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Cantus, Songs and Fancies
Context, influence and importance

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Abstract

John Forbes *Cantus, Songs and Fancies* was the first book of secular music to be printed in Scotland. Much of the book's content derives from English publications with few truly Scottish songs. The present study is concerned with the context and sources of the book with the aim of ascertaining what relevance it holds in the musical history of Scotland.

The first two chapters of the study are concerned with the context and current situation of the books. There are several useful information resources detailing the history of the book and Aberdeen and one of the aims of the work was to collate this data. All known copies were identified (as far as possible) as part study. This involved visiting as many of the libraries holding copies as possible and also searching library catalogues, sales catalogues, books and bibliographical publications.

The second two chapters are concerned with the source and influences of *CSF*. This involved comparing many manuscripts to the *CSF*, utilising the original manuscripts, microfilms and photocopies.

The final aspect investigated the possible purposes of gathering manuscript collections of songs. This section also compares the habit to that of keeping commonplace books, a widespread practice during the seventeenth century.
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Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Dr Warwick Edwards for all his support, encouragement, knowledge and guidance. Also to Professor John Butt for his help with commonplace books and to Dr Ronald Knox for his assistance in the translation of Greek.

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May I also thank Mr Harry Campbell and Mr Oliver Cooper for their assistance proof reading.
### Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>CSF</td>
<td><em>Cantus, songs and Fancies</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GUL</td>
<td>Glasgow University Library</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EUL</td>
<td>Edinburgh University Library</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ES</td>
<td>Edinburgh Signet Library</td>
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<td>AU</td>
<td>Aberdeen University Library</td>
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Chapter One: Introduction

*Cantus, Songs and Fancies (CSF)* was first published in Aberdeen in 1662 from the press of John Forbes. It was the first book of secular music to be printed in Scotland. It appeared in two further editions, 1666 and 1682.\(^1\) The authoritative account of the content of *CSF* together with a brief introduction to its general context, was given by Charles Sanford Terry in 1936.\(^2\) Other scholars including Dauney (*Ancient Scottish Melodies..., 1838*), Willsher (*Music in Scotland during three centuries..., 1945*) J.P Edmond (*Aberdeen Printers*, 1886) and Kenneth Elliot (*Music of Scotland: 1500 – 1700*, 1958) have discussed the book, generally as part of a larger study. Both Terry and Elliot list the content of all editions, Terry also gives the source of each piece and a sol-fa transcription of the opening lines. These lists have been compiled and reproduced in a slightly amended form at Appendix 1. The sol-fa has not been included.

Several publications discussing John Forbes do not make it clear that they are discussing the lives and work of two people. John Forbes Elder (to be referred to as such from here on) had originally been the town’s stationer, first appearing in the treasurer’s accounts for the Burgh of Aberdeen c. 1656 – 1657. It is the younger Forbes (to be referred to as John Forbes Younger) who applied and gained the position of printer when the office became vacant following the death of the previous incumbent, James Brown in 1661.\(^3\) Both men will be discussed in greater detail in chapter 2.

While the three separate editions of *CSF* are easy to identify, there are two separate issues of both the second and third editions which are a little more elusive. Both Wing’s *Short Title Catalogue*... and Aldis’s *A List of Books Printed in Scotland Before 1700*... have entries for the separate issues of each edition but only the issues of the third edition are discussed in the existing literature.\(^4\) The dispersal of the surviving

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1 The abbreviation *CSF* will be used throughout the rest of the dissertation.
copies across the globe means that we do not know conclusively how many copies survive. I have given a full list at appendix 2 of all the known editions, together with their locations and any other useful information gained from the relevant libraries.

The First Edition – 1662

![Title Page from first edition copy now held in the Huntington Library, California.](image)

The unique copy of the first edition is currently held in the Henry E Huntington Library in California (Rare Books 14234) and can be traced to the Scottish antiquarian George Chalmers. It is identified by Wing as D379 and by Aldis as 1733. It is not known how Chalmers acquired the book but it is likely that it formed part of his studies of the history of Scottish printing. The Chalmers library was sold in three parts, between 1841 and 1842, following his death in 1825. The sale catalogue shows that the book was sold on Friday 11th November 1842 for £6. It was bought by Thorpe on behalf of W.H. Miller, a politician and landowner who built up a substantial library at Britwell Court in Buckinghamshire. This library was eventually sold at Sotheby's, the catalogue noting that the book (lot 52) was sold in the same sale as two copies of

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5 Catalogue of a very important... collection of books of airs, ballads, catches, madrigals, songs... from the renowned library at Britwell Court, Burnham, Bucks, the property of S. R. Christie-Miller Esq., Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge. (London: J. Davy, 1919)
6 Wing (1994) p. 710; Aldis (1970)
8 Catalogue of the very curious, valuable and extensive library of the late George Chalmers... which will be sold by auction by Messrs. Evans... on Thursday, November 10, and seven following days, (Sunday excepted), 1842, (London: R.H., T. and C. Evans, 1842)
the later editions on the 15th December, 1919 and bought by the Henry E Huntington Library for £150.9 While this may seem a little extravagant, even for such a unique book, this phenomenon may be explained by the ‘mistaken conjecture’ that ‘Remember, O thou man’ (CSF song number 9) was the source of the English National Anthem.10

It is not known how many first editions were published but some scholars believe that the lack of other examples of the book indicates relatively few were printed.11

The book’s structure remained broadly similar throughout the three editions. The table below details the structure of the first edition, together with a brief description of the style and content. There are no page numbers included in the first edition so I have simply used the leaf numbers.

**Figure 2 – The order of the first edition**

| Title Page | The recto bears the title within a woodcut design featuring to figures, male (holding open part-book) and female (playing a lute). The verso bears the arms of Aberdeen (or Bon-Accord). Terry states that this woodcut features a ‘diagonal break from top to bottom of the design’.12 In fact this break is closer to horizontal. On either side of the arms, the initials of the Lord Provost William Gray. These do not appear in the other editions and are not substituted with the initials of Gray’s successors. T.D. is identified as Thomas Davidson, the Master of the Musick School. |
|——|——|
| Dedication | ‘Epistle dedicatory’ Very stylised language in praise of both Aberdeen, the Lord Provost and ‘rest of the honourable Councell. Terry describes it as ‘a characteristically extravagant epistle’.13 |
| Gam Hand and Scale | A print of the Guidonian hand together with a table featuring the ‘scale of the gam’. The ‘complicated musical notation then in vogue’.14 |
| The Exposition | ‘An exposition of the Gam, and Chiefs’. This is considerably more spaced out than the second and third editions. This has been identified as the work of Morley, taken from his *A plaine and easie Introducaiton to practicall Musick* (1597). |
| The Songs | Sixty-on songs are published in the first edition. |
| Index | In alphabetical order. |

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9 *Catalogue of a very important...* (London: J. Davy, 1919)
10 Terry (1936) pp. 402-403
11 Terry, (1936) p. 405
12 ibid. p. 403
13 ibid. p. 404
There is some confusion over existing number of copies if the first edition. This has arisen due to a seemingly incorrect entry in both Wing and Aldis. Both these publications indicate that the Signet Library in Edinburgh holds a copy of the first and third editions. The Signet Library contains around 65,000 books, about half of which concern legal matters. About 20,000 of the remaining books are of Scottish interest. David Laing, antiquarian, bookseller and librarian of the Signet Library from 1837-1878 (and his contemporaries) were responsible for collecting and donating much stock from Britain and from the Continent. Most of the musical manuscripts have now been moved to the Edinburgh University Library and the National Library of Scotland. During the 1950’s-1970’s, a lot of stock was sold and some Scottish material was feared to have been sold in error. However, there is no evidence in the original, hand-made catalogue to suggest that the library ever held a copy of the first edition. As the library has, not carried out a complete stock-take for a very long time, it is possible, though unlikely, that a copy of the first edition is hidden on its many shelves.

While we only have one true copy of the first edition, there is a contemporary manuscript copy held at the A.K Bell library in Perth. The manuscript formed part of the Atholl Collection, made by Lady Dorothea Stewart Murray, later Lady Dorothea Ruggles-Brise. The collection was left to the then Sandeman Library following her death in 1937.

For many years the manuscript was kept in a cigarette tin though it is still in surprisingly good condition. There are several leaves missing towards the front and back of the book. The manuscript also contains additions following the established content of the first edition. The additional content of the manuscript is given at the appendix 3. It is not known how the manuscript came to be part of the Atholl Collection. The volume is discussed in more detail in chapter four.

The Second Edition (1666)

The second edition of the book appeared in 1666 and featured a slightly revised content to rid the book of “all the noxious humours that were praying on its

14 ibid. p. 404
vitals". This translated as the removal of six of the songs from the first edition (‘The time of youth sore I repent’; ‘Ye gods of love looke down in pity’; ‘Now, o now, I needs must part’; ‘Martine said to his man’; ‘A shepherd in the shade his playing made’ and ‘Come again, sweet love doth now invite’) and the insertion of three songs in their place (‘Pleugh-Song’; ‘All sonnes of Adam rise up with me’ and ‘Trip and go, hey’). In the new addition, the authorial ascription to T.D. is extended to Thomas Davidson. Unsurprisingly, there are many more known copies of the second edition (at least ten) and these are detailed at appendix 2, as part of the list of all known copies of all editions.

The English Short Title Catalogue, along with Wing and Aldis, suggests that there are two issues of the book. This is correct and the issues are distinguished by their title pages.

Fig. 3–Cantus, Songs and Fancies, (Aberdeen: I. Forbes, 1666), CH Rare books: 14233, title page

The Edinburgh University Library copy has an additional sentence under the woodcut, ‘And are to be sold at Edinburgh, by David Trench, Book-seller’. As is clear from appendix 2, half of the ten known copies of the book have the additional sentence. It has not been possible to see all the existing copies, but the libraries have confirmed the editions in most cases. There is no indication to suggest which title pages appeared first, although it seems logical to suggest that the extra sentence was added once an arrangement had been made with the Edinburgh bookseller. There is nothing to suggest that any of the remainder of the book was reprinted at a later date. Wing numbers the issue without the David Trench sentence as D380, and Aldis as 1811. The second issue is numbered by Wing as D381 and Aldis as 1812. As we shall see, this shows notable similarities to the two issues of the third edition and it has been suggested that in both cases, the publishers may simply have used up all the original title pages. They may have taken the opportunity on this occurrence to add David Trench’s details to the book.

