dialogues…London, 1659. [Reissued as The Treasury of Musick, 1669, Book I.]


Catch that Catch Can... London, 1667.


*The Treasury of Musick... In Three Books.* London, 1669.


This may consist of the sheets of a lost edition of 1663, with a new title page.

*Select Ayres And Dialogues... The Second Book.* London, 1669.


Possibly a reprint of a lost edition of 1672.


Banister, John, and Thomas Low. *New Ayres And Dialogues...* London, 1678.


Playford, John. *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick... The Twelfth Edition. Corrected and Amended by Mr. Henry Purcell.* [London], 1694.

Cambefort, [Jean de]. *Airs de cour à quatre parties...* Paris, 1651.


[Eyck] Eyk, Jacob van. *Der Fluyten lust-hof... Eerste deel.* t'Amsterdam,


125 Facsimile of Parts I, II, and III (Ridgewood, New Jersey, 1966).


127 First edition: *Cantus, Songs and Fancies...* (Aberdeen, 1662) (only known surviving example: Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino).
1649. Bound with Der Fluyten lust-hof... Tweede deel. t'Amsterdam, 1654.128

Part I of Der Fluyten Lust-Hof is an enlarged reprint of Euterpe oft speel-goddtine. Amsterdam, 1644.129

Landi, Stefano. Il S. Alessio drama musicale ...(Rome, 1634).130


Marini, Biago. Per ogni sorte d'istromento musicale... Libro Terzo. Opera XXII...[Four part books.] Venice, 1655.131

Matthysz, Paulus. 't Uitnemend Kabinet... Eerste deel. Amsterdam, 1649.

Milioni, Pietro, and Lodovico Monte. Vero, e facil modo d'imparare a' sonare, et accordare da se medesimo la chitarra spagnola...(Venice [ca. 1627]).


Pico, Foriano. Nuova scelta di sonate per la chitarra spagnola...Naples, 1608.133

Sanz, Gaspar. Instruccion de musica sobre la guitarra española...Zaragoça, 1674.

Torti, Ludivico. Il secondo libro delle canzoni... Venice, 1584.

Vincenti, Alessandro. Arie de diversi raccolte... Venice, 1634.

[Zanetti] Zannetti, Gasparo. Il Scolaro... Milan, 1645.134

OTHER ABBREVIATIONS:

Lpro London, Public Record Office
Ws Washington, D.C., Folger Shakespeare Library

ACADIA UNIVERSITY

130 Facsimile, with introduction by Sandra Righetti (Bologna, [n.d.]).
131 Facsimile, with introduction by Marcellao Castellani (Firenze, 1979).
132 Facsimile, bound in with parts 1-13; with "Inleiding"/ "Introduction" by Marie Veldhuyzen (in Dutch and in English) and a modern "Register" [index of melodies]. Second Reprint (Buren, 1985).
Communications

To the Editor of the *Journal:*

Due to a slight mix-up in the final proofs for my article “Problems of Tonality in the Ricercars of Spinacino and Bossinensis” (vol. XXIII, 1990), please note the following addenda and corrigenda:

p. 64: Example 1, under “the end of the intabulation,” the note in the bass clef just before the barline at m. 2 should be $g$ not $b$

p. 66: in Table 2, the column under “Letter” should read as follows: A (7) / E (2) / B (5)$^4$ / C (3) / D (6) / G (1) / F (1)

p. 67: paragraph 3, the last two lines should read ...“of the exceptional initial chords in ricercars is similar to that of the exceptional final chords...”

p. 67: the last sentence of paragraph 4 should appear at the end of paragraph 1 on p. 65

p. 69: paragraph 2, lines 1 and 2, should read Example 3 throughout, instead of Example 2

p. 75: 5 lines from the bottom, the sign $\neq$ should be read as $\uparrow$, to refer to the same in Example 5.

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