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WARWICK EDWARDS

## Seventeenth-Century Scotland: The musical sources\*

In this article I attempt a comprehensive survey of known primary musical sources associated with seventeenth-century Scotland, summarizing knowledge to date, calling attention to errors of fact or logic, offering some new observations, and suggesting areas for future enquiry. The purpose is to provide a single point of reference and to lay a secure foundation for further study and evaluation. To place the sources in some kind of context related to the musical life of Scots, I have adopted a broad geographical classification, beginning with Aberdeen and the north-east, and proceeding to Glasgow and the south-west, before considering those of uncertain provenance, and finally sources of Scots material compiled beyond Scottish borders.

### Aberdeen

Almost all sources from the north-east are closely connected with the city and royal burgh of Aberdeen. Two brothers, David and Andrew Melvill, played leading musical roles there in the early decades. David first comes to our notice as copyist of three extant music books. One is a bassus part-book that bears his name at the foot of each page and contains a sizeable collection of English, Continental and local pieces

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from up to 1604, some with English or Latin words, some with text incipit only (*GB-Lbl* Add. 36484).<sup>1</sup> In all likelihood it was copied contemporaneously with a ‘canto’ part-book containing a selection of the bassus pieces that survives in a binding stamped with the initials of Alexander Forbes, heir to the lairdship of Tolquhon, Aberdeenshire, and dated 1611 (*Cfm* MU 687, formerly 31.H.27).<sup>2</sup> The third music book, entitled ‘Ane buik off roundells ... collected and notted by david meluill 1612’, has a similar binding stamped ‘ROBERT OGILVIE’, probably Alexander Forbes’s uncle, a Banff burgess who later become sub-principal of King’s College, Aberdeen.<sup>3</sup> Most of its hundred rounds and eight part-songs are apparently copied from Ravenscroft’s celebrated three prints – *Pammelia*, *Deuteromelia*, *Melismata* – from the years 1609 to 1611 (*US-Wc* M1490M535 A5 Case). Eight items come from other sources, however, some Scottish. David’s three manuscripts were evidently preserved in the Forbes and Forbes-Leith families until they were put up for sale in Edinburgh in 1857.<sup>4</sup>

By the 1620s Melvill had apparently achieved sufficient success in the book trade to be in a position to underwrite several publications printed by Edward Raban who in 1622 set up as Aberdeen’s only licensed printer, having previously operated first in Edinburgh, then briefly in St Andrews. The first such publication with music was *The Psalmes of David* (1625), including psalm tunes and, for the first time

- 1 Classified contents lists in Augustus Hughes-Hughes, *Catalogue of Manuscript Music in the British Museum*, 3 vols (London: 1906–1909). This source, like most from Scotland here cited, is discussed in various degrees of detail in Harry M. Willsher, ‘Music in Scotland during Three Centuries (1450–1750)’, D.Litt. thesis (University of St Andrews, 1945), and Kenneth Elliott, ‘Music of Scotland 1500–1700’, PhD diss., Cambridge University, 1959.
- 2 Helena Mennie Shire, ‘Scottish Song-book 1611’, *Saltire Review*, vol.1/2 (1954), pp.46–52; *ibid.*, and Phyllis Giles, ‘The Tolquhon Cantus Part Book: A Fine Scots Binding of 1611’, *Edinburgh Bibliographical Society Transactions*, 3/3 (1956), pp.159–65; Iain Fenlon (ed.), *Cambridge Music Manuscripts, 900–1700* (Cambridge: 1982), pp.151–2.
- 3 Granville Bantock and H. Orsmond Anderton (eds), *The Melvill Book of Roundels* (London: 1916).
- 4 *Eu* La. IV.17, fo.1730, letter William Chappell to David Laing (London, 11 December 1857) enclosing sale catalogue extracts.

in print in Scotland, four-voice settings of the Common Tunes. A reprint followed in 1629, and then in 1633 a completely new edition in which the customarily inserted prose readings of the psalm texts, formerly taken from the Geneva Bible, were now those of the James VI Authorized Version, a pointed substitution in the light of Charles I's provocative coronation visit to Edinburgh that year.<sup>5</sup>

David Melvill's brother Andrew (1593–1640), who was master of the Aberdeen Sang Schule from 1621, took time to compile a commonplace book that includes useful family information, a unique copy of William Bathe's otherwise untraced *Briefe Introductione to the True Art of Musicke* (London: 1584), a revealing list of 'the names of the buiks in my pressis in all the thrie housis' in which music volumes feature prominently, and on the last leaf bell tunes and a four-voice *Nunc dimittis* setting (A 28).<sup>6</sup>

Meanwhile, between February 1627 in Aberdeen and December 1629 at Straloch (his estate ten miles to the north), Robert Gordon, best known for his contribution to Scottish cartography, had been engaged in collecting and notating 'An playing booke for the lute, wher in ar contained many currents and other musical things'. Sadly it is now untraced, though Edinburgh antiquary David Laing, who had previously called attention to the presence of a 'Greysteel' setting in it,<sup>7</sup> arranged for the manuscript to be sent to Edinburgh late in 1838, where he listed its contents complete with folio references: some 125 items (plus an unspecified number of additional 'currents' and untitled compositions), including towards the end what looks like a cell of

5 See James Porter's essay in *Defining Strains*. On Raban's life and publications see *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: 2004–), vol.45, pp.711–2.

6 William Walker (ed.), *Extracts from the commonplace book of Andrew Melvill, doctor and master in the song school of Aberdeen, 1621–1640* (Aberdeen: 1899). On Bathe's treatise see Cecil Hill's modern edition (Colorado Springs: 1979). See also Helena Mennie Shire, 'Court Song in Scotland after 1603: Aberdeenshire III. Andro Melvill's Music Library: Aberdeen, 1637', *Edinburgh Bibliographical Society Transactions* 4/1 (1960), pp.3–12.

