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Instrumental Music from the Library of John Browne (1608-1691), Clerk of the Parliaments

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# INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC FROM THE LIBRARY OF JOHN BROWNE (1608–1691), CLERK OF THE PARLIAMENTS

BY ANDREW ASHBEE

THE LIBRARY of Christ Church, Oxford, houses one of the finest collections of seventeenth-century consort music. The manuscript catalogue made by John Baptist Malchair in July 1787,<sup>1</sup> though vague at times, enables us to identify much of this consort music among the collections of Henry Aldrich (bequeathed to the college in 1710) and of Richard Goodson the elder (bequeathed in 1718). It is clear from the manuscripts themselves, however, that many are much earlier in origin and that they must have been acquired by Aldrich or Goodson from persons unknown, presumably during the latter part of the seventeenth century. Recent research has established that a significant group of these manuscripts, with others located elsewhere, at one time belonged to, and was partially copied by, John Browne (1608–1691), Clerk of the Parliaments 1638–49 and 1660–91.<sup>2</sup>

References in Christ Church MS 1004 (an organ book) to companion sets of viol parts enable us to identify 'ye ruffe books' as Christ Church MSS 423–8 and the 'white' books as MSS 114–7 of the Rowe Library, King's College, Cambridge. These links have been known to scholars for some time, but are further strengthened by the identification of various copyists' hands present in these and other manuscripts. Several of the manuscripts were begun by the same copyist, whose very neat (though not entirely accurate) work would seem to indicate a professional musician or scribe.<sup>3</sup> He often used red ink for the titles and wrote the following (hand A):<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> London, Royal College of Music, MS 2125; see A. Hyatt King, *Some British Collectors of Music*, Cambridge, 1963, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> The present paper is intended to complement that by Nigel Fortune and Iain Fenlon, 'Music Manuscripts of John Browne (1608–91) and from Stanford Hall, Leicestershire', *Source Materials and the Interpretation of Music: a Memorial Volume to Thurston Dart* (in the press). I am most grateful to them for exchanging information and ideas and for allowing me scope to pursue the present enquiry. David Pinto has contributed substantially to this research with both information and ideas; my debt to him is enormous. I acknowledge with gratitude the unstinting help received from Mr. H. J. R. Wing (Christ Church Library), Mrs. Lydia Smallwood (the Rowe Library) and Commander G. J. Dodd, whose work on the Viola da Gamba Society Provisional Index enables comparative studies like this to proceed.

<sup>3</sup> Facsimile in *John Jenkins: Consort Music of Four Parts*, ed. A. Ashbee ('Musica Britannica', xxvi), London, 1969, p. xxi.

<sup>4</sup> Identification of the copyists as hand A, B &c. conforms with that in the paper by Nigel Fortune and Iain Fenlon cited above. Numbers quoted in the lists are the originals in the

## ROWE MSS 112-3

### TWO-PART COMPOSITIONS

- Nos. 1-4 by Mico (Tr/B) [1-4]  
 Nos. 5-10 by Coprario (Tr/T) [2, 3, 6, 5, 1, 4]  
 Nos. 11-12 by William White (B/B) [1, 2]  
 Nos. 13-14 by Orlando Gibbons<sup>5</sup> (Tr/Tr) [1, 2]  
 Nos. 16-19 by Jenkins (B/B) [1, 2, 38, 37]  
 Nos. 20-28 by Coprario (B/B) [1-3, 5-10]  
 Nos. 29-34 by Ward (B/B) [1-6]  
 No. 36 by Coleman  
 Nos. 37-40 by Orlando Gibbons<sup>5</sup> (Tr/Tr) [3-6], but headings only of  
 Nos. 37-39

## ROWE MSS 114-7

### THREE-PART COMPOSITIONS

- Nos. 1-6 by Lupo [11, 12, 22, 2, 10, 3]  
 Nos. 7-16 by Coprario [1, 9, 7, 8, 5, 4, 2, 3, 6, 10]  
 Nos. 17-33 by Lupo [4, 12, 19, 23, 21, 8, 20, 17, 16, 18, 7, 9, 5, 24, 6,  
 13, 22]  
 No. 34 by William White (unique copy of his only known three-  
 part work)

### FOUR-PART COMPOSITIONS

- Nos. 1-9 by Ferrabosco II [5, 17, 3, 12, 16, 2, 1, 19, 20]

### FIVE-PART COMPOSITIONS

- Nos. 1-2 by Coprario [2, 10]  
 Nos. 3, 5-7, 11 and 13 by Lupo [5, 11, 14, 12, 8, 4]  
 Nos. 4 and 10 by Ward [13, 10]  
 Nos. 8-9 by Ferrabosco II [In Nomine 1, 2]  
 Nos. 12, 14-16 by Ford<sup>6</sup> [2, 1, 3, 4]

## CHRIST CHURCH MSS 367-70

### THREE- AND FOUR-PART AIRS

- Nos. 1, 3-6, 8-29, 32-36 and 39 by Jenkins [22, 42, 23, 30, 31, 43,  
 32, -, 5, 49, 6, 24, 13-16, 33, 44, 40, 41, 39, 38, 17, 7,  
 25, 26, 3, 50, 51, 45, 1, 18, 27]  
 Nos. 2, 37-38 by Coleman  
 Nos. 7 and 31 Anon.  
 No. 30 by Webster  
 Nos. 40-41 by Robert Johnson

## CHRIST CHURCH MSS 379-81

### THREE-PART AIRS

- Nos. 1, 6, 11-12, 14 and 19 by Jenkins  
 Nos. 2, 8, 22-23 Anon.  
 Nos. 3-5, 7, 10, 13, 15-17 by Coleman  
 No. 9 by Ferrabosco II [Almain 4 a 5]  
 No. 18 by Cranford  
 No. 20 by Coprario

manuscripts. Numbers in square brackets are Viola da Gamba Society numbers where these have been adopted and denote fantasias unless 'In Nomine', 'Pavan', 'Almain' &c. is specified.