The Third Edition - 1682

In 1682, the third and final edition of the book was published. The appearance of this book followed both the death of Thomas Davidson (c. 1675) and John Forbes Elder
(also c. 1675). The content of the book is again changed. The three additions made to the second edition are removed and in their place appear:

Several of the choicest
ITALIAN SONGS
COMPOSED BY
GIOVANNI GIACOMO CASTOLDI DA CARRAVAGGIO.
Together also, with some of the Best
new English Ayres.
Collected from their chiefest Authors,
All in Three Parts,
Viz. Two Trebles and a Bass.18

These additions are detailed at the end of appendix one. Their inclusion shows the influence of Thomas Davidson’s successor, Louis de France, who will be discussed in more detail in chapter four.

As mentioned, the new edition also has two identifiable issues and again these concern only the title pages. In some copies of this edition, there are two title pages whilst in others only one appears. The second title page can be used to distinguish the issues and in all the copies I have seen, it is this title page that is present. The only exception to this is the facsimile edition of 1879, in which only the first title page appears.

The differences between the two versions of the second title page are very slight but clearly show that the page has been reset. This is first evident on the recto of the page, where the first word ‘Cantus’ is more spaced out in the ‘second’ issue (Fig 6). A slightly different font is also employed on the word Aberdeen.

Figure 5
Cantus, Songs and Fancies,
(Aberdeen : I. Forbes, 1666), ES, 2nd title page

Figure 6

The verso of title pages of the two issues is reproduced and overleaf.
Figure 7 - Cantus, Songs and Fancies, (Aberdeen: I. Forbes, 1666), ES, 2nd title page

Figure 8 - Cantus, Songs and Fancies, (Aberdeen: John Forbes, 1682; repr. Paisley, Alexander Gardiner for the New Club Series, 1879) second title page

The most striking difference between this page of the two issues is the lettering placed either side of the crest. In what is generally taken to be the first issue, the lettering is in a gothic style font whilst in the second issue, a Roman font is employed. Edmond states that in the copy he saw of the 'second' issue, it was possible to see the outline of the gothic font underneath the roman font, but I have been unable to identify this on any of the issues I have seen. Edmond also believes that there was a time gap between the two issues of about two years, meaning that copies of the '2nd issue' would have been published around 1684 (after the death of Charles I). He believes that the dedication to the deceased King was kept in order to preserve consistency with the dedication. As with the second edition, the remainder of the book is identical and again it would appear that the newer version of the title page is a replacement for an exhausted supply.
Aberdeen, in the years prior to the publication of *Cantus, Songs and Fancies* had been a violent and disturbed place. The Civil War (1638-1652) saw the 'ravaging' of Aberdeen with only two brief periods of peace.\(^1\) The Reformation had also had a great impact upon Scotland and together with the political upheaval, had made a great impression upon the musical practices both in Aberdeen and the rest of the country. Forbes comments upon this in the dedication at the start of the first edition, stating that the 'many strange stormes, dismall Disasters and malicious Designs; endeavouring to blast the Beutie of BON-ACCORD, to spoile Her of all Her decourements; and amoungst the rest to rob her, of that famous ornament of Vocall and Instrumental Musick, which allwayes She could have claimed, as the proper native and heritable Iewell of the Place'.\(^2\)

This musical decline had been noticed almost one hundred years earlier by Thomas Wode, a clergyman from St Andrews.\(^3\) Wode was responsible for the compilation of a Psalter (in the form of part-books) in which he made an effort to collate psalms, both continental and newly

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2. 'Epistle Dedicatory', *Cantus, Songs and Fancies*, pr. John Forbes (Aberdeen: John Forbes Printer, 1662)
composed with the purpose of encouraging and preserving some sort of musical
tradition, his notion being that without such an effort, 'musike sall pereishe in this
land alutterlye.'

The visible decline of music during the reformation was in part due to the lack
of provision for it in the new church service. In addition, money was redirected away
from the musicians leading to the closure of song-schools.\(^5\) In 1579 matters improved
for a time when James VI passed an act of parliament to make the 'teaching and
maintenance of the song-schools the responsibility of the burghs'.\(^6\) Such support for
music in the Scottish Church was short lived. Following the succession of Charles I to
the throne, the gulf between the Crown and the Scottish Presbyterian Church grew.
The forced imposition of a new prayer book in 1637 led to rioting at St Giles’
Cathedral, Edinburgh and the signing of the National Covenant in 1638.\(^7\) Music was
again restricted to metrical psalms within the church service and after 1645 only a few
of the once plentiful song-schools remained.\(^8\)

New Aberdeen’s song-school was one of the more prominent survivors and
music seems to have suffered less there during the troubles, as witnessed by the
eventual publication of Forbes first edition in 1662.\(^9\) Forbes ‘resolute purpose and
constant resolution’ was to ‘lessen the paines’ of the children of the city ‘in attaining
the first elements of Musick’ and to remove ‘the scar-craw of difficulties ...[from]...
the hinges of the School-doore’.\(^10\) While the musical tradition in Aberdeen was
undoubtedly strong, it was still influenced by the political and religious turmoil of the
first half of the 17\(^{th}\) Century. As William Walker noted ‘Puritanism of the narrowest
type, cast in the mould of Presbytery was [then] in the ascendant, and all the arts
which help to sweeten human life suffered an almost total eclipse’.\(^11\) The music of
\(^{CSF}\) has been described on many occasions and although there are some truly

\(^{4}\) Kenneth Elliot and Frederick Rimmer, \textit{A History of Scottish Music} (London: British Broadcasting
Corporation, 1973) p. 26
\(^{5}\) Kenneth Elliot and Frederick Rimmer, \textit{A History of Scottish Music} (London: British Broadcasting
\(^{6}\) ibid, p. 27
\(^{7}\) Prof Anne Laurence, Tristram Hunt and Graeme Bowman, ‘Breakdown, 1625-1641: The Scottish
\<http://www.open2.net/civilwar/2.2.breakdown.html> [accessed July 15 2003]
\(^{8}\) Kenneth Elliot and Frederick Rimmer, \textit{A History of Scottish Music} (London: British Broadcasting
Corporation, 1973) p.43
\(^{9}\) Keith, (1987) p.216
\(^{10}\) Terry, (1936) p.404
\(^{11}\) \textit{Extracts from the Commonplace Book of Andrew Melville}, Ed. William Walker (Aberdeen:
Aberdeen University Press, 1899) p. xxxvi
complimentary comments (often in sales catalogues), in general modern descriptions such as 'dolourously psalmodic', old-fashioned' and 'somewhat heavy and monotonous' abound. These descriptions are usually qualified by an explanation of the context. To paraphrase Dauney, even the more dramatic music that was beginning to 'spring up from Italy and France and which might have startled the ears of our Presbyterian ancestors would sound dull enough in these brisk and giddy times'.

The Forbes

Aberdeen's first and most celebrated printer, Edward Raban, established a strong tradition to which John Forbes Younger was admitted in 1662. John Forbes 'Printer' shared his name with his father, John Forbes 'Stationer' from here on referred to as Elder and Younger. John Forbes Elder first appears in the records as stationer in 1657. It is likely that Forbes Elder had worked as stationer for the previous printer, Rabans' successor, James Brown. Following Brown's death in 1661, John Forbes Younger was appointed printer. Unsurprisingly, there has been confusion concerning the identities and roles of the two John Forbes. Some books fail to recognise that there were two men at all and combine them into one printer-cum-stationer figure. However, as Edmond points out, it was the Younger Forbes from the beginning who is identified as the printer and this is confirmed by examining the council register of Aberdeen, extracts of which have been published by the Spalding Club. These records confirm Edmonds suggestion, the Elder Forbes always being referred to as 'stationer' even after the acquisition of the printing licence. This distinction for the sake of clarity within the records should not be taken to suggest that the Forbes's operated their stationary and printing business separately, as the first edition of Cantus, Songs and Fancies, one of their first publications suggests.

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12 William Walker, (1899) p. xxxviii-xxxix
Dauney Ancient Scottish melodies... with an introductory enquiry illustrative of the history of the music of Scotland, (Edinburgh, 1838)
Dauney, (Edinburgh, 1838)
Edmond (1886) p. xxxvi
Elliot, K & Rimmer, F (1973)
Edmond believes that it was the elder Forbes who was responsible for much of the first edition, with the younger man acting as a partner in the printing business.\textsuperscript{18} This supposition is confirmed in the council record, where an award of money made after the book’s publication is worded as follows.

18 March, 1663. The said day, the counsel appoints Thomas Mitchell, deane of gild, to pay to John Forbes, stationer, the sowme of ane hundreth merks Scotts money for his paines in printing certane musicall songs dedicat to the counsel.\textsuperscript{19}

The John Forbes responsible for the majority of the production of this book is clearly the father as he is referred to as ‘stationer’. This title was reserved for him. It is presumed that the Elder Forbes was also responsible for the second edition, printed in 1666. This notion is founded on the premise that whichever Forbes wrote the ‘Epistle Dedicatory’ to this edition, refers to the first edition as his ‘first-born’.\textsuperscript{20} The third edition appeared after the death of Forbes Elder (d. 1675) and it is thought most likely that Forbes Younger was responsible for the print. Edmond sensibly notes that the author promises further publications, a most unlikely promise to have been made by an old man some years before the book was printed.\textsuperscript{21} The responsibility of John Forbes Younger for the 3\textsuperscript{rd} edition is confirmed by another award from the council, this time addressed to John Forbes, Printer.\textsuperscript{22}

Upon John Forbes Younger’s appointment as Printer in 1662, the Forbes were granted ‘a dwelling house and printing office free of rent whose locality the title page of Forbes’s third edition reveals as “above the Meal-Market, at the sign of the Towns Armes”’.\textsuperscript{23} James Brown, Forbes predecessor, does not appear to have sold the books he printed however, this job, along with that of stationer was carried out conjointly with that of printer by the two Forbes. It it has been conjectured that Forbes Elder took on Devid Melville’s (Raban’s bookseller) shop prior to the appointment of his son as printer.

\textsuperscript{18} Edmond, J.P., (1886) p. xxxviii
\textsuperscript{19} Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Aberdeen. Reproduced in Edmond, pg 102
\textsuperscript{20} J.P. Edmond, (1886) p. xxxviii
\textsuperscript{21} ibid. p. xlv
\textsuperscript{23} Charles Sanford Terry, (1936) p. 405
The authorship and collation of the book has long been the source of discussion. From the first edition, Thomas Davidson is mentioned in the title and the indication given at the start of the first two books suggests he was responsible for part of their content. His name does not appear in the third edition. Terry states that the New Club facsimile edition ‘wrongly names [Thomas Davidson] as the author of the technical “Exposition” which prefaces all three editions.’ I have been unable to find the passage Terry is referring to in the facsimile but it is true to say that many scholars and sales catalogues have associated the exposition with Davidson and believe that it was the intention of the compiler that he be identified as the named author. In fact, this exposition is lifted from Morley’s *A plaine and easie Introduction to practicall Musicke*, first published in 1597. This has been known for many years but it is still thought by scholars that the inclusion of Davidson’s name on the title page is a deliberate attribution of the text.