7 David Laing, *Early Metrical Tales* (Edinburgh: 1826), p.xiv. See also John Purser 'Greysteil', *Stewart Style, 1513–1542: Essays on the Court of James V*, ed. Janet Hadley Williams (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1996), pp.142–52.

pieces added much later than 1629.<sup>8</sup> While the manuscript was in Scotland George Farquhar Graham made a complete ‘translation’ of it into staff notation (also untraced). He too prepared a contents list (less complete than Laing’s) and made a literal copy of thirty items singled out from the English and Continental majority as settings of Scots airs (*En Adv.* 5.2.18). It is as well he did so, for in 1842 the manuscript was sold in London and has not been seen since. Graham’s partial copy, dated January 1839 and presented with an introductory note to the Advocates’ Library in 1847, remains the archetype for all other known copies, including a second copy he made with further notes in 1845 (*En* 349). It thus records all we now know of the manuscript’s musical readings.<sup>9</sup>

To judge from its concluding Greek epigraph, translated ‘Education should not be taken away from man’, Gordon’s lute-book fulfilled a didactic function that would characterize several later Aberdeen sources. One such is a *Rudimenta musicae* (A 158) copied in the 1650s by one William McKinnoune, who added to it ‘tua litle prick songs of 4 notes qch may be rung on 4 bells’, one of them a ‘simplified version’ of ‘Ecce novum gaudium’.<sup>10</sup> Teaching is explicit

- 8 The list is in a folder with some of George Farquhar Graham’s sample transcriptions from the MS and other documentation (*Eu La.* IV.25.47, fos.102–15, at fos.108–9). The later additions include pieces such as Wilson’s ‘From the fair Lavinian shore’, first published by Playford in 1659, and might well have been copied at the instigation of ‘Ladie An Gordone’, presumably Robert’s daughter Anne (1624–1714), whose name appeared on fo.72.
- 9 For thematic indexes of this and most other instrumental sources here cited see Evelyn Stell, ‘Sources of Scottish Instrumental Music 1603–1707’, PhD thesis, University of Glasgow, 1999. For editions of tunes of putative Scottish-Irish origin in this and other sources cited here see Alois Fleischmann (ed.), *Sources of Irish traditional Music c.1600–1855* (New York: 1998). Microfilms of this and other *En* music MSS (all save *En* 1578 and *Wod.* Th. 19–20) are published as *Music manuscripts, 1500–1793, from the National Library of Scotland*, 14 reels (Adam Matthews). For further information and bibliography on Scottish lute sources see Matthew Spring, *The Lute in Britain: A History of the Instrument and its Music* (Oxford: 2001); and Rob MacKillop’s essay in *Defining Strains*.
- 10 Kenneth Elliott, ‘The Later History of *Ecce novum gaudium*’, *Monthly Musical Record* 85, no.968 (July–August 1955), 150–2. Wilhelm Seidel and Barry Cooper, *Entstehung nationaler Traditionen: Frankreich, England*, in

on the title page of John Forbes's influential printed cantus part-book of *Songs and fancies ... as is taught in the musick-schoule of Aberdene* (Aberdeen, 1662, reprinted with revisions in 1666 and 1682), discussed in detail in Anne Dhu McLucas's contribution to *Defining Strains*. A contemporary manuscript bearing the names of further Melvills (Robert and Gilbert) has most of the contents of the 1662 edition and might have served as exemplar for it, notwithstanding the presence of additional English catches and lute-songs (P N16 34671, formerly belonging to Lady Dorothea Ruggles-Brise).<sup>11</sup> Some of the surviving copies of the print (notably those at A and Mp) have manuscript music additions, chiefly in the form of harmonizations of the common tunes such as also appeared in the five editions of the Psalter printed by Forbes and his successors in Aberdeen between 1666 and 1720 (see James Porter's essay in *Defining Strains*).

Several late-seventeenth-century sources testify to the impact of the *Songs and fancies*, among them what looks like an instruction book compiled by Louis de France, Master of the Music School of Aberdeen between 1675 and 1682, and containing a similar repertoire of cantus parts along with common-tune harmonizations (*Eu La. III.491*). Shortly after Louis's departure for Edinburgh it perhaps had a role in the musical education of Mary Drummond (1675–1729), from 1690 Countess of Marischal, whose name it carries.<sup>12</sup>

*Geschichte der Musiktheorie*, ed. Frieder Zaminer, 9 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1986), pp.169–70.

11 See also C.S. Terry, 'John Forbes's "Songs and Fancies"', *Musical Quarterly* 22 (1936), pp.402–19, on p.402.

12 On provenance see Terry, 'John Forbes', pp.211–12. On Louis de France in Edinburgh see James Maidment, *Analecta Scotica: Selections illustrative of the civil, ecclesiastical, and literary history of Scotland*, 2 (Edinburgh: 1834–1837), p.263. Mary Drummond's name also appears in a copy of the 1682 Forbes *Songs and Fancies* (En Ry.IV.H.33).

## Angus, Perth and Fife

Some sixty miles south of Aberdeen, in Angus, is the site of Panmure House, seat of the Maule and latterly Ramsay of Dalhousie families, and home to a rich crop of musical sources discovered there from the 1890s onwards and now housed in Edinburgh. Two keyboard books are among the earliest. *En* 9447 (formerly Panmure 10) looks local: it has several items of late sixteenth-century character by William Kinloch – an Angus–Perth name – and a supplement that includes psalm harmonizations by Andro Kemp, formerly of St Andrews, but from 1570 sang schule master in Aberdeen. Duncan Burnett, who annotated the manuscript, was probably the musician who was twice master of the Glasgow Sang Schule (c.1590–1651), although his blood ties were with the Burnetts of Leys in Kincardineshire. Conceivably, however, he might have been a physician from the same family living in Norwich, thought to be a possible conduit through which the second keyboard book (*En* 9448, formerly Panmure 9), with its wholly English repertory copied by one Clement Matchett in Norfolk around 1612, was brought to Scotland.<sup>13</sup>

Three lute-books (discussed by Rob MacKillop in *Defining Strains*) also look like imports, probably from London, notwithstanding their overwhelmingly French content. Admittedly Scottish compilation is usually assumed for *En* 9449 (formerly Panmure 8), with its vellum cover bearing the emblem and initials of Lady Jean Campbell of Loudon (Ayrshire) who married George Maule, later second earl of Panmure, in 1645. Dart speculated

13 H.M. Willsher, 'An Early Scottish Virginal Book', *Scottish Historical Review*, vol.31 (1952), pp.131–6 (reads 'Mitchell' for 'Matchett'); Thurston Dart, 'New Sources of Virginal Music', *Music & Letters*, vol.35 (1954), pp.93–106; Kenneth Elliott (ed.), *Early Scottish Keyboard Music* (London: 1958); Thurston Dart (ed.), *Clement Matchett's Virginal Book (1612)* (London, 1957); Helena Mennie Shire, 'Musical Servitors to Queen Mary Stuart', *Music & Letters*, vol.40 (1959), pp.15–18; John Purser 'On the Trail of the Spies', *Scotlands*, vol.5/1 (1998), pp.23–44. For these and other applicable sources here cited see also National Library of Scotland, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Acquired since 1925* (Edinburgh, 1938–). See further David Smith in *Defining Strains*.