<sup>5</sup> In the first edition of *Jacobean Consort Music* ('Musica Britannica', ix, London, 1962) these pieces are tentatively attributed to Christopher Gibbons (1615-76), in the second, revised edition (1966) re-assigned to Orlando. The new discoveries concerning the sources support the latter attribution.

<sup>6</sup> Nos. 14-15 are wrongly numbered '12' and '13' in the source.

No. 21	by Robert Johnson
Nos. 24–27	by Ives <sup>7</sup>
No. 28	by William Lawes [Playford, <i>Court Ayres</i> , 1655, No. 67]
Nos. 33–35	by Webster

#### CHRIST CHURCH MSS 423–8

##### SIX-PART COMPOSITIONS

Altus of No. 27 by Ferrabosco II [2]

Nos. 28–29 by Ward [2, 7]<sup>8</sup>

All parts except Bassus of Nos. 30 by Lupo [8] and 31 by Ferrabosco II [2]

This scribe, then, began a comprehensive collection of viol music using separate sets of books to distinguish between the different kinds of pieces he was copying:

- (a) all music in two parts went into Rowe MSS 112–3;
- (b) fantasias in three, four and five parts went into Rowe MSS 114–7 (one of the part-books is now missing);
- (c) dances in three and four parts went into Christ Church MSS 367–70, but perhaps it was soon decided to start a separate collection of three-part dances (now Christ Church MSS 379–81) since only Nos. 3 and 7 of MSS 367–70 are in three parts. Even the incomplete pieces by Lawes (Nos. 43, 45–46) are headed ‘4 Partes’;
- (d) six-part pieces went into the appropriate section in Christ Church MSS 423–8 following works entered by a previous scribe.

A second copyist (hand *B*) worked in close association with the first. To some extent their work overlaps, though mostly this second copyist continues where the first left off. However, his hand also appears extensively in other manuscripts to which the first copyist contributed nothing. His work is as follows:

#### ROWE MSS 112–3

‘Mr. Rich. Mico’ added to titles of Nos. 1–4 and perhaps ‘Orlando Gibbons’ to Nos. 13–14

Nos. 15 and 35 (both anon.)

Nos. 37–39 by Orlando Gibbons (whose titles seem to have been written by *A*)

#### ROWE MSS 114–7

After the last of the three-part pieces he adds treble parts on ff. 22<sup>v</sup>–23<sup>r</sup> of the treble book and an incomplete tenor part on f. 22<sup>r</sup> of the tenor book.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Listed in *Chelys: Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society*, iv (1972), 44–45.

<sup>8</sup> No. 29 is a duplicate of No. 9 which was copied by an earlier scribe.

<sup>9</sup> These belong to Coprario’s Fantasia-Suite No. 1 for two violins, bass viol and organ.

FIVE-PART SECTION

Headings to Nos. 1–9 (copied by *A*)

After a section contributed by a third scribe, he writes:

Nos. 27–32 by Dering<sup>10</sup>

No. 33 by Coprario [6]

ROWE MS 113A

organ book associated with Rowe MSS 112–3  
and Christ Church MSS 423–8

On pp. 76–77 he contributes an unfinished organ part to No. 1 of  
Rowe MSS 112–3 (Fantasia for treble, bass and organ by Mico)

CHRIST CHURCH MSS 367–70

All the remaining pieces, following *A*, as follows:

Nos. 42, 47, 49–52, 54–55, 57, 62–69 by Jenkins [52, 9, 10, 11, 28,  
29, 4, 12, 2, 46, 34, 35, 19–21, 8, 36]

Nos. 43, 45–46 by William Lawes

Nos. 44, 73–74 Anon.

Nos. 48, 56, 58 and 60 by Coleman

Nos. 53, 59, 61 and 70 by Webster

Nos. 71–72 by Ives<sup>11</sup>

CHRIST CHURCH MSS 379–81

He seems to have added some titles to Nos. 18, 20–21, 28, 38–39, all  
otherwise copied by *A*

Nos. 29–30 by Nicholas Lanier

No. 31 by Ford

No. 32 by Thomas Holmes

Nos. 36–37 by Cobb

Nos. 67–69 (unfinished), anonymous, at the end of the books and  
consisting of a fragment of No. 67 in the treble book and  
complete bass parts in the bass book

CHRIST CHURCH MSS 423–8

THREE-PART COMPOSITIONS

Nos. 14–18 by Lupo [14, pavans 1–4]

FOUR-PART SECTION

No. 18 by Dering<sup>12</sup>

Nos. 19–22 by Ferrabosco II [23, 14, 13, 21]

(No. 23 is left blank)

No. 24 by Ward [6]

Nos. 25–26 by Ferrabosco II [22, 18]

FIVE-PART SECTION

Some titles added to No. 23 (otherwise written by an early scribe)

No. 24 by Mico [Pavan 1]

Nos. 25–33 by Ferrabosco II [Almain 1, Pavans 2, 3, 1,  
Almain 2, Pavans 4–6, 8]

No. 34 by Daniel Farrant<sup>13</sup>

Nos. 35–36 by Ferrabosco II [Pavan 9, Almain 4]

No. 37 by Dering [Almain 4]

<sup>10</sup> Listed in *Chelys*, ii (1970), 49 and 51, where Nos. 28–29 are attributed to Mico.