The text reproduced above is shown as it appears on the title page of the second edition. Although it does seem to imply that Davidson’s name was responsible for the text, no authorial nature need be assumed. The introduction ‘as is taught’ by Thomas Davidson, not by him. We know from the Andrew Melville Commonplace book (see Chapter Three) that it is likely that the Morley book formed part of the music school library prior to the publication of *CSF* and although this is an

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24 Aberdeen University Library, *Cantus, Songs and Fancies...1666*, SBL.1666.F1
unauthorised quotation, there is nothing in any of the editions that states specifically that Davidson was the author.\textsuperscript{25} This is supported by the fact that in the third edition (which was printed after his death) Davidson’s name is removed from the title page altogether, the book instead stating that the brief introduction is ‘as is taught in the Musick-School of Aberdeen’. If it had been the intention to identify Davidson as the author in the earlier editions, there would be no reason to remove the name from the third edition. It could instead have been that the intention to associate the more widely known Morley work to Davidson in the belief that his name add local credence, and also simply stating the truth, that this introduction was as taught at the music school by Thomas Davidson. Further light on the authorship issue is shed in the address prefixed to the third edition. Forbes writes ‘I must confess, the Work as to the Musick is not mine, but for Printing, and Publishing herof, I am still ready and most willing in my Generation to improve my talent, and parts, (which ALMIGHTY, of His Infinite Goodness hath been pleased to bestow upon Me,)…’\textsuperscript{26} As mentioned, it is likely that Forbes Younger is responsible for this text and clearly he was not responsible for the music. It has been suggested by Edmond and others that Thomas Davidson may have had more responsibility for the choice of music and its collation, a task that seems to have been continued by his successor, Louis de France.\textsuperscript{27}

\textit{Cantus, Songs and Fancies and the Music School}

The role of the music school in relation to \textit{CSF} is confusing. As is clear from the title page of all three editions, the Music School was of particular importance to the book’s creation. Both Old and New Aberdeen had Music Schools attached to individual churches and \textit{CSF} was linked to the school in New Aberdeen, attached to the Kirk of St Nicholas.

\textsuperscript{25}Aberdeen University Library, \textit{Andrew Melville Commonplace Book}, MS 28
\textsuperscript{26}\textit{Cantus, Songs and Fancies}, (Aberdeen: John Forbes, 1682; repr. Paisley, Alexander Gardiner for the New Club Series, 1879) Epistle Dedicatory
\textsuperscript{27}J.P. Edmond, (1886) pp. xlii-xliii
The illustration above is taken from the foot of the map shown at the beginning of the chapter and shows St Nicholas's as it probably would have looked at the time of the publication of the second edition.

It is unclear when the Music School (or Song School as it had previously been known) in New Aberdeen was founded although references to music being taught in relation to St Nicholas's Parish first appear around 1256. By the time Forbes was publishing his books, the school was to be found at the northwest end of the kirkyard. This building had formerly been known as the ‘kirk ludge’ and was divided into three parts to house two English Schools and the Music School. The education received at the music school of New Aberdeen seems to have differed from that which was offered at contemporary music and song schools in Scotland. The music school of Old Aberdeen, for example, was an elementary school in which ‘music and the three R’s’ were taught while in New Aberdeen, study focussed on ‘music, manners and virtue’. According to Walker, the seventeenth century saw the concentration on music strengthen still more in New Aberdeen, and although ‘manners and morals were not neglected, it became purely what it’s new name [suggested], “The Music School”’. This does not mean that the scholars studying music sacrificed all other subjects. As mentioned, the Music School shared a building with two English Schools and it is likely that the pupil’s ‘attended the other schools for other subjects of their elementary education’.

Little information remains about the teaching in the English Schools, but we are lucky to have some indication of the sort of music that might have been taught in

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25 Ibid., p. 93
William Walker, (1899) p. xxxii
27 Harry N. Willsher, (Aberdeen, 1940)
the music school in the years before the publication of *CSF*. This valuable information is found in the list of library contents provided by Andrew Melville in his Commonplace book.

Andrew Melville was the Master of the School from 1636 to 1640, succeeding Patrick Davidson. A list of the masters of the song school, together with their relationships to each other may be seen at Appendix 4. The commonplace book produced by Melville contains many different types of information, from the mentioned library list, to the dates of his children’s births. The information concerning his children is in several blocks of text, detailing their names, dates of birth and godparents. His children are named as Margaret (1628), Agnes (1630), Andro (1631), William (1632), Thomas (1634) and Robert (1637). Among Robert’s godparents we find a reference to ‘david Melving my brother’. The entry is reproduced below.

Robert was born the 17 day of apryll 1637 being the 3 day of the moone on ane Monday, his godfathers where Robert Paull, Robert Straqn, William Reid, Jhon Anderson sone to gilbert andersone, skipper, his godmothers were Margaret Straqn, Spuse to theforesaid Wm Straqn, Janet Ealhous spouse to Edward raban printer, Isobel Melvil... doghter to david Melving my brother

It is very likely that this is the same David Melville who was bookseller in the town and a great friend of Edward Raban. This supposition is strengthened by the inclusion of Raban as a Godfather to Thomas. Patrick Davidson, Andrew Melville’s father-in-law and predecessor as master of the music school is also included.

Thomas was borne the 25 day of Novembere the zeir of god 1634 being the 15 day of the moone on ane Tuysday, his godfatheres were thomas Cargill, thomas anderson alex gray reader, edwart raban printer, his godmotheres were Margaret huisoine spouse to Mr Wim Couper, Isobell petrie Souse to jhone boune, cristant ross Spous to Robert Melving creistan galloway Spous to robert Annan Isobel Henderson Spous to patrick Walker

These lists have also been thought to cast light on the provenance of the manuscript copy of the first edition of *CSF* as the apparent signature of one of

---

32 Aberdeen University Library, Andrew Melville Commonplace Book, AU MS 28 f.33v
33 ibid. f.33v
Andrew Melville’s children is found towards the back of the manuscript. The name Robert is thought to refer to the last child listed in the commonplace book, born in 1637.

**Figure 11 – Signature of Robertus Melville from MS copy of CSF (Atholl Collection, N16 34671)**

The signature of ‘Gilbertus Melvell’ also appears in the manuscript copy.

**Figure 12 - Signature of Gilbertus Melville from MS copy of CSF**

It is also possible that the Robert Melville whose name is included in the manuscript copy belongs to Robert, son of David Melville. This Robert Melville is known to have worked as a bookbinder in Aberdeen between 1630 and 1645.\(^{34}\)

It is not known whom Gilbertus was but he could have been another son of Andrew Melville, born after the commonplace book had fallen into disuse or a nephew to him. If the Robert included in the manuscript copy was indeed a nephew, rather than a son, Gilbert may well have been his brother. It may never be possible to be certain as to the identity of these people, but their occurrence in the manuscript strongly suggests that it was associated with Aberdeen.

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Chapter Three: The Sources of Forbes

Andrew Melville’s Commonplace book

The Andrew Melville commonplace book is currently held in Aberdeen University Library. It is described as ‘a key document for the study of the cultivation of music in Scotland during the seventeenth century’ and is believed to have been written some time before 1637.\(^1\) As master of Music School of Aberdeen, the list Melville made of the library’s contents provides invaluable information concerning the production of *Cantus*, *Songs and Fancies*.

The names of Melville’s ‘buiks [books] in my pressis in all the thrie housis’ are listed below.\(^2\) I have followed Shire’s numbering system, the numbered items indicate the books she believes to have concerned music.

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**Figure 13 – taken from Helena Mennie Shire (1960)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The lowest hous.</th>
<th>The second hous</th>
<th>The hiest hous</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ane psalme book in four pairts</em></td>
<td>5. <em>stand of 6 pts Jon duncanes</em></td>
<td><em>ane little divyn compend</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ane silver bell</em></td>
<td>7. <em>ane othere little long book of print of pavines galreres Etc</em></td>
<td><em>ane Sonnett writt book to copies grat steill</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>The treasure of the soull naturall and artificial conclusions</em></td>
<td>8. <em>ane frenche book of the airt of musick</em></td>
<td>dreame book</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Mr Wm guildis book</em></td>
<td>9. <em>the pleuch books</em></td>
<td><em>King Wm ballet</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>regment of health</em></td>
<td>10. <em>ane fur pairts plain in wreitt wt lattin letters</em></td>
<td><em>goldin legacies</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>the book of notable things</em></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>ane psalme book</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. <em>ane old psalme book</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ladie rule of dreame</td>
<td>11. The 4 Italian books</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quintus cursius latin</td>
<td>12. gloria pateris</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cellectit poyncts of Jesuits</td>
<td>13. Iddill Inventiones</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belarmies carichois</td>
<td>14. Duche psalmes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>quhat think you</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. <em>ane old verse book copied out of Colquhon</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Pearkings Warks</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>apologie against brownest</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sick names salue</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>armetick book</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---


\(^2\) Aberdeen University Library, Andrew Melville Commonplace Book, AU MS 28 f.78v
Shire suggests that the three different houses correlate to the three floors of the school building and that this perhaps incorporated the residence of Melville and his family. Given the inclusion of seemingly non-musical books, it is also possible that the houses refer to the three schools in the building (two English schools and the music school).\(^3\) There is clearly a ‘musical’ house (the second) where all but one of the books is thought to have concerned or contained music. The first house seems to contain books concerning mathematics, religion and philosophy as well as some music related books. The third house or ‘heist’ house contains a book on grammar although it is not possible to generalise about the rest of its contents given the obscurity of the titles. Another suggestion similar to Shire’s, takes the implication of height literally. Melville speaks of the ‘buiks in my pressis’, pressis probably referring to some kind of shelving. A ‘press’ is defined in the Oxford English dictionary as ‘a large (usually shelved) cupboard, esp. one placed in a recess in the wall, for holding clothes, books, etc.’\(^4\) The height implications could then refer to shelves within a book shelf or cabinet of some kind. Perhaps the shelves got progressively smaller, given the number of books in house 2 and 3. However, the use of such terms does not rule out the possibility of the books belonging to the three different schools. Although the schools were not on a noticeable slope, there may have been a slight inclination. The words could also refer to the ages of the children taught in the separate schools, the music school catering for a widest age group and therefore appearing in the middle. The ‘highest’ could also conceivably be related to the proximity of the church to the schools, although this use of the word ‘high’ did not enter the language till the beginning of the eighteenth century.\(^5\)

It is not known whether Andrew Melville owned the books or whether they were owned by the school. Thurston Dart believed that the library might also have incorporated the books of David Melville. He suspected the library could have been a hoard of valuable books, some of them having been saved from the ‘period of


destruction'. He also suspected that there were cautious references to banned Latin Church music.