unconvincingly on the presence of her own hand in the music, while others have seen handwriting similarities with *En* 9447. Yet with its eight English-titled keyboard arrangements (some French in origin), and larger number of added untitled French lute compositions, all copied probably in the 1630s or 1640s, there is nothing else to associate it with Scotland. The second lute-book (*En* 9452, formerly Panmure 5) shares a principal copyist, 'Hebert', and twenty musical items with a similarly bound and watermarked book at *F-Pcnrs* prepared for a young diplomat, Bullen Reymes, at the English embassy in Paris and dated 1632. Among his teachers was René Mesangeau who was in England in 1631, where he may well have also taught the recipient of the Panmure book, whose later additions include three settings of English-titled tunes circulating in Scotland. The third book (*GB-En* 9451, formerly Panmure 4), with its smaller, exclusively French content, looks mid-century. It closely resembles another lute-book (*F-Pn* Rés. 1110) that much later in 1700 was owned by a Scotswoman, Patricia Ruthwen, although it has yet to be established whether it actually travelled to Scotland before 9 July 1747 when it was inscribed 'Countess of Kilmarnock', just two months before the widow of the fourth earl, lately executed for his role in the 1746 rising, herself died.<sup>14</sup>

Of undoubted local pedigree is the so-called 'commonplace book' of Robert Edward (*GB-En* 9450, formerly Panmure 11), a Dundonian whom Patrick Maule, first earl of Panmure, presented as minister of nearby Murroes parish in 1648, best known for his map

14 On *En* 9449 see Dart, 'New Sources', and Evelyn Stell, 'Lady Jean Campbell's Seventeenth-Century Music Book', *Review of Scottish Culture* 8 (1993), pp.11–19. Inventories for all three Panmure MSS, presently at <http://www-bnus.u-strasbg.fr/smt>, are to be published in vol.4 of *Sources manuscrites en tablature (Luth et théorbe)* (Baden-Baden: 1991–). Inventories of the two MSS now in France are in *ibid.*, i. See further Wallace J. Rave, 'Performance Instructions for the Seventeenth-Century French Lute Repertory', *Performance on Lute, Guitar, and Vihuela: Historical Practice and Modern Interpretation*, ed. Victor Anand Coelho (Cambridge: 1997), pp.142–57; François-Pierre Goy, 'Luth et guitare dans le journal et la correspondance (1631–1636) de Bullen Reymes', *Luths et luthistes en Occident: Actes du colloque organisé par la cité de la musique, 13–15 mai 1998* (Paris: Cité de la musique, 1999), pp.185–200.



and description of *Angusia Provincia Scotiae sive The Shire of Angus*, published in 1678. About half of the manuscript's surviving leaves are devoted to a sequence of top voices (and occasionally others) of songs and psalms. There follow sections of cittern and keyboard music, three-voice Italian songs, and at the end poetry. Interspersed is instruction material, including a truncated chapter from Joannes Freigius's *Paedagogus* (1582), itself based on an untraced work by Conrad Stuber. Several commentators date the commencement of Robert's copying activity to the 1630s, although his song repertory is comparable with that of the Forbes *Songs and Fancies* of 1662, while the keyboard section was plainly copied no earlier than the 1670s (it includes a piece entitled 'Nell Guine'), and the printed sources for at least two of the Italian songs could well be among those acquired by Patrick Maule's grandsons James and Harie in Paris in the latter 1670s. It would seem quite possible, then, that Robert acquired the largely empty book and began turning it to new use only after the death in 1655 of his father who had much earlier used it as an accounts book. By about 1687 the book appears to have been in the possession of Robert's son Alexander (1651–1708), who refers in a notebook to 'My father's music book' and 'My Father's Miscellanie in octavo', along with Jean and David Edward's music books, and his own, none of which can now be traced.<sup>15</sup>

15 Helena Mennie Shire and Kenneth Elliott, 'Robert Edwards' [sic] Commonplace Book', *Scottish Studies* 5 (1961), pp.43–56; Patrick Cadell in *Defining Strains*. For annotated lists of cittern music in this and other sources cited below see John M. Ward, *Sprightly and Cheerful Musick* (The Lute Society, 1983). The Italian exemplars are among a bound collection of Italian cantus prints from the 1560s and 1570s bearing on the first title page the monogram 'MV', apparently designating one of the Verdier family (*Enas* GD45/26/94). For information on Robert's father Alexander see Alexander Hastie Millar (ed.), *The Roll of Eminent Burgesses of Dundee, 1513–1886* (Dundee: 1887); *ibid.*, (ed.), *The Compt Buik of David Wedderburne, merchant of Dundee, 1587–1630; together with the shipping lists of Dundee, 1580–1618* (Edinburgh: 1898). On Robert's sons and daughters see the list in Scott, *Fasti*, v. pp.367–8, and entries on Alexander at v. p.206, on Charles at v. p.368, and on Robert at ii, p.368, and viii, p.195. On Alexander, see also Howard Colvin, *A biographical dictionary of British architects, 1600–1840*, 3rd edn (New Haven: 1995), pp.332–3. Alexander's notebook is at *Enas* GD 45/26/142. My thanks to

While the Edwards were compiling or acquiring their music books James and Harie Maule were amassing their own collection, largely from beyond Scottish borders. The books from France (*En* 9459–63, 9465–9) are accounted for in Patrick Cadell's article in *Defining Strains*. Others would seem to have been prepared mainly in London or the south during the third quarter of the century, namely a treble book with seven dances by 'Mr [Christopher?] Simpson' (*En* 9453, formerly Panmure 16), two violin books with mainly English songs and dances, but also some Scots airs (*En* 9454, formerly Panmure 7; *Enas* GD45/26/104), apparently copied by the same person (possibly Jafery Banister, d. 1684), a set of three part-books (*En* 9455–7, formerly Panmure 12, 2, 3) with ensemble music by Simpson and Jenkins, among others (the bass bearing Harie Maule's name), and a keyboard book (*En* 9458, formerly Panmure 18) that includes further Scots airs. Finally from 1681–1682 is a signed copy of Nicola Matteis's 'Arie Diverse per il violino' (*En* 9464, formerly Panmure 1).<sup>16</sup>

Some way inland from Panmure, overlooking the Tay just upstream from Perth, is Scone where for centuries Scottish monarchs had been crowned and where Charles II was declared king of Scotland in 1651. Local provenance would seem likely for a book with late-seventeenth-century viol tablature, theoretical materials, and some apparently later vocal music, that Harry Willsher examined following its discovery by Lord James Stewart-Murray at Scone Palace in 1937. Helena Mennie Shire was unable to trace it in the 1950s, however, while Frank Traficante reported communications from the Earl of Mansfield in 1966 and 1971 stating that the manuscript was 'lost

Patrick Cadell for drawing my attention to Stuber's name in the treatise on fos.55r–51r (reversed), and to Kathryn Cooper for comparing its material with that in Freigius's publication.