<sup>11</sup> Listed in *Chelys*, iv (1972), 44.

<sup>12</sup> Listed in *Chelys*, ii (1970), 49.

<sup>13</sup> 'Musica Britannica', ix, No. 62: Four-note Pavan.

No. 38 attributed here to 'Deering'; copied again at No. 39 and attributed there, by another scribe or scribes, to Jenkins [Pavan 2]

SIX-PART SECTION

Nos. 23-24 by Jenkins [1, 2]

Nos. 25-26 by Coprario [2, 5]

All except Altus of No. 27 by Ferrabosco II [2]

Bassus only of Nos. 30 by Lupo [8] and 31 by Ferrabosco II [2]

No. 32 by Ferrabosco II [1]

All except Sextus of No. 33 by Lupo [7]

CHRIST CHURCH MS 430

The headings only in this book containing organ parts for William Lawes's eight 'sonatas' for violin, bass viol and organ and the eight for two violins, bass viol and organ. The end-paper is endorsed: 'This for Robert Packer Esq' at Shellingford'.

CHRIST CHURCH MSS 473-8

FIVE-PART SECTION

Nos. 21-24 by 'J. B.' signed in cantus: 22, 24  
altus: 21, 22 [23-24 missing]  
quintus: 21, 22 [,, ]  
tenor: none [,, ]  
bassus: none [,, ]

THE 'BROWNE' (formerly 'BRAYE') BANDORA/LYRA VIOL  
TABLATURE BOOK<sup>14</sup>

ff. 5<sup>r</sup>-5<sup>v</sup> three anonymous pieces  
f. 9<sup>v</sup> one anonymous piece  
ff. 21<sup>r</sup>-22<sup>r</sup> five pieces: Corants by Robert Taylor and Stiffkin,  
Sarabands by William Lawes and anon., Corant by  
Taylor  
f. 23<sup>v</sup> 'Kilkennie'—anon.  
ff. 34<sup>r</sup>-41<sup>v</sup> seventeen anonymous pieces plus Saraband  
(f. 37 cut out) by 'R[obert] T[aylor]', Galliard by Robert Taylor  
and five airs by 'T[homas] G[regory]'  
ff. 59<sup>v</sup>-60<sup>r</sup> three anonymous pieces  
ff. 74<sup>v</sup>-79<sup>r</sup> eight anonymous pieces plus 'R. T. A Toye',  
'Almaine. Ro: Taylor' and 'Birds Lullaby'  
f. 82<sup>r</sup> Saraband by William Lawes  
Three other hands appear in this manuscript, of which at least two  
seem earlier than the above work. These will be discussed later.

A combination of factors suggests that this second copyist was the owner of the whole collection, though it seems equally probable that some of the books came into his possession in a partially completed state, as suggested later. His is the hand of an amateur—though a practised one—and it often imitates the script of the 'professional' he followed. In adding titles to music already copied by the first scribe he was fulfilling the kind of supervisory function

<sup>14</sup> Owned by Robert Spencer. Mr. Spencer has been most generous in allowing research on this book and in supplying information about it.

identified with other owners such as Sir Nicholas Le Strange and Dudley North whose work has previously been studied.<sup>15</sup> It is probably significant, too, that this hand occurs in all the manuscripts so far identified with this collection and, further, that it appears, out of sequence, after later copyists—in Rowe MS 113A and Christ Church MSS 379–81 for instance.

Among the works copied by this scribe are the set of four pieces in Christ Church MSS 473–8 (noted above) headed ‘J. B.’ and comprising an Ayre, In Nomine fantasia, [Ayre] and Pavin. David Pinto remarks that this set imitates a Lawesian ‘Consort-Suite’ (perhaps uniquely) both in form and in copying Lawes’s transcription of the In Nomine plainsong itself into the major key; it is also thematically and stylistically derivative. He further suggests that the ‘J. B.’ headings correspond closely with the signatures of a ‘John Browne’ on three fly-leaves of some part-books of music by William Lawes sold at Sotheby’s in 1929:

FANTAZIAS, AYRES, PAVANS, ALMAINES & ‘IN NOMINE’,  
. . . Musical Manuscript on paper, in 5 vol; . . . 17th Century rough  
calf binding, each cover stamped with the initials WL at top in gold  
(=WILLIAM LAWES) and I. B. at foot (=Jo. Browne, whose  
signature is found on the fly-leaf of three of the vol.), line tooling in  
gold and blind round sides, and ornament in centre . . . (9½ in. by  
7 in.) ENGLISH, XVII CENT.<sup>16</sup>

An identical ‘Jo: Browne’ signature is on f. 36<sup>r</sup> of British Library, Add. MS 15750 and there are many official documents (either originals or photo-copies) at the House of Lords Record Office identifying this man as the Clerk of the Parliaments from 1638 to 1649 and from 1660 to 1691.<sup>17</sup> To support this attribution it can be noted that Browne added titles and time-signatures to Christ Church MS 430, the organ part to Lawes’s violin sonatas, and the back end-paper bears the instruction: ‘This for Robert Packer Esq<sup>r</sup> at Shellingford’. Packer was Browne’s brother-in-law. Furthermore the ‘Browne’ tablature book—previously named ‘Braye’ because a book plate of Lord Braye of Stanford is pasted inside the front binding—provides a direct genealogical link with Browne: surviving manuscripts at the House of Lords and elsewhere have been described as . . .