The musical books have been tentatively identified by Shire and details are given at Appendix 5. These books allow insight into the syllabus a music school, such as that of Aberdeen, may have taught. The list shows that the library at the school was well supplied with theoretical instruction, both in ‘works of long standing and in recent publications from England and abroad’. In relation to Forbes publications, it shows that there was a wealth of material available in the school (and presumably in the rest of Aberdeen) from England and Europe. The identification of Thomas Morley’s treatise in the list, if true, would suggest that it had been taught in the school for some time prior to the publication of CSF.

The tentative identification of the book number 12 is of special relevance to both CSF and the manuscript copy of the first edition. The book’s identification is very tentative, however it is likely that book number twelve included the ‘long medley in three parts’ called the Pleugh Song. Shire believes that this book, and entry number thirteen, could be taken to refer to the Wode Part-books. When Shire’s article was written, the Andrew Melville commonplace book was lost and she relied on the Extracts edited by William Walker. Upon the reappearance of the book, Shire concluded that there was no compelling evidence to suggest that items 12 and 13 should be taken as one. As with other books in the list, the very brief, non-descriptive titles given show that the list was for personal use. Unfortunately, this means that it is not possible to be certain of any of book’s identity.

The Pleugh song or ‘My heartlie service to you my lord’ has been discussed at length by Shire and Elliott in their article ‘Pleugh Song and Plough Play’, for the Saltire Review. The text is thought to be related to the traditional activities surrounding Plough Monday (the first Monday after Epiphany). Traditions surrounding the renewal of work on the land around this time are suggested to have included the participation of some kind of ‘folk-play’ similar to those carried out in

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6 Helena Mennie Shire, (1960) p. 9
7 Helena Mennie Shire, (1960) p. 10
8 ibid. p. 7
9 See Bibliog – Manuscripts and Rare Books
10 ibid. p. 11
England. The identification of such a piece of music in the library of the music school would illustrate the ‘secular repertory of the song school’ and ‘even in the Chapel Royal in King James IV’s time might very suitably have included this music’. The inclusion of the song in the second edition of CSF strengthens the case that it may have been in the repertory of the school. The ‘Pleugh Song’ also illustrates how the compiler of CSF has altered the words of the poem before publishing. ‘The printer has modernised and anglified what must have been a much older text and one thoroughly Scots in grammar, vocabulary and rhyme sounds’. The only other remaining source, the Altus and Bassus Wode Part-books are written in Scots ‘as politely spoken and spelt at that time’. CSF only includes the cantus part and unfortunately, the equivalent part in the Quintus of the Wode Part-books has been lost and a comparison is not possible.

It is not possible to securely identify the ‘the pleuch books’ with the Wode books from the evidence of one song title. Further evidence has been put forward with the suggestion that Andrew Melville may have been responsible for the additions made to the Wode Part books. This is possible but the handwriting does not appear, following a brief study, to be the same. A closer examination would be of great use.

**English and Scottish Sources**

The sources of Forbes, as mentioned, have been clearly identified by Terry. Both English and Scottish sources are listed where appropriate and, this information has been collated at appendix 1. Terry identifies 19 songs from the three editions that lack any English associations and a further eight for whom there are no known correspondences. Presumably, these songs had a limited circulation, perhaps being newly arranged for the edition. The songs with known musical sources in Scotland but no words were perhaps assigned a text for the publication and those texts without melody perhaps joined with a tune.

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13 ibid. p.39
14 ibid. p.40
15 Kenneth Elliot and Frederick Rimmer, (1973) p. 44
Figure 14 - songs not known from elsewhere, or only partially found in the Scottish sources.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Song</th>
<th>Words</th>
<th>Music</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>You lovers all that love would prove</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>The thoughts of men do daily change</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>When chyle cold afe shall sease upon thy blod</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Let not, me say the sluggish sleep</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>When Father Adam first did flee</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>I love gret God above</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Where art though, hope, that promised me releise</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Away vaine world, bewitcher of my heart</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>When May is in her pryme, then, may each heart rejoice</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>The time of youth sore I repent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38 &amp; 37</td>
<td>Brave Mars begins to rouse</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Ye gods of love looke down in pity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43 &amp; 41</td>
<td>There is a thing that much is used</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51 &amp; 48</td>
<td>How now, shepherd, what means that?&quot;</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some of these songs do exhibit Scottish characteristics. ‘Ye Gods of Love’, for example has been described as ‘something of a “Celtic original”’ being the only example of its kind in the collection. The tune is related to ‘the Irish Ho-Hane in the Fitwilliam Virginal Book and is ‘undeniably of folk origin’, the chorus as presented in CSF being ‘Oh, Oh, on eerie…’.\(^\text{16}\) The remainder are generally considered to be of Scottish origin due to their lack of correspondences but it is not possible to be certain. Several of these ‘Scottish’ songs have also been shown to demonstrate the growing French influence.\(^\text{17}\)

With several of the other songs, both English and Scottish sources are known to exist. It is not known whether these songs were copied directly from their English sources or from manuscript copies in Scotland. By comparing the similarities of Forbes to the original English source and the Scottish sources, it should be possible to get an indication as to which situation is more likely. The table at Appendix 6 contains brief comparative notes for all the pieces I looked at with both Scottish and

\(^\text{16}\) Kenneth Elliot and Frederick Rimmer, (1973) p. 46
English sources. I concentrated on the pieces from the main body of the book, leaving out the additions to the second and third editions.

In most cases, Forbes differs from both the Scottish manuscript example and the English original though usually only a little. In the examples taken from Jones, Forbes does seem to show more similarities to the English original than to the Scottish manuscript source (Wode's 'Quintus' part-book). It should be pointed out that Wode itself is very close to the original and there is perhaps not enough evidence to suggest which type of source might have been more influential. The words and music in Forbes do vary from the Jones original but only very slightly. Occasionally, such as in *Sweet Kate* both Wode and Forbes have concurrent alterations, in this case an omitted accidental. However, in the same piece, the lyrical differences shown between Forbes and the original are not reflected in Wode.

In the Morley example, *With my Love my Life was nested* it is possible to imagine how a source such as Wode, spelling 'Some' as 'Sum' may have been misread by the compiler of Forbes to be 'Sun' but again there is not enough evidence to suggest whether an English or a Scottish source has been employed.

The Dowland example *Sleep wayward thoughts* shows an interesting difference between the original and the Scottish source. The Panmure (Robert Edwards commonplace-book – see Appendix 1) example and Forbes both have an altered method of notation towards the end of the piece, and Forbes has additional words. The words seem to have been added due to a misprint in the original publication where it appears that there are too many notes for the text (see appendix 7.4). The alteration in Forbes allows the underlay to make more while retaining the rhythmical value, allowing other parts to be sung without the need for alteration. It is not clear whether this is a localised phenomenon but the two Scottish examples do choose exactly the same course of action to cater for the lack of words.

The Ravenscroft example shows the opposite effect. On this occasion it is Forbes that differs from both the original and the Scottish source, who remain in agreement throughout. The major difference is found at the end of the music and is shown at appendix 7.5. Whether Forbes is referring to another source of the music is unclear but his alteration seems to make more sense musically, the original version ending somewhat awkwardly. This alteration may have been made to make the piece more appropriate for unison singing by less experienced members of the school.
The 'Lachryme' example is surprisingly uniform from a musical point of view. The most interesting difference occurs in the text, where Forbes inserts 'heaven' instead of 'hell' in the final line 'Happy, happy they that in hell feel not the worlds despite'. Wode also changes the words to 'Happy, happy they that in death feel not the worlds despite'. Perhaps the original text was felt to be a little pessimistic.

It is clear that the majority of the songs can be sourced to England. From the evidence presented in the music, it seems that there were other influences acting upon the music. These would most probably have included localised versions of the songs, such as those presented in Forbes. It also seems likely that the compiler of CSF has changed the music and words to make it more appropriate for school use.
As the first book of secular music to be printed in Scotland, *Cantus, Songs and Fancies* holds a unique and influential position in the country's musical history. A little of the impact of the book on the musical scene can be deduced from the existence of three separate editions. The book was clearly popular and the number of copies that are still in existence suggests that there was a sizeable print run of the second and third editions. We also know that at least one issue of the second edition was sold in Edinburgh at the time of its publication and it is likely that this practice was continued for the third edition.

The esteem in which the book was held in Aberdeen is demonstrated through the large sums of money paid to John Forbes (Elder and Younger) on their publications of the books. Following the publication of the first edition, the town council made the following order.

18 March, 1663. The said day, the counsel appoints Thomas Mitchell, deane of gild, to pay to John Forbes, stationer, the sowme of ane hundreth merks Scotts money for his paines in printing certane musicall songs dedicat to the counsel

On the 19th April, 1682, a similar award was made for the third edition.

the said day, the council granted to John Forbes, printer, ane hundreth ponds Scots money, for gratuitie to him for his dedicacione to the provet, baillies, and counsell of ane musick booke fot instructione of youth, printed and sett out by him...

Further evidence of the influence and success of the book can be seen by the study of manuscripts that appeared shortly after the publication of the book. Two manuscript collections in particular, and the manuscript copy of the first edition clearly show very direct links.

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Louis de France's Music Book

This manuscript was compiled in Aberdeen whilst Louis de France was master of the music school. He succeeded Thomas Davidson following his death in 1675. Louis, a 'weill expert in the famous and excellent airt of Musick' brought with him 'the most fyne Tunes which have beene sung in the court of France both French and Italian', had previously been employed in Edinburgh and was appointed Master in Aberdeen on 24th November 1675.² An inscription from the book provides more details concerning its content.