- 16 Calum McCart, 'The Panmure Manuscripts: A New Look at an Old Source of Christopher Simpson's Consort Music', *Chelys*, vol.18 (1989), pp.18–29; Peter Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court, 1540–1690* (Oxford: 1993), pp.364–6 (on Banister as copyist, including a facsimile of his supposed signature in the *Enas* MS; for a note of caution see Stell, 'Sources', pp.161–2); Michael Tilmouth, 'Nicola Matteis', *Musical Quarterly*, vol.46 (1960), pp.22–40, on p.27. See further Cadell in *Defining Strains*.

during the war'. Willsher's description, contents list and selected transcriptions thus form the basis for all subsequent accounts.<sup>17</sup>

Our attention now shifts to Fife to the south of the Tay. In the years following the Reformation St Andrews vicar Thomas Wode (d. 1592) had assembled two sets of part-books with copies of four-voice psalm and canticle settings and various secular additions. Three of the four or five part-books comprising the second set survive more or less as Wode left them (two in *GB-Eu* Dk.5.14–15, one in *US-Wgu*). However, the five part-books that make up the first set – now dispersed between *GB-En* La. III.483.1–3 (Cantus, Tenor, Bassus), *GB-Lbl* Add. 33933 (Altus), and *IRL-Dtc* 412 (Quintus, formerly F.5.13) – contain a large amount of mostly vocal music, added apparently in the 1620s or 1630s, that has been little discussed in print.<sup>18</sup> Drawn from a range of exemplars similar to those used in Aberdeen by David Melvill and in Angus by Robert Edward, much of this repertory is fragmentary. Whether the part-books were still in St Andrews when these additions were made is impossible to say. Virtually the only clue to provenance is the presence of the name 'Andrew Ogilvye' in the Cantus. Ogilvies were quite numerous in early seventeenth-century Fife, though more so in Angus, and even more so in the northeast. In any event it seems that at some stage before their nineteenth-century discovery the set was transferred to Ireland (perhaps as early 1642 in connection with the Scottish Covenanter campaign there?).<sup>19</sup>

From Wemyss on the south coast of Fife comes *En Dep.* 314(23), a manuscript that begins as 'A Booke Containing some pleasant aires of two, three or fowre voices Collected out of diverse authors [chiefly Campion and Morley] begunne june 5 1643 [by] Mrs Margarit Weemys', and continues in the same hand with 'some Lesons for the Lutt [mainly settings of traditional airs and dance movements] and

17 Willsher, 'Music in Scotland', ii., pp.129–31; iii, pp.85–102; Traficante, 'Music for Lyra Viol: Manuscript Sources', *Chelys*, vol.8 (1978–1979), pp.4–22, on p.22.

18 Classified contents lists for *Lbl* Add. 33933 in Hughes-Hughes, *Catalogue*.

19 David Laing, 'An Account of the Scottish Psalter of A.D. 1566', *PSAS*, vol.7 (1867–1868), pp.445–58, plus Plates LII–LVI (12pp between pp.444 and 445), on p.453n; separately reprinted (Edinburgh: 1871).

som fine werces and Lines'. Later a more refined hand added a section with mainly French lute music beginning with the same Mésangeau allemande that opens *En* 9452 and its counterpart at *F–Pcnrs*. Daughter of David, second earl of Wemyss, Margaret was just twelve when she began copying and sadly died at seventeen. The book may have passed subsequently to her elder sister Jean by whose second marriage to the fourteenth Earl of Sutherland in 1659 it would have passed to the family in whose possession it remains.<sup>20</sup>

From about fifty years later is one of the largest lute-books of the time, probably copied at the end of the century at nearby Balcarres House by Lady Margaret Campbell, fourth wife of Colin Lindsay, third earl of Balcarres. It contains 252 pieces from Scotland, England, France, and elsewhere, and has remained in the family to this day (deposited formerly at *GB–Mr*, now at *En* Acc. 9769 84/1/6).<sup>21</sup>

## Edinburgh and the Borders

The richness and diversity of musical sources available to Andrew and David Melville in Aberdeen must have mirrored those at Holyrood in the earlier part of the century. While in London in 1631/1632 Scottish Chapel Royal director Edward Kellie wrote to Charles I detailing the new musical service books he had had copied there and indicating the scope of the Chapel library back in Scotland: 'all sorts of English, French, Dutch, Spaynish, Latin, Italian, and old Scotch musick, vocall and instrumentall'.<sup>22</sup> Scarcely any are traceable today.<sup>23</sup> Such sources

20 Cedric Thorpe Davie, 'A Lost Morley Song Rediscovered', *Early Music* 9 (1981), pp.338–9; Matthew Spring, 'The Lady Margaret Wemyss Manuscript', *Lute Society Journal*, vol.27 (1987), pp.5–29.

21 Matthew Spring, 'The Balcarres Manuscript', *The Lute*, vol.32 (1992), pp.2–45.; Spring, Facsimile, transcription and commentary (Universities of Glasgow and Aberdeen, in preparation).

22 William Dauney, *Ancient Scottish Melodies* (Edinburgh: 1838), pp.365–7.

23 Possible exceptions being three part-books from Jean Servin's settings of Buchanan's Latin psalm paraphrases (Lyons [actually Geneva], 1579) in calf

as we have from the town of Edinburgh are chiefly of psalmody printed or copied there, for example the tunes in John Davidson's *Some helpes for young Schollers in Christianity* (Robert Waldegrave, 1602), and in a series of psalters printed between 1615 and 1640. A copy of the 1615 psalter, formerly owned by antiquary Cosmo Innes and now untraced, was interleaved with harmonized psalm tunes copied and dated 2 April 1626 by Edward Millar, Kellie's successor at the Chapel Royal.<sup>24</sup> He later included them in his 1635 edition of the psalter with its harmonizations of 104 proper tunes, thirty-one common tunes and eight psalms in reports, all printed for the first time. Later he copied further proper tunes into another music book, set out as tenors for four-part harmonization, dating them 13 April 1643, and adding five four-voice songs and catches (*En* 9477). A later hand or hands, added further songs, pieces in tablature for cittern, and the texts of three poems. The book subsequently passed to Alexander Mac-Alman, Dean of Argyll, and in 1660 was evidently in Dunnollie, just north of Oban, in all likelihood the ancestral home of his wife Margaret NicDougald. It then came to the Rev. Colin Campbell of Achnaba, minister of Ardchattan (1644–1726), whose descendant Miss E.B.K. Gregorson deposited it with *En* in 1957. Finally, there is a set of dictates taken down in 1701 from the lectures of William Law of Elvingston by Walter Ponton, an Edinburgh University student from Fife, which has rudiments of music at the back, followed by several three-voice psalm-tune settings (*Eu* Dc.8.43).