<sup>15</sup> See in particular Pamela Willetts, ‘Sir Nicholas le Strange and John Jenkins’, *Music & Letters*, xliii (1961), 30–43; Andrew Ashbee, ‘A Further Look at some of the Le Strange Manuscripts’, *Chelys*, v (in the press); Margaret Crum, ‘The Consort Music from Kirtling, bought for the Oxford Music School from Anthony Wood, 1667’, *Chelys*, iv (1972), 3–10.

<sup>16</sup> Sotheby’s Sale Catalogues: *The Sales of Nov. 11th–14th, 1929*, p. 23: Second Day’s Sale: The Property of a Nobleman: Lot 236. The manuscripts are now owned by Professor Franklin B. Zimmerman of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. There is a microfilm of them at the Pendlebury Library of Music, University of Cambridge. David Pinto points out that the six-part consort suites by Lawes in Christ Church MSS 479–83 are linked to the John Browne copies of the same by a series of similar errors.

<sup>17</sup> Relevant biographical material is set out in Dr. Fortune’s paper cited above and is therefore mostly passed over here.

originally in the possession of John Browne, Clerk of the Parliaments 1638–49, 1660–91, or his descendants . . . They were discovered *ante* 1887 at Stanford Hall, Northants, in the custody of Browne's descendant, the then Lord Braye . . .<sup>18</sup>

Moreover the binding of this tablature book is initialled 'TB'. Robert Spencer believes this binding dates from *c.*1595, and probably the bandora parts in the book were added soon after. 'TB' might well be expanded to Thomas Browne (1567–1621), John's father, especially since he was apprenticed to a Thomas Turner, grocer, for eight years from Lady-Day 1584 and the name 'Thomas Turner' occurs on f. 95 of this tablature book. Perhaps the book passed to John either at Thomas's death or when the former came of age in about 1629. Quite when the next groups of pieces were added to this manuscript by a new copyist is impossible to determine at present. These consist of an Almain by Ferrabosco II, from his *Lessons for 1. 2. and 3. viols* (1609), and three airs by Jenkins on ff. 19<sup>v</sup>–20<sup>v</sup>, a suite of four airs by Jenkins on ff. 22<sup>v</sup>–23<sup>r</sup> and three more airs by him on ff. 81<sup>v</sup>–82<sup>r</sup>. The tuning specified for each group is different, hence their separation in the manuscript. There is no trace of this copyist's work elsewhere in any of the manuscripts under discussion, and it is interesting to speculate that these pieces may have been composed and copied before the book came into John Browne's possession. If so, then these items by Jenkins could be among the earliest of his compositions to have come down to us. Two of them occur in Bodleian, Mus. Sch. MS D. 245, another relatively early source, copied by John Merro of Gloucester (d. 1639). If, as seems quite likely, he was already attached to the Derham family, it is worth noting that they were apparently as much settled in London as in Norfolk in the early years of the century and might well have come into contact with the Brownes.

It seems probable that Christ Church MSS 423–8 too were begun before Browne and his 'professional' scribe gained access to the books. Certainly the hand responsible for entering the first items looks 'early' when compared with the style of the later additions and the repertory here is of late-Elizabethan and Jacobean times. This scribe copied:

THREE-PART PIECES

Nos. 1–11 and the treble part only of Nos. 12–13, all by Lupo  
[2, 3, 10–12, 4, 22, 25, 7, 8, 24, 9, 6]

FOUR-PART PIECES

Nos. 1–7 by Lupo [5–7, 1, 2, 8, 3]

Nos. 8–13 by Coprario [1–5, 8]

Nos. 15–17 by Ferrabosco II [7, 9, 8], but omitting the tenor part of  
Nos. 16–17

<sup>18</sup> Maurice F. Bond, *Guide to the Records of Parliament*, HMSO, London, 1971, pp. 269 ff.

FIVE-PART PIECES

- Nos. 1–8 by Lupo [1, 3, 4, 2, 11–14]  
 Nos. 9–11 by Milton [1–3]  
 Nos. 12–13 by Ferrabosco II [In Nomines 1–2]  
 No. 14 by Ferrabosco I [In Nomine 1]  
 No. 15 by Cranford (his only known five-part fantasia)  
 No. 16 by Coleman (his only known five-part fantasia)  
 No. 17 by Dering [1]  
 No. 18 by Ward [a madrigal; Meyer No. 12]  
 No. 19 by Coprario [3]  
 No. 20 by Dering [2]<sup>19</sup>  
 No. 21 by 'Ives'<sup>20</sup>  
 No. 22 by White [1]  
 No. 23 by 'Morley'<sup>21</sup>

SIX-PART PIECES

- No. 1 by White (actually two pavans: [1, 2])  
 Nos. 2–5 by White [4, 3, 1, 2]  
 Nos. 6–13 by Ward [2, 3, 6, 7, 4, 5 and the two In Nomines]  
 Nos. 14–15 by Philips<sup>22</sup>  
 Nos. 16–19 by Peerson 'Acquaintance', 'Beauty', 'Chowse',  
 'Delicate': the fantasia without the almain in  
 each case)  
 No. 20 by Coprario [1]  
 No. 21 by Milton [In Nomine: 'If that a sinner sighs']  
 No. 22 by Milton (his only known six-part fantasia, but the  
 Altus part is false)

With one exception, Browne and his scribes seem to have taken no account of the above pieces in forming their collection, perhaps because their own plans had already been formulated (and music copied) before they gained access to these books. A good many of these pieces are therefore found in MSS 423–8 and in Rowe MSS 114–7 where, with a single exception, they are copied by Hand *A*.<sup>23</sup> However, the series of four-part fantasias by Ferrabosco II is divided between the two sources as follows:<sup>24</sup>

Rowe 114–7:	1–6,	10–12,	15–17	19–20,
Christ Church 423–8:	7–9,	13–14,	18,	21–23

This could be interpreted as a deliberate (and successful) attempt to complete the series by scribes *A* and *D* in Rowe MSS 114–7.

