

ARTICLE

Revisiting Douai Ms 785: Musical Cultures of Exiled English Convents through the Lens of a Miscellany

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Abstract

Scholarship on early modern English Catholic music after the reformations tends to focus on the activities of male musicians and male institutions. Despite increased study of English convent culture by scholars of religious, social, and literary history, there remains little specialist examination of music at post-Reformation English convents in exile, and their role in wider musical networks in early modern Europe is markedly under-acknowledged. This article aims to highlight how complex miscellanies with links to English monastic institutions in exile can offer insight into the convents' otherwise elusive musical world. Using a hitherto unanalysed miscellany – Douai Ms 785 – this article will show how codicological study of manuscripts, combined with study of concordances and unica, can illuminate the role of English convents in early modern musical networks. In doing so, it will demonstrate the need to understand miscellanies like Douai Ms 785 as witness to interacting, overlapping musical and religious ecosystems in early modern Europe.

Keywords: Book history; catholicism; miscellany; gender

In his Memorials (c. 1707), the English Benedictine monk Benet Weldon (1674–1713) recalled a series of visits undertaken to the Parisian convent of Val-de-Grace in 1687 by his fellow Benedictine Dominic Green (1665–99).¹ Green visited at the behest of the congregation's president, Joseph Sherborne, who instructed him to note down the French nuns' 'most charming Methode of singing made solely [...] for them & of wch. they are so jealous that they will communicate it to none'. Sherborne was 'desponding of obtaining it for the English Benedictin Dames at Dunkerque, who were mighty desirous of it'.² Green – whose training at the Chapel Royal in Windsor had reportedly lent him the necessary musical skills – accordingly went to Val-de-Grace 'on all Feasts & Solemnitys [...] & by the dint of his skill brought it away, noting it in a private place on paper he had prepared for that design'.³ The precise task Green was entrusted with is unclear; noting 'methode of singing' could refer to the repertory, ornamentation practices, or more specific techniques of singing such as dynamics or phrasing. The phrase 'paper he had prepared for that design' does suggest that Green had pre-ruled paper with a rastrum or straight edge in order to transcribe the sound into staff notation. Regardless, that Weldon notes Green undertook this operation despite the fact he had been 'very much esteem'd & valued at Val de Grace & had had great

¹Dates in this article are reproduced as they appear in the sources; where sources are undated, new-style dating is used, following the general practice in studies of English convent culture.

²Benet Weldon's Memorials, vol. IV, 49. Douai Abbey archives BE/A.1/1. I am grateful to Abbot Geoffrey Scott (Douai Abbey archives, Berkshire) for drawing my attention to this anecdote.

³Weldon, Memorials, 49. Weldon notes that Green was 'bred up from a child to it in the Royal Chapel of Windsor, w[here]re. he lost all his preferm[en]t. becoming a Catholick'.

acquaintance there formerly’, suggests Green was aware that his acquisition of the Val-de-Grace nuns’ music was a distinctly deceitful act.

Though perhaps apocryphal, this anecdote opens broader questions of musical exchange between post-Tridentine French convents and exiled English convents, and the role of clergy as musical intermediaries. It complements an expanding corpus of research from the past twenty years indicating that the cultural activities undertaken by English nuns and lay women resident at exiled convents were anything but peripheral. As will be discussed within this article, the convents were well integrated with wide-ranging Catholic networks involving some of the most influential people and institutions in contemporaneous British, French, and Spanish Netherlandish society. Yet unlike their counterparts across France or wider Catholic Europe (e.g., Italy, Austria, and Spain), English convent musical practices have gone virtually unexamined.

This article will offer insight into how this musical world might be assessed, given the unique difficulties in identifying notated examples of exiled English convent music (as will be discussed later). Using a late seventeenth-century miscellany – Douai Ms 785 – as a case study, this article will suggest that music at exiled English convents can in part be analysed by using evidence of the networks that converge around personalized miscellanies. After outlining the structure, organization, and contents of the manuscript, this article will contextualize Douai Ms 785 by analysing concordances with another manuscript, Bibliothèque Nationale de France Rés VmC Ms-77 (the ‘Teynham’ manuscript). A full inventory of Douai Ms 785, with select transcriptions of text, will be provided in the appendix to this article.⁴ It will then discuss potential theories for the compilation and ownership of both manuscripts, and what these might indicate about the repertoires associated with English Catholic women and the exiled convents. The resulting conclusions will contextualize Douai Ms 785 as witness to the role of exiled English convents as dynamic centres for musical exchange in early modern Catholic Europe, as well as the wider role of exiled English Catholic communities in early modern musical networks. In doing so, this article will demonstrate the importance of acknowledging evidence within miscellanies of overlapping musical influences.