The remaining sources from Edinburgh and the Borders are associated with households or individuals, often beyond the royal burgh itself. From the beginning of the century, but containing only a musical snippet, is the well-known source of Alexander Montgomerie's poetry, probably copied by Margaret Ker, wife of James, 7th Lord Hay of Yester in East Lothian, the concluding poem of which, 'Come my childrene dere drau neir me', has its first stanza underlaid

bindings embossed with the royal arms of Scotland (*Lbl* K.8.c.25., *Lbl* Davis 433, *US-NYpm* 062835).

24 William Cowan, 'Bibliography of the Book of Common Order and Psalm Book of the Church of Scotland, 1556–1644', *Papers of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society*, vol.10 (1913), pp.53–100, on pp.88–9.

to music (*Eu* De.3.70).<sup>25</sup> Contemporary with it is a copy of the 1606 edition of *The Mindes Melodie*, an Edinburgh print that includes versions of psalms in the metre of Montgomerie's poem 'Lyk as the dum solsequium', to which someone has added by hand the superius of its associated melody underlaid with the first stanza of Psalm 1 (*Gu* B14-1.2<sup>2</sup>).<sup>26</sup>

Much more substantial are the eight books of tablature for five-string mandore, chiefly settings of Scots airs, owned by 'Magister' John Skene, laird of Hallyards (eight miles west of Edinburgh), whose last family descendent bequeathed them to the Advocates' Library in 1796 (they are bound together as *En* Adv. 5.2.15). Repertory being an uncertain guide to dating, as we have seen, there is little to determine whether they were compiled by or for the first Skene laird (d. 1644), or his son (d. before 1669).<sup>27</sup>

Several more sources are associated with members of various branches of the Ker family. Among the papers of the Kers (later Carres) of Cavers and West Nisbet is a book with top and bottom parts of English lute songs mixed in with Scottish songs and other items, to which psalm tunes with bass, most from the 1635 Edinburgh print, and jottings on music theory have been added (*En* 5448). The cover initials LAK apparently stand for Lady Ann Ker (c.1605–1667), countess of Lothian, two years after whose death in 1667 the book passed along with her husband's Ferniehurst estate to Robert Ker, 4th Earl of Jedburgh.

Apparently linked to another branch of the Ker family is a book purchased by the Reid Library in 1947 (now *Eu* Reid P637 R787.1) with tune arrangements from both sides of the Border for the viol in tablature. A loose inserted leaf of early date is inscribed 'To the Leard of Cavers Carre', while one assumes the 'Mr George Carre, Advocate', whose recent bookplate is present, to be a descendent of the

25 Alexander Montgomerie, *Poems*, ed. David J. Parkinson (Edinburgh: 2000), vol.ii, pp.1–6.

26 See *Musica Britannica* XV, 2nd edn (London: 1964), note to no.54.

27 Donald Gill, 'The Skene Mandore Manuscript', *Lute Society Journal*, vol.28 (1988), pp.19–33. Dauney's *Ancient Scottish Melodies*, with its pioneering transcriptions, is today itself a source of historiographical interest.

same family. The inside front cover bears another Scottish name, 'magdalen cockburn Iohn [or sohn?]', while the initials 'I.F' appear on the outer boards and, together with the date '1671', on the inside back cover.

Evelyn Stell believed the music in Cockburn's manuscript to have been copied prior to binding by the person (Jafery Banister?) who wrote the Panmure violin manuscripts above.<sup>28</sup> His hand certainly dominates two violin books with mainly English dance repertory associated with Robert Kerr (1636–1703), first marquis of Lothian and son of Lady Ann Ker, that were formerly in the library at Newbattle Abbey (*En* 5777–8).<sup>29</sup> This library once housed a further music book, now untraced. Laing copied out a classified list of predominantly Scottish tunes prefixed to the manuscript whose actual contents, however, comprised chiefly French airs 'in the usual notation', the remaining listed items, and more besides, being in tablature for lute or viol. He also noted that the flyleaf bore the name 'W. Kerr', presumably the second marquis of Lothian (1661–1722).<sup>30</sup>

Perhaps around the same time an unidentified hand copied 61 settings for violin in tablature of mostly Scots native airs into a manuscript chiefly devoted to copies of sermons preached by radical Scottish minister James Guthrie who was hanged for treason in Edinburgh on 1 June 1661, scriptural texts, a copy of Guthrie's last words, notes, and memoranda (*Eu* La. III.111).<sup>31</sup> By January 1699 the book had passed to the fourteen-year-old John Finlayson who identified himself by referring in it to his parents, Alexander Finlayson and Isobel Moffat, and to 'Woodylie', presumably Woodhouselee in Glencorse, the parish of his birth, just south of Edinburgh.

Across the Lammermuir Hills that separate Edinburgh from the Borders is the royal burgh of Lauder where in 1676 schoolmaster and kirk session clerk Robert Tait began writing musical rudiments and singing exercises into a book that he would expand over the next six years to include a numbered sequence of 142 mainly English airs and

28 Stell, 'Sources', pp.71–9.

29 Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, pp.364–6.

30 *Eu* La. IV.25.47, fos.138–41.

31 Daune, *Ancient Scottish Melodies*, 139–43.

catches complete with their words, with some Scottish and instrumental items mixed in, and a complete copy of Millar's 1635 Scottish Psalter. Later he added the third part of William Geddes's *The Saints Recreation* (Edinburgh: 1683), passages from Samuel Butler's burlesque on Puritanism, *Hudibras* (1663–1678), along with other Latin and vernacular poetry, much of it anti-Presbyterian, and finally the sixteen songs in a London publication of 1687 called *Quadratum Musicum* (US–LAuc T135Z B724).<sup>32</sup> From back in Edinburgh itself a manuscript has recently come to light bearing the legend 'Scala Musicalis Guidone Aretino authore & a Me Magistro Francisco Hannaeo exarata Edinburgis Julii Anno Domini 1699' (US–CAh \*EC65.Sco878.690p). As well as drawing on Guido of Arezzo, Francis Hannay makes his own observations on the role of music in education and on Scottish musical psalmody. Having served 'in the few years by past for ye space of 13 or 14 years in ye colledge kirk' he was in a good position to do so. Like Tait, he appends material from the 1635 psalter, along with some of his own music.<sup>33</sup>

Of less certain provenance is *GB–Eu* La. III.490, a book containing thirty-three songs (some top parts only, others for two voices), many also in *En* 5448 (Lady Anne Ker's book, above) and in *Songs and Fancies*. There are also some psalms. The original calf binding bears the initials I.S., expanded to John Squyer (Squair) within the book in which dates between 1696 and 1701 appear. Historically the name is English though there were John Squires in Edinburgh at the time, as well as in Stirling.