A new scribe (*C*) completed Nos. 12–13 of Lupo's three-part fantasias in MSS 423–8 by adding the tenor and bass, and it is to this man that we must turn next. A complete list of his work is:

<sup>19</sup> Copied again by a later hand (*D*) as No. 41.  
<sup>20</sup> Assigned to Ward by the Viola da Gamba Society; see *Chelys*, iv (1972), 43.  
<sup>21</sup> Actually by Weelkes: 'Mr. Weelkes his Second Pavin' in British Library, Add. MSS 30826–8, f. 6<sup>v</sup>.  
<sup>22</sup> No. 14 is the Passamezzo Pavan in 'Musica Britannica', ix, No. 90.  
<sup>23</sup> These are eleven three-part fantasias by Lupo, four fantasias by Lupo and three In Nomines by Ferrabosco II—all in five parts.  
<sup>24</sup> Viola da Gamba Society numbers.

ROWE MS 113A

pp. 10–12 of reverse end: organ part to three-part fantasia by Coprario  
(Rowe MSS 114–7, No. 15)

CHRIST CHURCH MSS 379–81

Nos. 38–39 by Cobb (though the titles are by *B*)  
No. 40 by Cormacke ('Sir John Paiton's Pavan')  
Nos. 41–49 by W.D.  
Nos. 50–66 ascribed to 'C. C.' [Charles Coleman] or anon.

CHRIST CHURCH MSS 423–8

three-part section: Nos. 12–13 by Lupo (tenor and bass only)  
four-part section: No. 14 by T. C.<sup>25</sup>

THE 'BROWNE' BANDORA/LYRA VIOL BOOK

ff. 25<sup>v</sup>–26<sup>r</sup>: two anonymous pieces

CHRIST CHURCH MSS 716–20

Nos. 1–4 four-part fantasias by Lupo [9–12]

The two pieces in the 'Browne' tablature book are isolated from the rest of the contents and leave no clue as to when they were entered. It is clear from Christ Church MSS 379–81, however, that *C* was working under Browne's supervision: *C*'s first two pieces (Nos. 38–39) have titles by Browne, and Browne's music hand occurs again at No. 67 onwards, following *C*. At first glance this appears to contradict Christ Church MSS 423–8 where hand *C* is only associated with some of the earliest pieces—apparently copied before Browne came on the scene. Of course, as far as Nos. 12–13 of the three-part group are concerned, it is perfectly possible for *C* to have completed the pieces after Browne had assumed ownership. No. 14 of the four-part group, though, is sandwiched between seven fantasias by Lupo and three more by Ferrabosco II copied by the first scribe. But close examination reveals that the original headings in this section (and elsewhere) have been added to by later scribes including both Browne and hand *D*. These additions include the numbering of the pieces which must, therefore, have been among the final details to have been entered in the manuscript. We can only presume that, in common with general practice of the day, the reverse side of the folio after the Lupo items was left blank before the works of a new composer were begun on the next sheet and that this allowed space for the later inclusion of the fantasia by 'T. C.' Who was T. C.? Was he a member of the Crewe family—perhaps even Thomas Crewe, Speaker of the House of Commons and father-in-law to Browne, who married his daughter Temperance?<sup>26</sup> Or, more probably, was he a professional musician,

<sup>25</sup> Comparison with the 'T' of 'Tenor' suggests that this is T. C. and not J. C. At present the Viola da Gamba Society attributes this work to Coprario [9]. Unlike the other eight four-part fantasias by Coprario, it is not known in any other source. It is available as Viola da Gamba Society Supplementary Publication, No. 32.

<sup>26</sup> Browne's first wife who died in 1634.

like Timothy Collins, perhaps known to Browne through his contacts in London? Indeed, was he in any way connected with the 'New Yeres guift to T:C.' by Jenkins, copied by *A* in Christ Church MSS 367-70?<sup>27</sup>

The fact that *C* wrote the first pieces in Christ Church MSS 716-20 raises the question whether this manuscript too belonged to Browne at any time, but, at present, there is insufficient evidence to reach a decision. No other hands in this manuscript tally with those in the Browne books, nor, for the most part, do the contents. One interesting comparison between MSS 716-20 and MSS 423-8, which may be coincidental, is that the sequence of eight Lupo fantasias in five parts (MSS 423-8, Nos. 1-8) is mirrored (apparently uniquely) in MSS 716-20. Also the attribution of No. 21 *a* 5 to 'Ives' in MSS 423-8 occurs too in MSS 716-20; elsewhere the work is assigned to Ward, or has no identification.

One other scribe (*D*) assisted with the titling and contributed substantially to the viol books as follows:

ROWE MSS 112-3

Nos. 41-82: 14 Fantasia-Suites for violin, bass viol and organ (string parts only) by Coprario [9, 10, 14, 15, 12, 13, 1-8]

ROWE MS 113A

Nos. 41-82 (pp. 1-75): organ parts to the above

CHRIST CHURCH MSS 423-8

FOUR-PART SECTION

Nos. 16-17 by Ferrabosco II (tenor part only) [9, 8]

FIVE-PART SECTION

No. 40 by Jenkins [Pavan 3]

No. 41 by Dering [2] (a duplicate of No. 20)

No. 42 by Coprario [23]

Nos. 43-44 by Orlando Gibbons [In Nomines 2-3]

SIX-PART SECTION

No. 34 by Ward [5] (a duplicate of No. 11)