A Musick Booke...Wherein are aires to thrie, four and five parts by m' Clandam and other fyne peeces in french, Italian and Spanish, Composed by the best maisters of france, as also other fyne scotish and inglisch aires old and new taught by Louis de france now musick maister of Aberdein, having been the scholler of the famous musician m' Lambert being the King of france cheifr musician for the methof and manner to conduct voyces.³

Mr Lambert is identified as Michael Lambert, Lully's father-in-law who served under Louis XIV. Elliot suggests that Mr Clandam may be a reference to Claudin, and that the two 'French Aires' included in the manuscript may be taken from his chansons.⁴

It is almost certain that Louis had direct contact with the Forbes publication. The title of CSF states that it was intended for use in the school and it would be surprising if Louis was not aware of it. Terry believes that with regards to the third edition of Cantus, Songs and Fancies, Forbes was 'guided by the newcomer'.⁵ This situation seems very likely, especially with the inclusion of the 'choice Italian songs'.⁶

Ten or more than seventy songs included in the manuscript are also found in Cantus, Songs and Fancies, the inscription stating that the music included is as 'taught by Louis de france now musick maister of Aberdein'.⁷

³ ibid. p. 105
⁴ Kenneth Elliott, (1958) pg 344
⁵ Terry, (1936) p. 407
⁷ Edinburgh University Library, Louis de France's Music Book, EUL MS La.III.491
Figure 15 – Concordances between CSF and Louis de France

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>LdF number</th>
<th>Forbes number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What if a day</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You minor beuties</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>59/54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remember me my dear</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>50/47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Come Love lets walk in yonder spring</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Into a mirthful May</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From the fair lavinian shore</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>7(add)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Now wee are mett</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>2(add)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O lusty Flora</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In a garden so green</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Here’s a health</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>6(add)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 15 shows those songs that appear in both Louis de France and CSF. It appears that the third edition was used, with three of the additional songs from the edition included in the selection. Louis was master of the song school from 1675 until 1682, the same year that the third edition of Forbes was published. It is interesting to note that discounting the songs taken from the additions to CSF third edition, none of the songs included in the Louis de France book are contained in the English sources. The inscription to the volume states that ‘fyne scotish and inglish aires old and new’ are included.\(^8\) Willsher believes that ‘many of these airs were English and were favoured by Scottish scribes in those times. There are also French and Italian airs in the manuscript with a few songs that he calls Scottish on account of their popularity in musical circles, but most of them are actually of English provenance’.\(^9\) While this may be true for the overall contents of the manuscript, disregarding the songs from the additions, there seems to have been an effort to choose the ‘Scottish’ content from Forbes.

A comparative study of the songs as they are in Forbes and in Louis de France shows that in general, the music and words are the same. The major difference between the two settings is that only one verse is included in the manuscript, the

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\(^8\) Edinburgh University Library, Louis de France’s Music Book, EUL MS La.III.491
words being set under the music. Sometimes the clef is also altered, the manuscript using a C clef where the Cantus... has a G clef. The manuscript also occasionally simplifies the music, as if it were being used as a memory prompt.

An interesting piece of music included in the manuscript is ‘Come love lets walk in yonder spring’. The part given here is labelled ‘treble’ and is significantly different to the ‘tune’ given in the Forbes editions. Unusually, it is also in a different key. Below is a transcription of the song.

Figure 16 – ‘Come love lets walk in yonder spring’ (EUL MS La.III.491)

```
Come love lets walk in yonder spring,
The Robin red breast and the thrush
Where we shall hear the nightingale in
black bird
thorny bush
The mavis sweetly caroling

this to my love, this to my love content will bring.
```

The part works reasonably well as an independent tune but certain aspects of the line, such as the jump on the word ‘content’ and sustained note on the word ‘mavis’ suggest that it may be an accompanying part to a cantus such as that contained in Forbes. As mentioned, the version presented in Louis de France is in a different key, A minor as opposed to the G minor of the Forbes version. The Squyer Music book (to be discussed later) also contains this piece, together with a bass part. Here too the music is in G minor. Transposing this version to G minor and combining it with the cantus and bass parts of the two other sources produces an interesting result, shown at Appendix 8.

Whilst the parts generally work well together, I do not suggest that they necessarily belong together. The fact that the Louis example is in a different key suggests that it is taken from another source where it may have belonged to a three, or even four part setting. Of particular worry for this combination of parts are bars 7, 10

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and 13, and the very end. In these places, the treble does not seem to fit perfectly. The music is only found in the three sources mentioned and the existence of the third part in Louis suggests that it was certainly once part of a larger piece. Although the part does not fit perfectly, it is possible to imagine how the a third part from the same source could have acted, the part only occasionally sounding a little unconfident.

There are no other similar occurrences between the Forbes and Louis de France sources. The rest of the music in the manuscript, as mentioned, is usually exactly the same, the only difference being a changed clef and lack of multiple verses.

**John Squyer’s Music Book**

The *Squyer Music Book* was collected by David Laing and is now held in the special collections at Edinburgh University (MS La.III 490). The manuscript itself is in its original binding and is stamped I.S. after the owner. John Squyer remains unidentified. The manuscript shares seventeen of its thirty-five songs with Forbes. In general, both the tunes and the words are strikingly similar. Taken together with other evidence within the manuscript, it seems highly likely that Squyer had access to a copy of Forbes and copied songs from it. The songs duplicated are listed below.

**Figure 17 – Concordances between CSF and John Squyer’s Music Book**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Song Name</th>
<th>Pg. No. in Squyer</th>
<th>Pg. No. in Forbes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What is a day</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remember O thou man</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remember me my dear</td>
<td>26&amp;27</td>
<td>50/47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gather your Rose-buds</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>5 (add)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Into a May morning</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From the fair Lavinian Shore</td>
<td>36&amp;37</td>
<td>7(add)`</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satan my foe</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Gowans are gay</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woe worth the time</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Come Love Let’s walk</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shepherd saw thow not</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>57/52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yow Minor beawties</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>59/54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Care away goe thow from me</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>53/50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Sleep wayward thoughts
Fain would I wed

The inclusion of Gather your Rosebuds and From the fair Lavinian Shore again suggests that the compiler had access to the third edition. None of the unique songs from the other editions are included in the manuscript.

Convincing evidence that the music could have been copied from Forbes is found in Come, love lets walk in yonder spring. The only difference evident in the music is the use of a repeat mark in Squyer where the repetition is written out in Forbes. The words are the same, save for differing spellings. The Squyer version also repeats the paraphrase included in Forbes, using very similar wording to introduce it (i.e. ‘another of/to the same’).

Figure 18 – Come love lets walk in yonder springs

Another of the same.

Come, Lord, let's walk on Sion Hill,
There to remain for ever still;
Where Prophets, pastors, and just folk,
With Martyrs on a row do walk,
The Angels sweetly caroling:
This to my soul, this to my soul,
Content shall bring.

In God's house many mansions are,
Which Christ is gone for to prepare
For his Elect, and own dear friends;
Where joy remains and never ends;
God's Saints shall thither all repair;
Because the Lamb, because the Lamb,
Of God reigns there.

'Cantus, Songs and Fancies [1682]', New Club Series (Paisley, Alexander Gardiner, 1879)
'Come love lets walk in yonder springs', no 14

Edinburgh University Library, John Squyer’s Music Book, EUL MS La III.490
Squyer’s manuscript, unlike the Louis de France example, includes all the words, including the paraphrase. This alternative set of words is only found in Forbes. (The original words are taken from Henry Youll’s *Canzonets* (1608) although they are set to a different tune.\(^\text{10}\))

Further evidence can be seen in the Squyer setting of *Satan my foe*. Again the notes are identical, as are the words. There has been a correction made to the words of verse two so that they exactly match the Forbes version. The correction appears to be in the same hand and changes the word ‘created’ to ‘creat’.

There are also differences between Forbes and Squyer. One of the most informative is seen in ‘Fain would I wed’. The original song is found in Thomas Campion’s fourth book of Ayres. The version in Forbes is shown below.

**Figure 19 – ‘Fain Would I wed’, Forbes and Squyer**

In Forbes, each of the following two verses is sung to this tune and no other music is specified. In Squyer, however, variations of the tune are used for the remaining text.

The music presented in Squyer is identical to the version in the original Campion. The editor of the 1926 Stainer and Bell edition of the Campion’s Fourth book of Ayres states that ‘the form of no. 24 (Fain would I wed) is interesting. The melody is varied in each of the three verses, but the accompaniment which is simple in character remains the same throughout’.\(^\text{11}\) Whilst there is a gap of almost ten years

\(^\text{10}\) The tune and secular words are also found in Straloch, Skene and Panmure. Terry (1936) p. 414

between the publication of the Forbes third edition and the collation of Squyer, the song may well have been known in full in Forbes time. The song may have been simplified for both the ease of teaching and also to reduce the amount of space it would take up. Both Squyer and Forbes also change the sex of the singer, the first line of the song reading ‘Fain would I wed a fair young maid’ rather than the original Campion version ‘Fain would I wed a fair young man’. This would make the song more appropriate for use in a school catering only for boys. There do not appear to be any other changes of voice within the songs although none of the remainder appear to have been in the female voice.

Six of the songs in the Squyer manuscript are also included in the earlier Louis de France volume, perhaps suggesting the more popular contents of Forbes, or perhaps the songs that were used more frequently in the school’s curriculum.

The Manuscript Copy

The Manuscript copy of the first edition of *Cantus, Songs and Fancies* is currently held in the A K Bell Library in Perth. The manuscript is in fairly good condition, especially considering that it was kept for many years in a cigarette tin. The A K Bell Library obtained the manuscript as part of the ‘Atholl Collection’, made by Lady Dorothea Stewart Murray, later Lady Dorothea Ruggles-Brise. On her death she left her collection to the then Sandeman library (now the aforementioned AK Bell library) on condition that it be known as the Atholl Collection and be kept intact. The manuscript is thought to be a contemporary copy of the first edition. It also includes additions at the end of the manuscript. The copy is of vital importance, not least in that it doubles the number of known contemporary copies of the first edition of *CSF*, even if it is not an actual print. The copy is stamped with the initials T.T., although their owner remains unidentified. As discussed in chapter two, the manuscript can be located to Aberdeen through the signatures of members of the Melville family. It is not known how it came to be in the hands of Lady Dorothea Ruggles-Brise.

Unlike the two manuscripts discussed previously, it is certain that this copy sources Forbes directly. It is an exact copy of both the words and music contained within the first edition. As mentioned, the scarcity of first editions today may indicate that there were relatively few of them printed. Copying the book would therefore be the only ways of obtaining the contents on paper.
Many possible reasons exist for the copying of an entire book. Given the book's use in education, it is possible that it was copied by a school pupil and it might be possible to view both Squyer and Louis de France as such works also. It is also possible to draw parallels with the keeping of commonplace books, an idea to be discussed in further detail in the concluding chapter.

The importance of all three of these manuscripts is not only the link they have with Forbes, but the proof they offer that the book's contents entered the repertoire of people of the succeeding decades. The manuscript copy also has additional music within it, many of the pieces also occurring in the Wode part-books and showing that many part-songs survived the reformation and continued to be sung. Below is a table of the additional contents of the manuscript copy. Those highlighted also appear in Wode.