Missing Manuscripts? Music and Book Cultures at Exiled English Convents

The musical activities of English Jesuits and their institutions have received much scholarly attention over the past twenty years, including with regards to Douai Ms 785.⁵ The activities of exiled English nuns, however, have received little attention. To provide some context for Douai Ms 785 and its relationship English convents, this section will outline some fundamental aspects regarding singing and instrument

⁴The folio numbers for Douai Ms 785 have been designated by the author. The only ‘original’ foliation apparent in the manuscript was likely attributed by a modern owner. It is not accurate to the actual construction of the book, as the attributor did not label any folios that do not have written text or notated music. ‘Original foliation’ in this article therefore refers to the apparent foliation attributed by a modern owner; historical users of this book do not appear to have indicated foliation beyond quire numbers.

⁵Thomas Culley (SJ), ‘Musical Activity in Some Sixteenth Century Jesuit Colleges, with Special Reference to the Venerable English College in Rome from 1579 to 1589’, *Analecta Musicologica*, **19** (1979), 1–29; Margaret Urquhart, ‘Was Christopher Simpson a Jesuit?’, *Chelys* [now *Viola da Gamba Society Journal*], **21** (1992), 3–26; Peter Leech, ‘Seventeenth-Century Music at St Omers’, *The Stonyhurst Magazine*, **56** (2009), 56–64; Peter Leech and Maurice Whitehead, ‘“In Paradise among Angels”: Music and Musicians at St. Omers English Jesuit College, 1593–1721’, *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, **61** (2011), 57–82; Leech and Whitehead, ‘“Clamores Omnino Atque Admiraciones Excitant”: New Light on Music and Musicians at St Omers English Jesuit College, 1658–1714’, *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, **66** (2016), 123–45; Patxi del Amo Iribarren, ‘Anthony Poole (c.1629–1692), the Viol and Exiled English Catholics’ (PhD dissertation, University of Leeds, 2011); Andrew Cichy, ‘“How Shall We Sing the Song of the Lord in a Strange Land?” English Catholic Music after the Reformation to 1700: A Study of Institutions in Continental Europe’ (PhD dissertation, Oxford University, 2014), 79–131; Andrew Cichy, ‘“Changing Their Tune”: Sacred Music and the Recasting of English Post-Reformation Identity at St. Alban’s College, Valladolid’, in *Listening to Early Modern Catholicism: Perspectives from Musicology*, ed. Daniele Filippi and Michael J. Noone (Brill, 2017), 173–86. Emilie Murphy, ‘Music and Post-Reformation English Catholics: Place, Sociability, and Space, 1570–1640’ (PhD dissertation, York University, 2014), 24–32, 70–85, 231–60.

playing at English convents in exile, with a focus on logistical aspects. It will then summarize the vital few examples of previous research regarding notated music sources from exiled English convents. Finally, it will provide a broader context for Douai Ms 785's compilation and usage through a short review of scholarship regarding book production, exchange, and consumption at English Catholic monastic institutions in Europe.