Nos. 35-38 by Lupo [2, 5, 3, 6]

Nos. 39-40 by Jenkins [12, 8]

No. 41 by White [5] ('Ward' in two books)

CHRIST CHURCH MSS 473-8

FOUR-PART SECTION

No. 21 by Jenkins [11]

It seems likely that *D*'s work was a little later than *C*'s, although it is difficult to be precise since the work of the two men hardly coincides. Rowe MS 113A and Christ Church MSS 423-8 are the only sources to contain work by both copyists; in the former their

<sup>27</sup> No. 39. There is a bass part to this piece in British Library, Add. MS 36993, f. 13<sup>v</sup> (No. 24). Perhaps Temperance Crew received this.

work appears at opposite ends of the book and in the latter *C* added to the three- and four-part sections while *D* continued the five- and six-part groups. In Christ Church MSS 473–8, *D*'s copy of the Jenkins fantasia is the only addition to the original text apart from Browne's four 'J. B.' pieces noted earlier. In Rowe MSS 112–3 and the five- and six-part sections of Christ Church MSS 423–8, *D* follows Browne (*B*), but in the five-part section of the latter a Jenkins pavan (No. 39 [3]) in yet another hand (*F*) is sandwiched between his work and Browne's. This is the only instance of hand *F* in the Christ Church and Rowe books, but recently another example of this script has come to light in a manuscript violin book of music by Coprario and William Lawes,<sup>28</sup> where a violin part to Coprario's eight fantasia-suites for two violins, bass viol and organ on ff. 1<sup>v</sup>–17<sup>r</sup> is entirely in this hand. The rest of the music, on ff. 18<sup>v</sup>–50<sup>r</sup>, is by William Lawes and consists of a violin part for a similar set of eight fantasia-suites and a further eight for one violin, bass viol and organ. Significantly, the hand responsible for the Lawes items is that which copied the organ part of the same Lawes pieces in Christ Church MS 430—a manuscript which, as shown above, at least passed through Browne's hands, since he added the titles. Titles, numeration, time-signatures and pauses (in red ink) of the Lawes items are in Browne's hand in both manuscripts and the order of pieces is identical; there seems no doubt that they belong together.

There remains the work of scribe *E*, who was concerned solely with the organ parts. Christ Church MS 1004 is in his hand throughout, though the references to 'white' and 'ruffe' books appear to have been inserted by Browne. The book is divided into several sections, and Table I (overleaf) shows how the contents relate to the associated viol parts. The music contained in MS 1004 comprises a selection from MSS 423–8 and Rowe MSS 114–7 and implies that the organ book was compiled after completion of the viol books, since the pieces chosen had been copied not only by the early scribes, but also by *A*, *B*, *D* and *F*. I suggest that the book was compiled as follows:

The first decision, apparently, was to provide organ parts for four-part pieces at the beginning and for five-part pieces starting approximately half-way through the book (pp. 91 ff.). These pieces were drawn from MSS 423–8 and filled pp. 2–9 and 91–121 respectively. The presence of the two fantasias by White on pp. 122–127 is interesting. It appears that these must have been taken from MSS 473–8 (Nos. 5–6) since only the first is included in MSS 423–8. The only other known possible source is Christ Church MSS 716–20 (Nos. 35 and 52), where the first four pieces, by Lupo, are in hand *C*. The fact that the two pieces are grouped together in

<sup>28</sup> Owned by Layton Ring. I am indebted to Dr. Richard Charteris for drawing my attention to this manuscript and for supplying details about it.

TABLE I

Pages	Composer	No.	No. of Parts	Ch. Ch. MSS 423-8		Rowe MSS 114-7		Ch. Ch. MSS 473-8	
				No.	Hand	No.	Hand	No.	Hand
2-3	Ferrabosco	1	a 4	15	Orig <sub>1</sub>				
4-6	"	2	"		Orig <sub>1</sub> +D				
7-9	"	3	"		Orig <sub>1</sub> +D				
10-12	"	4	"			12	D		
13-15	"	5	"			6	A		
16-18	"	6	"			7	A		
19-21	"	7	"			1	A		
21-23	"	8	"			11	D		
24-26	"	9	"			10	D		
27-90	blank								
91-93	Lupo	1	a 5	1	Orig <sub>1</sub>				
94-96	"	2	"	2	Orig <sub>1</sub>				
97-99	"	3	"	3	Orig <sub>1</sub>				
100-102	"	4	"	4	Orig <sub>1</sub>				
103-105	"	5	"	5	Orig <sub>1</sub>				
106-109	"	6	"	6	Orig <sub>1</sub>				
110-112	"	7	"	7	Orig <sub>1</sub>				
113-115	"	8	"	8	Orig <sub>1</sub>				
116-118	Ferrabosco		a 5	12	Orig <sub>1</sub>	8	A		
119-121	"		"	13	Orig <sub>1</sub>	9	A		
122-124	White		a 5	22	Orig <sub>1</sub>			5	Orig <sub>2</sub>
125-127	"		"	—	—			6	Orig <sub>2</sub>
128-131	Coleman		a 5	16	Orig <sub>1</sub>				
132-135	Dering		a 5	17	Orig <sub>1</sub>				
				20	Orig <sub>1</sub>				
136-139	blank								
REVERSE END									
183-182	Coprario	1	a 5			1	A		
181-179	"	2	"			33	B		
178-177	Jenkins		a 5	39	F				
176-173	Dering		a 5	41	D				
172-170	Jenkins		a 6	39	D				
169-166	"		a 6	40	D				
165-160	blank								
159-157	Coprario		a 6	20	Orig <sub>1</sub>				
156-154	"		"	25	B				
153-152	"		"	26	B				
151-149	Ferrabosco		a 6	27	A+B				
148-146	"		"	32	B				
145-143	Lupo		"	33	B				
142-140	"		"	35	D				