**Figure 20 – Concordances between Wode and the manuscript copy of CSF**

**Song**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Concordance</th>
<th>Wode</th>
<th>Manuscript Copy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Will ye lov me lday sweet</td>
<td></td>
<td>Will ye lov me lday sweet&lt;br&gt;Will ye lov me lday sweet&lt;br&gt;Will ye lov me lday sweet&lt;br&gt;Will ye lov me lday sweet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fie awau, fie away, fie, fie</td>
<td>Fie awau, fie away, fie, fie&lt;br&gt;Fie awau, fie away, fie, fie&lt;br&gt;Fie awau, fie away, fie, fie&lt;br&gt;Fie awau, fie away, fie, fie</td>
<td>Fie awau, fie away, fie, fie&lt;br&gt;Fie awau, fie away, fie, fie&lt;br&gt;Fie awau, fie away, fie, fie&lt;br&gt;Fie awau, fie away, fie, fie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hast thee o god</td>
<td>Hast thee o god&lt;br&gt;Hast thee o god&lt;br&gt;Hast thee o god&lt;br&gt;Hast thee o god</td>
<td>Hast thee o god&lt;br&gt;Hast thee o god&lt;br&gt;Hast thee o god&lt;br&gt;Hast thee o god</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Come come away to the taverne</td>
<td>Come come away to the taverne&lt;br&gt;Come come away to the taverne&lt;br&gt;Come come away to the taverne&lt;br&gt;Come come away to the taverne</td>
<td>Come come away to the taverne&lt;br&gt;Come come away to the taverne&lt;br&gt;Come come away to the taverne&lt;br&gt;Come come away to the taverne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ther were three Ravens</td>
<td>Ther were three Ravens&lt;br&gt;Ther were three Ravens&lt;br&gt;Ther were three Ravens&lt;br&gt;Ther were three Ravens</td>
<td>Ther were three Ravens&lt;br&gt;Ther were three Ravens&lt;br&gt;Ther were three Ravens&lt;br&gt;Ther were three Ravens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As aristotle drae come away</td>
<td>As aristotle drae come away&lt;br&gt;As aristotle drae come away&lt;br&gt;As aristotle drae come away&lt;br&gt;As aristotle drae come away</td>
<td>As aristotle drae come away&lt;br&gt;As aristotle drae come away&lt;br&gt;As aristotle drae come away&lt;br&gt;As aristotle drae come away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non nobis domine</td>
<td>non nobis domine&lt;br&gt;non nobis domine&lt;br&gt;non nobis domine&lt;br&gt;non nobis domine</td>
<td>non nobis domine&lt;br&gt;non nobis domine&lt;br&gt;non nobis domine&lt;br&gt;non nobis domine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three wise men</td>
<td>Three wise men&lt;br&gt;Three wise men&lt;br&gt;Three wise men&lt;br&gt;Three wise men</td>
<td>Three wise men&lt;br&gt;Three wise men&lt;br&gt;Three wise men&lt;br&gt;Three wise men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maids to bed and cover Koal</td>
<td>Maids to bed and cover Koal&lt;br&gt;Maids to bed and cover Koal&lt;br&gt;Maids to bed and cover Koal&lt;br&gt;Maids to bed and cover Koal</td>
<td>Maids to bed and cover Koal&lt;br&gt;Maids to bed and cover Koal&lt;br&gt;Maids to bed and cover Koal&lt;br&gt;Maids to bed and cover Koal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O lorde turne not away thy face</td>
<td>O lorde turne not away thy face&lt;br&gt;O lorde turne not away thy face&lt;br&gt;O lorde turne not away thy face&lt;br&gt;O lorde turne not away thy face</td>
<td>O lorde turne not away thy face&lt;br&gt;O lorde turne not away thy face&lt;br&gt;O lorde turne not away thy face&lt;br&gt;O lorde turne not away thy face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Into a mirthfull may morning</td>
<td>Into a mirthfull may morning&lt;br&gt;Into a mirthfull may morning&lt;br&gt;Into a mirthfull may morning&lt;br&gt;Into a mirthfull may morning</td>
<td>Into a mirthfull may morning&lt;br&gt;Into a mirthfull may morning&lt;br&gt;Into a mirthfull may morning&lt;br&gt;Into a mirthfull may morning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In a Garden so Green</td>
<td>In a Garden so Green&lt;br&gt;In a Garden so Green&lt;br&gt;In a Garden so Green&lt;br&gt;In a Garden so Green</td>
<td>In a Garden so Green&lt;br&gt;In a Garden so Green&lt;br&gt;In a Garden so Green&lt;br&gt;In a Garden so Green</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April is in my Mistres face Tenor, Trieble, Contra</td>
<td>April is in my Mistres face Tenor, Trieble, Contra&lt;br&gt;April is in my Mistres face Tenor, Trieble, Contra&lt;br&gt;April is in my Mistres face Tenor, Trieble, Contra&lt;br&gt;April is in my Mistres face Tenor, Trieble, Contra</td>
<td>April is in my Mistres face Tenor, Trieble, Contra&lt;br&gt;April is in my Mistres face Tenor, Trieble, Contra&lt;br&gt;April is in my Mistres face Tenor, Trieble, Contra&lt;br&gt;April is in my Mistres face Tenor, Trieble, Contra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My love bind me with kisse</td>
<td>My love bind me with kisse&lt;br&gt;My love bind me with kisse&lt;br&gt;My love bind me with kisse&lt;br&gt;My love bind me with kisse</td>
<td>My love bind me with kisse&lt;br&gt;My love bind me with kisse&lt;br&gt;My love bind me with kisse&lt;br&gt;My love bind me with kisse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>then wilt thou go and leave me heir</td>
<td>then wilt thou go and leave me heir&lt;br&gt;then wilt thou go and leave me heir&lt;br&gt;then wilt thou go and leave me heir&lt;br&gt;then wilt thou go and leave me heir</td>
<td>then wilt thou go and leave me heir&lt;br&gt;then wilt thou go and leave me heir&lt;br&gt;then wilt thou go and leave me heir&lt;br&gt;then wilt thou go and leave me heir</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
now I sée thy lookes were fain
Of all the fair fowells

The similarity between the two manuscripts content is of interest although I do not think the manuscript copy has been copied directly from the Wode Part-books. The music and words are broadly similar but often the clef is different or there are note changes. It seems more likely that another source was used, perhaps associated with the music school in Aberdeen.

The habit of adding additional material to existing volumes, such as those found in the additions to the manuscript copy appears to have been quite widespread. A number of the Forbes copies I have seen have additions at the front or back. Often these include the ‘common tunes’. These appear to be psalm tunes, and are often named after places in both Scotland and England. The Henry Watson Music Library copy of the third edition has a particularly plentiful selection of additions.
Chapter 5 – Conclusion

*Cantus, Songs and Fancies* is a product of its time. We can only guess at the problems a printer may have faced in the turbulent years following the civil war. An illustration of how delicate the situation was is seen in 1676 when John Forbes was censured following a publication of a book for the Quakers. At times during the seventeenth century the Quakers suffered heavy persecution in Aberdeen, many of them being imprisoned in 'conditions of the utmost degradation and squalor'.\(^{12}\) The books Forbes was planning to print were seized from the printing house in a 'zeal of orthodoxy' by a baillie of the city.\(^{13}\)

Evidence of such censure is not found in *CSF*. The religious content of the book is explained by the intended use in a school attached to a church. The inclusion of such material no doubt aided the smooth passage of the book, as did the florid dedications to the council in the Epistle Dedictory.

Whilst the book proclaims on the cover that it is 'as taught in the music school' it is not clear how it was to be used. Most scholars feel that the book was intended for the use of the wider community as well as those attending the school. The didactic material towards the beginning of *CSF* would probably have been of interest to the music enthusiast as well as to the scholars of the music school. It is very clear from Forbes dedication that the book was intended for educational use. The passage begins by heaping generous praise on Aberdeen and its musical heritage ('how many have come of purpose from the outmost partes of this lland to hear the cheerfull Psalms, and heavenly Melody of BON-ACCORD')\(^{14}\). Forbes wish to lessen the pains of the children in their learning of music is clearly stated, as is his wish to remove 'the Scarr-craw of difficultie' from the School door. (Chapter 1). The following two editions seem to maintain the links with the school, the third edition's dedication containing a lengthy eulogy on the merits of music and likening choristers to larks. This dedication, along with the dedication found in the second edition, mentions how many members of the Burgh council are musicians themselves, the book therefore being of especial interest to them.\(^ {15}\)

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\(^{12}\) Keith, (1987) p. 208  
\(^{13}\) Edmond, (1886) p 1.  
\(^{14}\) Terry, (1936) p.404  
\(^{15}\) Edmond, (1886) pp. xli-xliti
The practical uses of such books as *CSF*, the manuscript copy of *CSF, Louis de France’s Music Book* and *John Squyer’s Music Book* are puzzling. In all the books, the ‘cantus’ of part-songs make up much of the content. In many articles and passages concerning *CSF* it is stated that ‘only the cantus part seems ever to have been published’. I believe that it was only ever intended that the Cantus part be published. The latest edition of the book does contain part-songs so it is untrue to say that the tradition was losing its popularity. Both *Squyer* and *Louis de France* include part-songs their repertoir.

The purpose of such a ‘tune’ book may have been similar to the song-books still at use in schools today. Most, if not all, of the boys studying at the school would have had unbroken voices and whilst part songs do exist from the period for higher voices, these have not been included in the print. The inclusion of full part songs in the third edition could then be explained by the growing audience of adults who wished to sing in parts.

The manuscript collations, copies and indeed those copies of *CSF* which include manuscript additions can also be seen to have similarities to the practice of commonplace book keeping. A commonplace book is ‘a book in which commonplace, or passages important for reference were collected, usually under general heads’. The period has been described as embodying a ‘notebook culture’ where the practice of keeping commonplace books and notebooks was extremely widespread. In the Andrew Melville example discussed earlier, this is done without any special arrangement, with only occasional glimpses of systematic organisation. There were, however, methods and systems for arranging the contents of such books to increase their usefulness.

The commonplace book was in widespread use in education in Western Europe. ‘Pupils were required to make themselves commonplace books, and to collect excerpts from their reading under the appropriate heads.’ When creating their own writings, they were then encouraged to draw upon the contents of their commonplace

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16 Elliot, K. & Rimmer, F., (1973) p. 45
books for ‘quotations, examples and other illustrative materials’. Such a structured way of memorising useful quotations led to children growing up with similar mental attitudes, and habits of reading and writing.

It is not clear to what extent these practices were carried out in Scotland. On the continent Lutheranism employed the analytical aspects of the practice of keeping a commonplace book to study scripture, led by Melancthon. The philosopher Erasmus, upon whom, Melancthon based his work, was widely known in England and it seems probable that his teaching was known in Scotland also.