From 1598 to 1790, nearly 4,000 English women professed as choir or lay sisters across twenty-two enclosed convents established expressly for them, located (and re-located) across Portugal, France, and the Low Countries. Study of these convents from a variety of scholarly perspectives has flourished over the past twenty years, with countless articles, edited volumes, and monographs published detailing convent life and its significance to early modern European history.⁶ The daily life of most post-Tridentine choir nuns revolved around singing or reciting the hours of the Divine Office (Matins, Lauds, Prime, Terce, Sext, None, Vespers, and Compline), as well as singing or reciting parts of low and/or high Mass (depending on the time of the liturgical year). Lay sisters were not bound by their vows to sing or recite the Divine Office, although judging from records of exiled English convents, some lay sisters sang or played instruments in the Divine Office regularly, sometimes even to the same standards as choir nuns.⁷ Evidence suggests that at the English Benedictine, Augustinian, Franciscan, Poor Clare, and Conceptionist convents in France and the Low Countries, the Divine Office and Mass were sung primarily by the nuns themselves, with varying involvement of organ and instruments.⁸ Indeed, most scholars studying exiled English convents have acknowledged that music was a vital part of convent life.⁹ However, very few have examined music at the convents in depth.¹⁰

The first – and until recently, the only – musicologists to systematically explore music at exiled English convents were Andrew Cichy and Emilie Murphy, who both produced doctoral theses partly

⁶In terms of monographs, see Jaime Goodrich, *Writing Habits: Historicism, Philosophy, and English Benedictine Convents, 1600–1800* (University of Alabama Press, 2021); James Kelly, *English Convents in Catholic Europe, c.1600–1800* (Cambridge University Press, 2019); Victoria Van Hyning, *Convent Autobiography: Early Modern English Nuns in Exile* (Oxford University Press, 2019); Laurence Lux-Sterritt, *English Benedictine Nuns in Exile in the Seventeenth Century: Living Spirituality* (Manchester University Press, 2017); Nicky Hallett, *The Senses in Religious Communities, 1600–1800 Early Modern 'Convents of Pleasure'* (Routledge, 2016); Claire Walker, *Gender and Politics in Early Modern Europe: English Convents in France and the Low Countries* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2001). See also the interdisciplinary edited volume *The English Convents in Exile, 1600–1800: Communities, Culture and Identity*, ed. Caroline Bowden and James Kelly (Routledge, 2013). From 2008 to 2013, the 'Who Were the Nuns?' project team (led by Caroline Bowden and James Kelly) undertook a comprehensive survey of exiled English convent records. This culminated in the publication of a database – <<https://wwtn.history.qmul.ac.uk/>> henceforth referred to as the WWtN database – enabling identification of nuns at exiled English convents from 1598 to 1800, along with biographical details regarding individual nuns and their families.

⁷See, for example, Margaret Bruno (née Margaret) Floyd (1614–74), a lay sister who was nonetheless 'mistress of the Choir' (i.e., chantress) for fifteen years at the English Franciscan convent in Bruges before moving to help found the English Conceptionist convent in Paris. *The English Franciscan Nuns, 1619–1821, and the Friars Minor of the Same Province, 1618–1761*, ed. Richard Trappes-Lomax (Catholic Record Society private publication, 1922), 15; *The Diary of the 'Blue Nuns' or Order of the Immaculate Conception of Our Lady, at Paris, 1658–1810*, ed. Richard Trappes-Lomax and Joseph Gillow (Catholic Record Society, 1910), 8. Cichy highlights that at the Brussels convent, although the constitutions explicitly barred lay sisters from singing the Divine Office, they were valuable as organists and instrumentalists (Cichy, "How Shall We Sing", 168).

⁸Music and liturgy at twelve houses from these orders are addressed in Caroline Lesemann-Elliott, 'Music, Power, and Place at Exiled English Convents in France and the Low Countries, 1660–1740' (PhD dissertation, Royal Holloway University of London, 2023). See also Cichy, "How Shall We Sing", 133–227. Further research is needed pertaining to the English Bridgettine convent in Lisbon, the English Carmelite convents across the Low Countries, and the English Dominican convent in Brussels.

⁹See, for example, Caroline Bowden, 'Patronage and Practice: Assessing the Significance of the English Convents as Cultural Centres in Flanders in the Seventeenth Century', *English Studies*, 92 (2011), 483–95 (p. 485); Caroline Bowden, "'For the Glory of God': A Study of the Education of English Catholic Women in Convents in Flanders and France in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century", *Paedagogica Historica*, 35 (1999), 77–95 (p. 87); Victoria Van Hyning, *Convent Autobiography: Early Modern English Nuns in Exile* (Oxford University Press, 2019), 217; Kelly, *English Convents in Catholic Europe*, 22, 105–07.