MSS 473–8 makes derivation from this source more likely. Note too that the otherwise logical sequence is disturbed if No. 22 of MSS 423–8 is suggested as a source for the first piece. Presumably, then, MSS 473–8 were in Browne’s possession by this time. The sequence then reverts to MSS 423–8 for the remaining three items in the section on pp. 128–136. One wonders why the next pieces were copied at the reverse end of the book when they too are in five parts and could have been entered immediately following p. 136. Perhaps it was because a new composer was represented, or maybe it was because the first pieces entered here came from Rowe MSS 114–7 rather than from MSS 423–8. If so, the practice was soon abandoned by the addition of the Jenkins and Dering items from MSS 423–8 on pp. 178–173. The four-part Ferrabosco II fantasias from the Rowe set on pp. 10–26 could have been added at any time; it was logical to put them with their fellows.

A group of organ parts for six-part pieces from MSS 423–8 was begun on p. 159, approximately half-way through the remaining space. This again proved insufficient, however, and the last two items (Nos. 39–40 by Jenkins) had to be added on pp. 172–166 at the end of the five-part group, disturbing the otherwise correct sequence. I believe, then, that MS 1004 was arranged from the viol parts of MSS 423–8 and Rowe 114–7 and was not copied from another organ book. Such suggestions are difficult to prove, since one so frequently finds copying errors even between books that are known to be closely related.<sup>29</sup>

Scribe *E* also wrote the first eight pieces at one end of Rowe MS 113A:

TABLE II

Page	Composer	No. of Parts	Ch. Ch. MSS 423–8		Rowe MSS 112–3	
			No.	Hand	No.	Hand
1	Ferrabosco	<i>a</i> 5	27	B		
2	Ferrabosco		30	B		
3	Ferrabosco		35	B		
4	Ferrabosco		36	B		
5	Coprario	<i>a</i> 2			20	A
6	Coprario				21	A
7	Coprario				22	A
8	Coprario				23	A

Why were the Ferrabosco pieces entered here rather than in MS 1004? Was it because they were dances rather than fantasias and

<sup>29</sup> Many of the pieces mentioned in this paper are available in the series of Viola da Gamba Society Supplementary Publications. Each edition includes a detailed textual commentary which will enable those interested to study the relationship between these sources more fully.

therefore merited separate classification? At least *E*'s contribution to Rowe MS 113A allows us to see that he must have been roughly contemporary with *C* and *D*. One could argue that, since the earliest pieces copied into MS 1004 all derived from music copied by the earliest scribes (pp. 2–9 and 91–136), then *E*'s contribution also dates from early on. However, it seems most unlikely that the second and third pieces in the manuscript (pp. 4–9) would have been copied at all until scribe *D* had completed the string parts by adding the tenor and, of course, since the selection of pieces was sequential, works copied by the early scribe would be the first to be considered for inclusion. In any case later pieces in MS 1004 derived from copies by *A*, *B*, *D* and *F*,<sup>30</sup> so *E* must have been either contemporary with, or after these scribes; that he was in fact contemporary with them can be deduced from Rowe 113A, where the eight pages of music he copied (listed in Table II) are followed by three more in *C*'s hand. On these grounds it seems reasonable to assume that MS 1004 was compiled when Browne had tenure of the associated viol books and that it formed part of his library.

References to organ parts are usually noted in the viol books, but some appear in Rowe MSS 112–3 which are totally unconnected with either MS 1004 or Rowe MS 113A. Presumably, therefore, yet another organ book awaits discovery with parts for at least three two-part fantasias by Coprario and six more by Ward.<sup>31</sup>

We are still a long way from ascertaining who the scribes were (except for Browne) and from suggesting an accurate date for the collection. Nevertheless, by establishing Browne's ownership and by tracing the links between the manuscripts some progress has been made. It is reasonable to assume that Browne wished music to play a significant part in the life of his household. No doubt he had received a gentleman's education with its requirement for all-round accomplishment, including the development of musical ability. The Inns of Court were able to offer tuition in fencing, dancing and music to any member professing to be a gentleman and, since he was admitted to the Middle Temple on 28 October 1628, Browne would have found opportunities to have pursued an interest in music then. Indeed, when one reads that 'in the 1620s another Middle Templar paid the more modest sum of six shillings a month to be taught by "Mr. Taylor, my musitian"',<sup>32</sup> one is tempted to link the 'Browne' tablature book with this period in Browne's life: not only are there a number of pieces by 'Robert Taylor' or 'R. T.', but the whole repertory of pieces in the manuscript is consistent with what a lone law student might be expected to have played in his chambers: trifles, making no great technical demands, labelled

<sup>30</sup> *F*, on the grounds of MSS 423–8, is an earlier hand than *D*.

<sup>31</sup> Rowe MSS 112–3, Nos. 24–26 and 29–34 respectively. Organ parts for these works are extant, however, in Christ Church MS 432, for instance.

<sup>32</sup> Wilfrid R. Prest, *The Inns of Court under Elizabeth I and the Early Stuarts: 1590–1640*, London, 1972, p. 154.

'A Toye', 'Kilkennie', or such-like, dances, masque music—including 'Temple Masque'—arranged for a lyra viol.<sup>33</sup> This is the only book in the collection where there is any evidence to suggest that it originated in his father's library and therefore that it would have been available to Browne during his student years (before marriage). This, of course, does not preclude the possibility, or even the likelihood, that some of the pieces were added later—for instance the items in hand *C*.