One of the most common uses of the commonplace books was in the teaching of Latin and Greek. Towards the beginning of the John Squyer Manuscript, a page containing Greek writing is found.

Figure 21 – Greek text on p. 5 (modern) of John Squyer’s Music book

Dr. Ronald Knox kindly assisted me with the translation. He believes that the text concerns Xenophon, a pupil of Socrates. The Greek is of quite a poor standard, the word Xenophon itself being mis-spelt. Interestingly, Dr. Knox informed me that today the writings of Xenophon are used to teach new learners of Greek. Could this be some kind of school exercise book? Or is it the notebook of an interested adult? The manuscript edition to CSF also includes a line of the Greek alphabet.

The musical manuscripts looked at in the earlier chapters are obviously a little different to the true commonplace book. The manuscript copy of CSF, for example, contains a copy of an entire book. However, the principle of the commonplace book can be seen to be reflected in the manuscripts. Could the number of manuscript

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20 Ann Moss (1996), p. v
21 ibid.
collections of similar songs in Scotland be in part due to the habit of keeping commonplace books? Like the memory recall nature of the books, the music in the manuscripts is probably being stored for future reference. Commonplace books could also be completed by a number of people, perhaps a family or a small group of friends. Could this explain the different hands evident in the manuscripts?

Whilst it is not possible to be precise about the purpose of *Cantus, Songs and Fancies* and its associated manuscripts, their existence is proof of a cultural habit of collecting, be it quotations from literary texts or of music. The book is important as a landmark in the history of Scottish printing. Its somewhat retrospective nature, reflecting a long history of song collecting, reveals a practice that was perhaps on the decline, but still played a major part in the education of the children in the Aberdeen Music School. The book has preserved for us songs that might otherwise have been lost, retaining its important influence to this day.

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22 Ann Moss, (1994) p.119-133
### Appendix 1

A brief guide to using the table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Song No</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Scottish Sources, arranged by date</th>
<th>English Sources, arranged by date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Give Cause for Cause men to cry</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>O lusty May, with Queen Qwyn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>In a saden ye given</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>When at the Queen's ill Enterprise</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

✓ = song found in source  
✓ i or ✓ a indicates which publication of the author is being referred to – see below for key  
✓ m = melody only is found the source, ✓ w = words only

The Numbers given in the left hand column are as in Forbes – where two numbers are present the large number represents the first edition location. Subsequent locations in a smaller font.

### The Sources

In most cases, the names Terry gives to the manuscript have been observed. Any altered names have been explained below. Where two dates are given, the later in square brackets is the more modern.

#### Scottish

**Bannatyne Manuscript (1568)**  
Currently held in the Advocates Library, National Library of Scotland  
NLS Adv. MS 1.16

**Skene (1615-1620)**  
John Skene of Hallyards’ lute-book [c.1625]  
NLS Adv. MS 5.2.15

**Wode (c. 1606/1620)**  
Thomas Wode’s part-books, 1562-c.1592 (with later additions by other hands, after 1606 and c. 1620)  
TWC1, TWC2, TWQ, TWA1, TWA2, TWT, TWB1, TWB2

**Straloch (1627-29)**  
The Lute Book of Robert Gordon of Straloch (1627-29)  
Survives in a copy made by George Farquhar Graham in 1839.  
NLS Adv. MS 5.2.18

**Rowallan Cantus (c.1627-37)**  
William Mure of Rowallan’s Cantus part-book  
EUL MA LA III.488

**Robert Edwards (1630-65)**  
Panmure MS.11: NLS MS 9450

**Leyden (c.1639)**  
Now referred to as William Stirling’s Cantus Book  
NLS Adv. MS 5.2.14
Guthrie (1661)
James Guthrie Manuscript [c.1650]
EUL MA La.III.iii.

Lois de France (c.1680)
Louis de France's Music Book
EUL MS La. III. 491

Blakie (1692)
Blaikie Manuscript
‘Forty Scotch tunes, in the tablature of the Skene MS, for the viola de gamba. Copied by A. J. Wighton from the copy which belonged to Mr James Davie, Aberdeen. The previous MSS, from which these tunes have been transcribed, is now lost. Conserved by Tom Valentine, Larbert, 1993.’ (From the Dundee Central Library catalogue – no Shelf Mark given)

Squyer (1699 – 1701)
John Squyer’s Music Book
EUL MS La.III.490

**English**

**Thomas Morley (1595 – 1600)**
a) *The First Booke of Ballets* (1595)  
b) *The First Booke of Ayres* (1600)

**John Dowland (1597 – 1603)**
i) *First Booke of Ayres* (1597)  
ii) *Second Booke of Ayres* (1600)  
iii) *Third Booke of Ayres* (1603)

**Bartlett (1606)**
*A Booke of Ayres* (1606)

**Jones (1609)**
*A Musickall Dreame* (1609)

**QE1 (Queen Elizabeth’s Virginal Book) (1609 – 1619)**
Now referred to as the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*
Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Mu. MS 168

**Byrd (1611)**
*Psalms, Songs and Sonnets* (1611)

**Ravenscroft (1609 – 1611)**
a.) *Deuteromalia* (1609)  
b.) *Melismata* (1611)

**Campion (1617)**
*Fourth Booke of Ayres*

**Hart (1621)**
*Godly and Spiritual Songs* (1621)

**Playford (1652 – 1673)**
i.) *Select and Musickall Ayres and Dialogues* (1652)  
ii.) *Musick’s Recreation on the Lyra Viol* (1652)  
iii.) *Select Musickall Ayres and Dialogues* (1653)  
iv.) *Select Musickall Ayres and Dialogues* (1659)  
v.) *The Musickall Companian* (1673)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Song No.</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author/Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Give Caeath Cause men to cry</td>
<td>Bannatyne (1568)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Oonly May, with Flora Queen</td>
<td>Skene (1615-1620)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Until a mirthfull May morning</td>
<td>Wode (c. 1606/1620)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>When as the Greeks did Enterprise</td>
<td>Straloch (1627-29)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>You lovers all that love would prove</td>
<td>Rowallan Cantus (c.1627-37)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>When the Greeks did Enterprise</td>
<td>Robert Edwards (1630-65)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>You loveres all that love would prove</td>
<td>Leyden (c.1639)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>The thoughts of men do daily change</td>
<td>Guthrie (1661)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>When the Greeks did Enterprise</td>
<td>Lois de France (1682)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Let not me say the sluggish sleep</td>
<td>Blakie (1692)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Sathan, my foe, full of iniquity</td>
<td>Squyer (1696-1701)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Let not me say the sluggish sleep</td>
<td>Morley (1595-1600)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Sathan, my foe, full of iniquity</td>
<td>Dowland (1597-1603)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Sathan, my foe, full of iniquity</td>
<td>Bartlett (1606)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Let not me say the sluggish sleep</td>
<td>Jones (1609)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Sathan, my foe, full of iniquity</td>
<td>QE1 (Fitzwilliam) (1609-1619)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Sathan, my foe, full of iniquity</td>
<td>Byrd (1611)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Sathan, my foe, full of iniquity</td>
<td>Ravenscroft (1611)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>The gowans are gay, my joy</td>
<td>Campion (1617)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>The gowans are gay, my joy</td>
<td>Hart (1621)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>The gowans are gay, my joy</td>
<td>Playford (1652-1673)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Jurie came to Jerusalem

Brave Mars begins to rouse

The time of youth sore I repent

When May is in her prime, then

Come, sweet love, let sorrow cease

Through your strangeesse frets my heart

Who doeth behold my mistresse face

Woe worth the time and eke the place

Where art thou, hope, that promised me release

The lowest trees have tops, the ant her gall

Lyke as the lark within the marleom's fool

Wen death beholde I breath

Wake sweet love, thou art returned

Wen Father Adam first did flee

Sleep, wayward thoughts, and rest

And make me, sweet love, thy bed.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>Shepherd saw thou not my faire lovely Phillis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>A shepherd in a shade his playing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Martine said to his man.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>There was a time when silly bees did speak.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>Care away goe thou from me.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>Will said to his mammis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>How now, shepherd, what means that?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Remember me, my dear, I humbly you require.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>When from my love I look's for love.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>Over the mountains and under the caves.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Now, o now, I needs must part.</td>
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<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>Behold a wonder here.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>With my love my life was nested.</td>
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<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>There is a thing that much is used.</td>
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<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>My complaining is but fain in.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>Ye gods of love looke down in pity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>Begone sweet night, and I shall call thee kind.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>White as lilies was her face.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Additions to 3rd Edition, English Airs

1. From the fair Lavenian shore.
2. Here's a health unto his Majesty.
3. Gather you rosebuds while you may.
4. Hail happy day; now Dorus sit thee down.
5. I wish no more thou should'st love me.
6. Now we are met let's merrily be.
7. How happy art thou and IOC.
8. Stay that heart I vow 'tis mine.
9. Phillis, why should we delay.

Additions to 2nd edition, Italian Songs

11. Wert thou yet fairer than thou art.
12. She that loves me for myself.
13. All sons of Adam, rise up with me.
14. Flow my tears, fall from your cheeks.
15. How my tears, fall from your cheeks.
16. Come again, sweet love doth these new minstrels of the night.
17. Fame would I wed a fair young
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<tr>
<td>54 ′</td>
<td>Hey hoy to the green wood</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>54 ′</td>
<td>I pray you good mother</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>54 ′</td>
<td>Sweet if yow lyk and love me</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>55 ′</td>
<td>Will ye lov me lady sweet</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55 ′</td>
<td>I pray you good mother</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55 ′</td>
<td>Fie awau, fie away, fie, fie</td>
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<td>56 ′</td>
<td>joy to the gats of Jerusalem</td>
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<td>56 ′</td>
<td>The nightingell</td>
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<td>56 ′</td>
<td>Now let us sing christ keep our king</td>
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<tr>
<td>56 ′</td>
<td>Hast thee o god</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57 ′</td>
<td>now Robine hood said little lhone</td>
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<td>57 ′</td>
<td>The cramp is in my purs</td>
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<td>57 ′</td>
<td>Come come away to the taverne</td>
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<tr>
<td>58 ′</td>
<td>Ther were three Ravens</td>
<td></td>
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<td>58 ′</td>
<td>As aristotle drae come away</td>
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<tr>
<td>58 ′</td>
<td>Keep weel your rayes my lads</td>
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<td>58 ′</td>
<td>The old doge the folly old doge</td>
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<tr>
<td>59 ′</td>
<td>To portsmouth</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59 ′</td>
<td>Three wise men</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>59 ′</td>
<td>Maids to bed and cover Koal</td>
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<td>59 ′</td>
<td>Non nobis domine</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>60 ′</td>
<td>O lorde turne not away thy face</td>
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<tr>
<td>60 ′</td>
<td>Dam loan me a loaf</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>61 ′</td>
<td>Into a mirthfull may morning</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>61 ′</td>
<td>In a Garden so Green</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62 ′</td>
<td>April is in my Mistres face Tenor, Tribel, Contra</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>64 ′</td>
<td>My love band me with kisse</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64 ′</td>
<td>Then wilt thou go and leave me heir</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 ′</td>
<td>Doe not oe doe not Prize thy beautie</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 ′</td>
<td>now I sie thy lookes were fained</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 ′</td>
<td>I have vouse and land in kent</td>
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<tr>
<td>66 ′</td>
<td>There lyes a Pudding in the firee</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>66 ′</td>
<td>Of all the fair fowells</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67 ′</td>
<td>Disdaine that so doth fillme</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>68 ′</td>
<td>5 French Tone (Tenor, Tribles, Countar, Basse)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68 ′</td>
<td>6 London Tone (Tenor, Tribles, Countar, Basse)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>69 ′</td>
<td>7 Stilt Tone (Tenor, Tribles, Countar, Basse)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>69 ′</td>
<td>8 Dunfermling Tone (Tenor, Tribles, Countar, Basse)</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix Four