32 Walter H. Rubsamen, 'Scottish and English Music of the Renaissance in a Newly-Discovered Manuscript', *Festschrift Heinrich Bessler* (Leipzig: 1961), pp.259–84, including partially annotated alphabetical index. Tait conflated his initials into the monogram 'RT' when inscribing his name in the book, leading Rubsamen to cite him erroneously as 'Rait(t)'. See further Priscilla Bawcutt, 'Manuscript Miscellanies in Scotland from the Fifteenth to the Seventeenth Century', in Sally Mapstone (ed.), *Older Scots Literature* (Edinburgh: 2005), pp.189–210, on pp.194–5.

33 *STC & Wing Books printed in England 1500–1700 from the Library of James Stevens-Cox (1910–1997)*, Catalogue 1350 (Maggs Bros Ltd., 2003), item no.376. I am grateful to O.W. Neighbour for calling my attention to this catalogue entry.



As elsewhere in Scotland, systematic collections of native airs do not emerge till late in the century. A notebook compiled by Berwickshire laird and diarist George Home includes a list of tunes and scraps of tablature probably for flageolet (*Enas* GD158/674).<sup>34</sup> The name Home or Hume being characteristic of the area, an Edinburgh–Borders axis is likely also for a small composite music book inscribed ‘Mrs Agnes Hume 1704’ (*En Adv.* 5.2.17). Its layers probably reach back a decade or so. They comprise mainly English airs with their words, traditional tunes from both sides of the border, psalm settings, and as a special quirk four virtually identical copies of ‘John Anderson my jo’, each on one side of a separate leaf, one of them accompanied by dance instructions.<sup>35</sup>

At the end of the century we have Scots tune collections of a very different kind in which the hands of professional instrumentalists are evident. One such book (*En* 21714, formerly owned by Francis Collinson who referred to it as the ‘Bowie manuscript’ after an inscription on the flyleaf) appears to be substantially copied by Edinburgh violinist John McLauchland (d. 1701 or 1702). His initials appear in several places, as do several tunes in exactly similar versions to those ascribed to him in the Balcarres lute-book. Moreover his widow, Margaret Mckenzie, appears to be cited by the initials ‘MM’ in an I O U inscribed and dated 1705 on a prefatory leaf.<sup>36</sup> McLauchland’s distinctive hand is also among those that added staff-notation tunes to a book of viol intabulations of probable Glasgow origin (*NTu* Bell-White 46, see below). Finally, from just over the border, a diminutive oblong manuscript that belonged to Henry Atkinson of Hartburn, Northumberland, in 1694/1695, and to W.A. Chatto in the nineteenth century (*NTsa* M12 C38, at *NTnro* ZAN/M26/11), has an extensive repertory of Scottish tunes alongside English ones.

34 Helen and Keith Kelsall, *Scottish Life style 300 years ago: New Light on Edinburgh and Border Families*, 2nd edn, with ‘a New Chapter on Music Making’ (Aberdeen: 1993), pp.40–74.

35 Nelly Diem, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Schottischen Music ins XVII Jahrhundert* (Zurich: 1919).

36 Further on McLauchland in the Introduction to Spring’s edition of the Balcarres MS (forthcoming).

## Glasgow and the south-west

Several manuscripts have links with Glasgow or the south-west, among them a part-book containing top parts of polyphonic songs (insular and continental), instrumental pieces, and English lute songs (*En Adv.* 5.2.14). Stell suggested convincingly that it was John Stirling (c.1598–1658) – a member of the Glorat family branch, and from 1624 minister at Baldernock, both just to the north of Glasgow – who copied them, scribbling his first name on what looks like the original last page (fo.31<sup>v</sup>). The ‘Williane Stirling’ who inscribed his name and the date ‘May 1639’ on the previous page, and perhaps appended the several leaves with psalm settings, was thus his eldest son who was admitted in 1656 to Balfron parish in Stirlingshire before being assigned to nearby Drymen, then to Glasgow’s St Mungo South Quarter, and finally to Ancram in the Borders where he died in 1685, and where linguist and poet John Leyden came across and acquired the manuscript on the death of his successor-but-two the Rev. John Cranstoun in 1790, after which it passed in due course to the Advocates’ Library.<sup>37</sup>

Some twenty miles south-west of Glasgow, on the banks of the Carmel Water, is Rowallan Castle, formerly seat of the Mure family, from which it seems several musical and literary volumes were mysteriously removed in the early 1820s. Among them was a lute-book (*Eu La.* III.487), which however did not originate there. As a cosmopolitan assemblage initially of just sixteen pieces its original provenance cannot presently be determined. Later it passed through the hands of Anna and Mary Hay, daughters of Francis, ninth earl of Errol, and his third wife Lady Elizabeth Douglas, of Slains, near Peterhead in the north-east. Anna married George Seaton, third earl of Winton, in 1609 and moved to Seton Palace to the east of Edinburgh where she died probably in 1623. Mary married Walter Scott, second

37 Stell, ‘Sources’, pp.183–5. See also Diem, *Beiträge*; facsimile (omitting fos.30v–end), ed. Elise Bickford Jorgens, *English Song 1600–1675*, xi (New York, 1987).

lord and later first earl of Buccleuch, in 1619, and moved to Branxholm near Hawick in the Borders. With her death in 1631, and that of her husband two years later, the book evidently passed to Sir William Mure of Rowallan who added to it a very different repertory rich in Scots tune settings.<sup>38</sup> Sir William also owned a set of part-books with a large number of pieces for two to six voices neatly copied without words or composer ascriptions apparently by his younger brother Robert chiefly from a series of English exemplars printed up to 1627.<sup>39</sup> Only the top part is currently known (*Eu La.* III.488); the bassus was in the possession of Paisley engraver and antiquarian Andrew Blaikie in 1839, but disappeared along with the rest of his music library on his death two years later.<sup>40</sup>

From the latter half of the seventeenth century come at least four collections with settings, chiefly of traditional tunes, for viol in tablature. The earliest is a book that also contains keyboard music, including an eight-movement suite (*En Dep.* 314/24). Stell surmizes that among the copyists were Lady Margaret Cochrane, whose initials are on the calf binding, and her sister Helen, daughters of William, Lord Cochrane, of Dundonald, and that the book reached its present owner, the Countess of Sutherland, through Helen's marriage to the fifteenth earl of Sutherland in 1680.<sup>41</sup> Then there are two viol-tablature books, much the same content, that Blaikie had acquired by the 1820s but are now untraced. One was dated Glasgow 1683 and owned by 'Lady Katherine Boyd', daughter of William, first earl of Kilmarnock; the other bore the date 1692. Some idea of their music may be gleaned from descriptions by those who saw the manuscripts,<sup>42</sup> and from partial copies. The latter include a set of tune-and-bass transcriptions Blaikie presented to Sir Walter Scott in 1824 (*En* 1578), and a set of forty tablature copies made by Dundee

38 Spring, *The Lute in Britain*, pp.461–2. For an edition of the tablature see *The Rowallan Manuscript*, ed. Wayne Cripps (Fort Worth: Lyre Music, 1995).