¹⁰For example, the terms 'reciting', 'saying', and 'singing' can – in some cases – be used interchangeably in English convent sources, particularly those translating French sources for use in an English convent; see Lesemann-Elliott, 'Music, Power, and Place', 254–319. Equally, the term 'in musick', 'prickt-song', or other such terms are rarely acknowledged for their implications of polyphony (or in the case of the former, potentially instruments being used).

concerned with music at the convents in 2014. Their work uncovered and contextualized vital biographical information demonstrating the wide array of choir nuns, lay sisters, and secular boarders who were skilled not only at singing plainchant, polyphony, and fauxbourdon, but also instrumental playing (chiefly organ, harpsichord or clavacin, lute, violin, and viola da gamba). Of four case studies on exiled English Catholic monastic music, Cichy dedicated one to the English Benedictine convent at Brussels and one to the English Augustinian convent at Bruges, with the latter including some coverage of music at the English Augustinian convent in Louvain.¹¹ Murphy's thesis examined the musical cultures of exiled English convents within her wider exploration of English Catholic soundscapes and music as a tool for community-building in exile, highlighting the role of convent musicians in facilitating larger patronage networks for English Catholics both in England and in exile on the continent.¹²

In line with other scholars examining how English nuns acted anonymously in the production, publication, and circulation of convent books, Cichy has also highlighted the tendency towards anonymity and self-effacement that makes identification of music with links to the convents especially difficult.¹³ The nuns' relatively zealous embrace of the post-Tridentine doctrine of enclosure most likely heightened the need to maintain some amount of secrecy when it came to convent products intended for internal use.¹⁴ Both Cichy and Murphy have indicated that English convents relied on local booksellers and cultural agents to acquire music books, and sometimes exchanged institutional books of notated music (as will be discussed momentarily).¹⁵ However, Cichy suggests that limited circulation of notated music sources from exiled English convents may have enticed visitors and potential patrons to the convents, in order to hear the nuns' music.¹⁶

The question of how exiled English convents engaged with systems for circulating notated music sources is crucial for this article. Research by Cichy and Murphy suggests that the surviving sources of music (primarily plainchant) located across archives of exiled English convents represents but a small part of the convents' music cultures. This theory has been supported by the author's recent study of music in liturgy, education, and recreation at English convents in France and the Low Countries, which demonstrate not only the wide variety of secular music (both vocal and instrumental) used in English convent recreation and education, but also frequent use of polyphony, fauxbourdon, and/or instrumental music in daily liturgies.¹⁷ However, neither Murphy nor Cichy discuss the relevance of personalized music manuscripts used and retained by convent go-betweens, such as school pupils, family members, lay boarders, or clergy.¹⁸ This is a notable gap, given recent research has shown that music books

¹¹Andrew Cichy, 'Parlour, Court and Cloister: Musical Culture in English Convents during the Seventeenth Century', in *The English Convents in Exile, 1600–1800*, ed. Bowden and Kelly, 175–90; Cichy, "How Shall We Sing", 133–227.

¹²Murphy, 'Music and Post-Reformation English Catholics'.

¹³Cichy, "How Shall We Sing", 146–47. Regarding self-effacement at exiled English convents, see Jaime Goodrich, 'Nuns and Community-Centered Writing: The Benedictine Rule and Brussels Statutes', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 77 (2014), 287–303; Victoria van Hynning, 'Naming Names: Chroniclers, Scribes and Editors of St Monica's Convent, Louvain, 1630–1906', in *The English Convents in Exile, 1600–1800*, ed. Bowden and Kelly, 87–108; Nicky Hallett, 'Shakespeare's Sisters: Anon and the Authors in Early Modern Convents', in *The English Convents in Exile, 1600–1800*, ed. Bowden and Kelly, 139–55; Heather Wolfe, 'Reading Bells and Loose Papers: Reading and Writing Practices of the English Benedictine Nuns of Cambrai and Paris', in *Early Modern Women's Manuscript Writing: Selected Papers from the Trinity/Trent Colloquium*, ed. Victoria E. Burke and Jonathan Gibson (Routledge, 2016), 135–57. See also issues of self-effacement by English Catholics in David Schulenberg, 'What is a Composer? Problems of Attribution in Keyboard Music from the Circle of [Peter] Philips and Sweelinck', in *Networks of Music and Culture in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries: A Collection of Essays in Celebration of Peter Philips's 450th Anniversary*, ed. David J. Smith and Rachele Taylor (Taylor & Francis, 2013), 113–57.