Patrick Davidson (Maister 1601-1636)
“an exquisite musician, bred in Italy, and forc’d to leave Italy upon account of a young Princess, who was much in love with him”" (Munro, 1999, Quoting a descendant of PD)
b.
d.
Father of

Andrew Melville (Maister 1636-1640)
Author of Commonplace book detailing the books in the Music School library during his incumbency.
b.
d.
Son-in-law of

Thomas Davidson (Maister 1640 – 1675)
Names in Forbes Cantus Songs and Fancies

Son of

Louis de France (Maister 1675 –c.1682)
Appendix 5

This table is based on Shire's suggestions in her article for the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society ("Court Song in Scotland after 1603: Aberdeenshire, III. Andro Melvill's Music Library", Edinburgh, 1960). All page numbers mentioned refer to that publication. The numbers to the left are those given to the pieces by Shire. I have omitted non-musical books from the list.

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<th>Suggested Title by Shire</th>
<th>Comments</th>
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<td></td>
<td>'ane grytt book writtin of the airt of musick'</td>
<td>Kynston's art of music (British Museum Add.MS.4911)</td>
<td>'it stands first on the list, looking as if it were the most important.' (p.8) Large volume in Scots, written c. 1575</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ane singing book Robert Ogilvyye</td>
<td>Melvill book of Roundels (Library of congress)</td>
<td>Ogilvye's name is stamped on the front of this volume.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ane psalme book in four pairts</td>
<td>Raban's Aberdeen psalter (1625) / Millar-Hart psalter (1635)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>ane old psalme book</td>
<td>Unidentifiable</td>
<td>Tolquhon suggested as being intended. The book could have been copied from a book in the library at Tolquhon Castle while Andrew Melville was employed in the education of Alexander Forbes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ane old verse book copied out of Tolquhon</td>
<td>Copy of a book from Tolquhon Castle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ane luitt book</td>
<td>Unidentifiable</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>doctere bells Wassinghame</td>
<td>A virginal M/S containing John Bull's Walsingham variations and perhaps other keyboard music</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>stand of 6 pts Jon duncanes</td>
<td>Appears to refer to a set of six part-books formerly owned by John Duncan.</td>
<td>'Stand' means a set. Wording similar to number 2. Perhaps also stamped with the name of its owner.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>ane little Book of the airt of musick</td>
<td>Campian's A New Way of Making Fowre Parts (1610) / Butler's Principles of musick (1636)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>ane othere little long book of print of pavines galreres Etc</td>
<td>Antony Holborne's Pauens, Galliards (London, 1599)</td>
<td>Can not be describes as 'lane other little long book of print' as consists of five quarto part-books.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>ane frenche book of the airt of musick</td>
<td>Mersene's Harmonie universelle (1636) / Ballards Traicte de la musique (1617)</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>the pleuch books</td>
<td>Wode's Part books?</td>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>ane fur pairts plain in wreitt wt lattin letters</td>
<td>Wode's Part books?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>The 4 Italian books</td>
<td>Perhaps Morley's Italian Canzonets (London, 1597)</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>gloria pateris</td>
<td>Probably a collection of versions in difference metres of the 'gloria patri' for singing as conclusions of the psalms</td>
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<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Iddill Inventiones</td>
<td></td>
<td>Context suggests that it is a music book but not possible to suggest what is might be.</td>
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<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Duches psalmes</td>
<td>And ed of Souterliedekens / Day's Dutch Psalms (1560)</td>
<td>Copy of 'Dutch Psalms' in Glasgow University Library</td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>prick singing</td>
<td>Morley's Plaine and easie</td>
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<td>Introduction to Practical musicke</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>----------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>King Wm ballet</td>
<td>Nederlandtsche Gedencklanck (1625)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>King William 'could only refer to William of Nassau'. Includes the earliest known version of the Dutch National Anthem</td>
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<td>Unidentifiable</td>
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<td>---------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>Row 1</td>
<td>Wode 123 ( Infos)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Row 2</td>
<td>Wode 1 Downland</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Row 3</td>
<td>Sleep wayward Thoughts</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Row 4</td>
<td>Other minor text differences between Poems and Poetry in Verses 2 and 3. Wode only has one verse.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Row 5</td>
<td>Without the addition of the repeated words to correct the accidental omission in Poetry, the line number difference is (a) and the line number difference is (b) for the version in Poetry. The latter difference (c) signifies a spelling change. In the Wode version, there are also textual differences. These are not included in the Wode, but they are included in the Poetry version. Both Wode and Poetry omit an accidental (d) in the original (e).</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Row 6</td>
<td>Appendix 7.3</td>
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<td>Row 7</td>
<td>Wode 37</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Row 8</td>
<td>Wode 4</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Row 9</td>
<td>Wode 94</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Row 10</td>
<td>Wode 67</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Row 11</td>
<td>Wode 70</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Row 12</td>
<td>Only one musical difference. Both Wode and Poetry have passing note, not included in Poetry.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Row 13</td>
<td>Scottish Sources</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Row 14</td>
<td>English Sources</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Row 15</td>
<td>Some number in Poetry and Title.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Row 16</td>
<td>1. Though your strangeness this my heart</td>
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<tr>
<td>Row 17</td>
<td>Scottish</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>Row 18</td>
<td>English</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Row 19</td>
<td>Source</td>
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<td>All very similar musically. The words 'hell' is replaced by 'heaven' in Foles. Similarly inур.</td>
<td>Pannine Pannine</td>
<td>Wode</td>
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<td>Full words are provided in the genuine Wode part-book but are illegible.</td>
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<td>Full words are provided in the genuine Wode part-book but are illegible.</td>
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<td>See Appendix 7.5.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Come again**

**Come sweet love let sorrow cease**

**Oh! Fools of ears could change my**

**Songs not examined**

**Floor**
Appendix 7.1 – ‘Sweet Kate’

CANTVS

Sweete Kate of late ran away and left me playing,
A bide I abide, or I die with thy disdaining.

Te her he quoth shee gladly would I see any man to die with her doing Never any yet died of such a

Neither have I fear of proving;

Verily, lend,
Thy delight is tormenting,
A bide, I abide,
Or I die with thy confounding,
Te her he quoth shee,
Make no foole of me,
Men know have others at pleasure,
But their hopes attend,
They bewray they found,
And their oashes are kept a treasure.

Her words
Like words,
Cut my foole heart in sunder,
Her Housers,
VVith doubts,
Kept my heart affections vnder,
Te her he quoth shee,
What a foole is he,
Stands in awe of once denying,
Kept I bad enough,
Te become more rough,
So I did, O happy trying.

THE XXXIII. SONG.

Wee Kate, of late, ran away, and left me plaining. Tee; hee,
Abide, I cry'd, or I die with thy disdainning. Never

her, quoth the, gladly would I see, Any man to die for loving,
any yes, d'ye of such a fit, Neither have I fear of proving.

Unkind, I find, thy delight was interment,
Abide, I cry'd, or I die with thy disdainning:
Ter, hee, hee, quoth the; make no fool of me:
Blam, I know, will have our prattle:
But their hope at end, they bre'say their fear'd,
And their oaths we keep at leisure.

Her words like words, can my sory heart afford:
Her feet, with doubt, keep my sory affecting course.
Ter, hee, hee, quoth the; what a fool is he:
Scarce to an end, ever deeming:
Causa I had enough, to become more rough,
So I did a happy try.

'Cantus, Songs and Fancies [1682]', New Club Series (Paisley, Alexander Gardiner, 1879) 'Sweet Kate', no33

Appendix 7.3 — ‘With my love my life was nestled’

CANTUS.

THO. MORLEY.

Where the truth once was midis not,  
Shadoves are but vanities,  
Shewing want that helpe they cannot,  
Signes nostlaues of miferies,  
Painted meate no hunger feedes,  
Dying life each death exceedes.

O true loue since thou hast left me,  
Mortal life is tedious,  
Death it is to liue without thee,  
Death of all most odious,  
Turne againe and take me with thee,  
Let me die, or liue thou in me.

THE XLIII. SONG.

With my Love, my life was nestled; In the Sun of happiness;
From my Love, my life was wrested, To a world of heaviness.

O let love my life remove; Sith I live not where I love.
O let love my life remove; Sith I live not where I love.

Where the truth once was, and is not,
Shadows are but vanities.
Shining wars, that help they cannot,
Are but flames of miseries.
Painted meat no longer feeds,
Dying life each death exceeds.

O true Love, since thou hast left me,
Mortal life is tedious;
Death it is to live without thee;
Death of all most odious;
Turn again, and take me with thee,
Let me die, or live you with me.

'Cantus, Songs and Fancies [1682]', New Club Series (Parsley, Alexander Gardiner, 1879) 'With my lovm my life was nestled', no 43

Appendix 7.4 – ‘Sleep wayward thoughts’


‘Sleep wayward thoughts’, no.13

Appendix 7.5 – ‘Remember O thou man’

National Library of Scotland, Robert Edward’s Commonplace-book, Panmure MS 11: NLS MS 9450

‘Cantus, Songs and Fancies [1682]’, *New Club Series* (Paisley, Alexander Gardiner, 1879)

‘Remember o thou man’, no.9
Appendix 8 – ‘Come love lets walk in yonder spring’

The cantus and bass parts are taken from John Squyer’s Music Book (EUL MS La.III490). The treble part is taken from the Louis de France Music Book (EUL MS La.III.491). The cantus presented in Forbes is identical to that of Squyer.
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