39 Shire, *Song*, pp.213–14.

40 Letter from Blaikie to Laing at *Eu La.* IV.17, fos.937–8.

41 Stell, 'Sources', pp.194–200.

42 For example, Robert A. Smith, 'Preface' to his *Scottish Minstrel*, c.1821, pp.vi–vii; Robert Chambers, 'Introduction' to *Scottish Songs* (1829) p.xliv; William Daune, *Ancient Scottish Melodies*, pp.143–6;

collector Andrew Wighton from an intermediate copy sent him by Aberdeen music seller James Davie in 1854 (*DU* Wighton Collection, 'Blaikie MS').

It is very possible that Blaikie's viol manuscripts were copied by the person that wrote most of the opening set of 81 viol tablatures (probably in the 1690s) into a manuscript that Leyden acquired around 1800. Graham made a safety copy in 1844 (*En Adv.* 5.2.19), shortly after which the original indeed disappeared to turn up again in Newcastle a century later (*NTu* Bell-White 46). Intriguingly, its binding (inexcusably discarded at restoration in 1984) was apparently lettered on the spine in French: 'Pour la viole'.<sup>43</sup> The same hand compiled a keyboard book whose early owners included a George Kincaid (who dated his inscription 'Glasgow the 24 May 1717') and a 'Mrs Anne Crookshank', and a book of tunes prefaced 'Margaret Sinkler aught this musick book, written by Andrew Adam at Glasgow, October, the 31 day, 1710'. The two manuscripts were bound together in the early nineteenth century and are now at *En Glen* 143(i), MS 3296.<sup>44</sup>

Finally, mention may be made of some little known music documents. Among the notebooks of James Wodrow, professor of divinity at Glasgow University and father of the ecclesiastical historian Robert, is one dated *c.*1659 into the back of which have been entered notes on musical theory and several examples of psalm tunes (*En Wod. Th.* MS 19). A book belonging in 1697–1698 to a Rogerus Kirkpatrick of Dumfriesshire contains musical rudiments followed chiefly by common tunes in four parts, as well as philosophical notes and notes of sermons. Among the several other names that appear in it is that of James Grierson, an ancestor, one presumes, of the P.F. Hamilton-Grierson who presented it to *En* in 1932 where it is now MS 784. Two further books from the end of the century seem to have begun life as collections of psalmody (but now just the unharmonized

43 Christopher Hunt, 'Scottish Ballads and Music in the Robert White Collection in the University Library, Newcastle upon Tyne', *The Bibliothek*, vol.5 (1967–1970), pp.138–41.

44 See James Porter's forthcoming edition and commentary (Universities of Glasgow and Aberdeen).

tunes) before being turned to miscellaneous uses. One of them apparently belonged to someone closely connected with the Wodrow family (*En Wod. Th. MS 20*).<sup>45</sup> The other, with eleven of the common tunes in sol-fa notation, was compiled by one Thomas Scott, maltman and portioner of Balornock to the east of Glasgow (*Enas CS96/3955*). A notebook owned around 1708 by Glasgow student John Campbell includes several Scots tunes (*Gu Gen.12*). A volume inscribed, 'Martha Brown her musick Book Bought at Inver ay [Inverary]' and dated 1714 begins with a small collection of keyboard music, songs and trebles before being turned to use as repository for a large number of domestic recipes (*GB-AYRac AA/DC/139*).<sup>46</sup> Other manuscripts are untraced. Without indicating whether or not they included music, Laing listed the contents of '14 pages of [Scots and English] Songs' in a book with Glasgow University lecture notes made in 1699–1700 that had come into the possession of 'William Hamilton Younger of Airdrie', but has since disappeared (*Eu La. IV.25.47, fo.116*). Laing also owned a tune-book for flute or flageolet, partly in tablature, first documented in the 1820s in possession of Glasgow bookseller John Reid.<sup>47</sup> Further as yet identified music manuscripts appeared in the 1836 Glasgow sale catalogue of William Motherwell's library.

### Provenance uncertain

A few sources exist whose original provenance cannot be ascertained at present. From relatively early in the century are several fragments mainly of psalm settings preserved among Laing's papers (*Eu La. IV.25.47, fos.3–17*). From the latter part of the century is an in-

45 I am grateful to Kathryn Cooper for calling my attention to the two Wodrow sources.

46 Located at Ardrossan Local History Library, formerly at Saltcoats Museum.

47 The contents are listed on one of two flyleaves to *Eu La. III.488*, watermarked 1819, that became detached and are currently inserted into *La. III.453*. See also Daune, *Ancient Scottish Melodies*, pp.146–7.

struction book with a set of exercises in the form of common and psalm tunes owned at various points by Janet Gibsone, Andreu Ga(i)rdner, and John Patten (*En Adv.* 5.2.11, the name ‘Heilin Ferguson’ also appears). A similar book of lecture notes and musical rudiments, accompanied by thirteen four-voice settings of common tunes, and described as the ‘Borthwick MS’ (c.1670), was in the possession of Dunfermline bookseller Mr Larry Hutchison in 1999, but is currently untraced.

The remaining extant sources are of instrumental music stretching into the eighteenth century and – with their growing number of English composer-attributed works – into another era, while retaining a retrospective character, at least in part. A collection of mixed English and Scots tunes that includes a fingering chart for treble recorder was begun apparently at the end of the century, perhaps by one James Thomson, who inscribed the first flyleaf with the date 25 November 1702 (*En* 2833). Later additions seem to be made with a more diversified range of instruments in mind: there are, for example, two ‘ayres’ for a pair of viols by Jenkins, and music apparently for violin. The manuscript was in due course acquired by Davidson Cook (1874–1941) from whom *En* bought it in 1937, along with his account of its contents.