Browne evidently set up house during the 1630s. His first marriage, to Temperance Crew, ended sadly with her early death, aged 25, in 1634. However, it is possible that he had acquired the music manuscripts of her father, Sir Thomas, who had died a year earlier, and that, as already suggested, the pieces in Christ Church MSS 423–8 and 367–70 by, or to, 'T. C.' may have been connected either with him or with Temperance. The idea that MSS 423–8 originated in the Crew household is worth airing at least. From 1629 onwards Browne bought houses and lands at Twickenham and at various places in Northamptonshire. Perhaps scribe *A* was a resident musician at one of these, allowing the first stage in the formation of the main manuscript collection. Browne's marriage to Elizabeth Packer in 1636 brought him into contact with another family whose interest in music can be deduced from the note on the fly-leaf of Christ Church MS 430. Robert Packer, M.P. for Wallingford, was perhaps influential in obtaining the post of Clerk of the Parliaments for Browne, a post which undoubtedly brought further contacts first with the Court and then with the Commonwealth administrations. Much of the music Browne collected was by composers working at the court or in London. The quantity of music by Lawes which at least passed through Browne's hands is particularly striking—all the five- and six-part viol consorts and the sixteen violin 'sonatas', quite apart from the few miscellaneous dances scattered through the collection. Maybe Browne knew Lawes personally; certainly his imitation of Lawesian techniques in the 'J. B.' pieces in Christ Church MSS 473–8 suggests his admiration for the composer.

The role of *A* as copyist is clearly superseded by the combined efforts of *C*, *D* and *E* in bringing the manuscripts to virtually their present state. Browne had little to do with these last stages, and often what he did attempt remained unfinished.<sup>34</sup> This may indicate that the pressures of his administrative duties left him little time for work on the manuscripts. The whole repertory is pre-Common-

<sup>33</sup> Compare this repertory with that copied by Nicholas Le Strange in the early 1620s: British Library, Add. MS 10444. See Pamela J. Willetts, 'Sir Nicholas Le Strange's Collection of Masque Music', *British Museum Quarterly*, xxix (1965), 79–81.

<sup>34</sup> The 'J. B.' pieces in MSS 473–8, the last three dances in MSS 379–81, incomplete parts of a Coprario fantasia-suite in Rowe MSS 114–7 and an unfinished organ part (to Mico's first two-part fantasia) in Rowe MS 113A. A few dances in MSS 367–70 in Browne's hand are also incomplete.

wealth and, on the evidence available, a tentative date of *c.*1630–1645 for the work of scribes *A–E* seems feasible. Those parts of the manuscripts copied by earlier scribes might well be somewhat earlier—in particular the earliest layer of Christ Church MSS 423–8 and portions of the ‘Braye’ tablature book. Any attempt to set Christ Church MSS 473–8 in this chronology is hazardous. Further studies of the layout of this source and of Christ Church MSS 716–20 too might help reveal exactly what was their relationship to the main collection. MSS 473–8 is one of the best sources for viol music and, taking both handwriting and contents into account, might provisionally be dated in the 1620s or 1630s. It had obviously reached Browne by the final stages of compilation of his other manuscripts.

In conclusion it is worth stressing the unique importance of Browne’s collection, which is certainly one of the largest and most comprehensive of its kind to have come down to us. Table III summarizes its extent—some 473 pieces in all. In addition there are the Lawes five- and six-part consorts in the ‘Browne’ books and perhaps the violin ‘sonatas’ too: the fact that Browne was able to have sent the organ part of the latter to Packer (Christ Church MS 430) must surely mean that he had a copy himself. This brings the total to over 500 different pieces. A substantial number of these are not known to us from any other source and our debt to Browne, not forgetting the foresight of Aldrich, Goodson and the Braye family in preserving his manuscripts, is immense.

TABLE III

Composer	Ch. Ch. 423-8	Ch. Ch. 473-8	Rowe 112-3	Rowe 114-7	Ch. Ch. 367-70	Ch. Ch. 379-81	'Browne'	Total <sup>35</sup>
Lupo	39	16	—	37	—	—	—	54
Copriario	11	8	29	13	—	1	—	55
T. C.	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Ferrabosco II	22	9	—	17	—	1	1	38
Ferrabosco I	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Dering	5	—	—	4	—	—	—	9
Ward	14	4	6	2	—	—	—	24
Milton	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	5
Cranford	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	2
Coleman	1	3	1	—	7	24	—	35
White	8	9	2	1	—	—	—	14
Weelkes	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Mico	1	2	4	2	—	—	—	9
D. Farrant	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Jenkins	6	18	4	—	50	6	10	91
O. Gibbons	2	6	6	—	—	—	—	14
Philips	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Peerson	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	4
J[ohn] B[rowne]	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	4
Ford	—	—	—	4	—	1	—	5
J. Withy	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	2
Gill	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	2
R. Johnson	—	—	—	—	2	1	—	3
Webster	—	—	—	—	5	3	—	8
Lawes	—	—	—	—	3	1	2	6
Ives	—	1	—	—	2	4	—	5
Lanier	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	2
T. Holmes	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
Cobb	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	4
Cormacke	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
W. D.	—	—	—	—	—	9	—	9
R. Taylor	—	—	—	—	—	—	6	6
Stifkin	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
T. G[regory]	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	5
Byrd	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
Anon.	—	—	2	—	3	7	35	47

<sup>35</sup> Duplicate works have been disregarded in working out the totals. Fantasia-suites are counted as single pieces. Anonymous works have been identified and listed with the appropriate composer where possible.