Among the many manuscripts that went through the hands of antiquary Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe (1781–1851) is one bearing the names ‘Mr Alexr. Naughton, merchant in Rotterdam’, ‘John Gairdyn’, and ‘James Steuart’, along with the dates ‘1710’, ‘1729’, and ‘1735’ (*En Glen* 37, MS 3298). It is principally a collection of what appear to be cues for ‘songs, marches, minuets, sarabands, country dances, etc’, apparently a reference source, perhaps used by a professional violinist. The greater part of Sharpe’s music collection, however, was acquired on his death by the Duke of Buccleuch and now forms part of the library at Boughton House in Northamptonshire (*KET*). MS 353 (formerly Bs.1.I.2) dates from c.1704–1705 and has a mixture of popular pieces by Eccles, Corelli, Croft, Purcell, Shore, and settings of Scottish traditional tunes, not unlike that in *En* 2833. Also at the house is ‘Mrs Crokat’s music book’, dated 1709, with initials ‘I.C.’ on its binding (*KET Music* 6, formerly K-11-17), which William Stenhouse owned before Sharpe and cited extensively in his *Illustrations*. It has

keyboard settings of largely traditional music at one end, and tunes at the other. A further volume of keyboard music once belonged to one Anne Armstrong (*KET Music 7*, formerly K-11-13). It has scribbled notes dated 1752–1753, but is probably an earlier compilation.<sup>48</sup>

A few more untraced manuscripts may be briefly noted. Leyden apparently knew two different late-seventeenth-century cantus books, one that included much of the Forbes, *Songs and Fancies*, in the possession of a ‘Mr Russell’ (conceivably the James Russell who wrote his name in the above-mentioned manuscript additions to the *Mp* copy of *Songs and Fancies*), the other with contents ‘nearly the same’ as *En Adv.* 5.2.14 belonging to Edinburgh bookseller Archibald Constable.<sup>49</sup> William Stenhouse owned a ‘manuscript book for the Virginals [...] written in square-shaped notes’, and possibly further manuscripts, including a ‘collection of airs in 1687’, among them ‘The Highland laddie’.<sup>50</sup> Laing had a flute manuscript formerly belonging to a William Graham and dated 1694 that he passed to William Chappell, and from which John Glen made some transcriptions.<sup>51</sup> He also had a manuscript dated 1706 that William Daune saw, but did not describe.<sup>52</sup> Conceivably it was the unidentified volume that once carried a pasteover slip that is now tucked away among Laing’s papers and which bears the words, ‘John Henderson his musick book / I got this musick book / November 19 day yr 1709 Anno domini’.<sup>53</sup>

48 I am grateful to Patrick Cadell, James Porter and Karen McAulay for information about the Boughton House collection whose musical contents from this period have not yet been cited in print.

49 See his edition of *The Complaynt of Scotland* (Edinburgh: 1801) pp.150–1, 245, 278–9, 283–5). and his annotations to *En Adv.* 5.2.14. Also Daune, *Ancient Scottish Melodies*, pp.46–7, 52–3, 55–8, 284.

50 *Illustrations of Scottish Song*, in James Johnson, *Scots Musical Museum* (Edinburgh: 1839), pp.44, 302; and p.22, respectively.

51 *En Glen* 209a (MS 3301), pp.18, 63; see also his, *Early Scottish Melodies* (Edinburgh: 1900), pp.93, 161.

52 *Ancient Scottish Melodies*, p.147.

53 *En La.* IV.25.47, fo.21.

## Scottish music abroad

It remains to note that several non-Scottish sources include music associated with Scotland, if sometimes tenuously. Such pieces occur only sporadically, however, until the publication by Henry Playford of *A Collection of [39] Original Scotch-Tunes, (Full of the Highland Humours) for the Violin: Being the First of this Kind yet Printed* (London, 1700; 2nd edn, with four additional tunes, 1701). Playford doubtless had a resident-Scottish collaborator, in all likelihood John McLauchland (see above) whose settings of several of the same Scots tunes in the Balcarres lute-book closely resemble those of the print. Playford's initiative triggered a long succession of foreign publications of Scots tunes of which the first two were especially close imitations: a similarly entitled volume printed in London first by John Hare (c.1704, untraced) and then by John Young (c.1720); and *A Collection of the most Celebrated Scotch Tunes For The Violin: Being all Diferent from any yet Printed in London* (Dublin: John & William Neal, [1724]).<sup>54</sup>

## Conclusion

The foregoing geographical consideration of Scottish musical sources serves to bring several of their characteristics into relief. Perhaps most striking is the virtual absence of material originating significantly north-west of a line drawn from Aberdeen to Glasgow, and hence a complete gap in the portrayal of Gaelic musical culture (the single

54 Astonishingly there still seem to be no published facsimiles or modern editions. Extant copies of Playford 1700 are at *DRc*, *En*, *Lbl*; of his 1701 edition at *Lbl*; of Young at *En*; of Neal at *BFu* (Bunting Collection). On the Hare print see Edward F. Rimbault, 'Old Scotch Tunes', *Notes and Queries*, 5th series (5 June 1876), pp.503–4. On McLaughland and Playford see Spring, Introduction to *Balcarres Lute-Book* (forthcoming).



Argyll source, Martha Brown's music book, does nothing to redress the balance). To say that such culture was unwritten is commonplace, yet it is well to remember that this was surely overwhelmingly true south-east of the line too. What we have can scarcely represent the prevailing *sounds* of seventeenth-century Scottish musical life in anything like their totality. In respect of notated 'fyn musik' – as Robert Edward and others before him called it – Aberdeen seems to retain its institutional status as leading musical centre throughout the century. The presence of the Chapel Royal in Edinburgh early in the century had some consequences for the dissemination of psalmody at the time; however meetings of the Scottish parliament there seem to have had few direct musical consequences. Private musical sources, and hence musically inclined individuals, were widely dispersed across the land, however, and the sources show that music and musical trends travelled easily. Within Scotland there is little sign of pronounced local trends in repertoire. Nor is there any indication that compilers of music books categorized their contents by perceived national origin, let alone by composer. For most of the century, keyboard sources and those notated in instrumental tablatures focus on different kinds of repertory from those that use standard five-line staff notation. The latter, however, concentrate more on imported repertories, whether vocal or instrumental. Only from the very end of the century do significant quantities of native airs begin to appear in tune books for melody instruments. At first, such sources rarely prescribe performance on any particular instrument, although they may contain tuning diagrams or other indirect hints about how they were put to use. It is not until the ensuing century that one can readily detect a real impetus in the sources towards the canonization of specific kinds of repertories for specific instruments.