¹⁴Kelly, *English Convents in Catholic Europe*, 51–77.

¹⁵Cichy, "How Shall We Sing", 169–76, 181, 215–20; Murphy, 'Music and Post-Reformation English Catholics', 36–40, 44–58.

¹⁶Cichy, "How Shall We Sing", 147–48.

¹⁷Lesemann-Elliott, 'Music, Power, and Place', 69–108, 201–45, 254–319.

¹⁸See, for example, a suggestion by Kimberlyn Montford that music books at post-Tridentine Roman convents were kept primarily in manuscript form by the chantress as personal possessions, books and manuscripts being the one form of personal possession allowed to Italian nuns; as such, these items were not listed in convent inventories, nor in lists of personal effects. Kimberlyn Winona Montford, 'Music in the convents of Counter-Reformation Rome' (PhD dissertation, Rutgers University, 1999), 137–38.

belonging to early modern English Catholic girls could shed light onto English convents' role in the copying and circulation of music manuscripts, and the role of English convent school pupils as institutional go-betweens.¹⁹

Little work has been done to connect music manuscripts preserved beyond English convent archives (e.g., legal repositories, municipal archives, county record offices) with the music lives of exiled English nuns.²⁰ As previously noted, scholarship on early modern manuscripts with English Catholic links has generally been dominated by explorations of English Jesuit networks and wider European musical networks. While Jesuits were undoubtedly important musical agents in early modern Europe, studies of English Catholic musical networks tend to attribute agency to male cultural agents and institutions – such as the Jesuits – to the exclusion of female counterparts. Even when agency is attributed to female institutions, the scope is often relatively limited.²¹ As this article will demonstrate, evidence of Jesuit influence – or even usage – in a music manuscript does not necessitate compilation and/or use solely by Jesuits, nor that its contents primarily reflect the musical cultures of a Jesuit community. This is particularly relevant when either the manuscript itself or the music copied indicates use by named women.²²

Beyond relationships with male monastic institutions, there is also evidence to suggest that exiled English convents circulated and shared music books with other English convents. Andrew Cichy has noted evidence from the Annals from the English Augustinian convent in Bruges indicating they acquired notated music books from the English Benedictine convent at Dunkirk. The Annals note that on 21 June 1726:

Our Reverend Mother [Lucy Herbert] being very desirous to have our Quire song in the greatest perfection, to God's greater glory, by the performance of the divine office in the most solemn and moving manner, proposed our Lord Bishop the changing our plan song into a more harmonious manner, by cutting off superfluous notes, and adding such graces as in ancient times were not used.²³

The Annals note that Herbert 'found means not long after to get ye consent of ye Lady Fleetwood Abbess of ye English Dames at Dunkirk, to let us have a book of their plan song, wch they had reduced to ye form we desired, and wch was generally admired by all yt heard it'.²⁴ Another anecdote of the Dunkirk convent sharing notated music books features in a letter dating 19 May 1745 from the abbess at Dunkirk – Dame Mary Xaveria Pearse (née Xaveria, d. 1767) – to the prioress of St Monica's in Louvain – Mary Cecilia More (née Mary, d. 1755). In the letter, Pearse notes that she was enclosing a setting of 'the Te Deum in Fauxbourdon' which the Dunkirk nuns had 'lately got compos'd [...] to be sung wn we receive our Bishop's order'.²⁵ Pearse also notes that she sent music for the antiphons of Vespers from the Dunkirk convent, as she noted a cross by the Office for the Feast of St Peter & Paul 'wch denots something wanting'.²⁶

¹⁹Caroline Lesemann-Elliott, 'The Blount Music Collection Revisited: New Evidence for Exiled English Convent Schools and Early Modern Musical Transfer', *Viol da Gamba Society Journal*, **16a** (2022), 36–62.

²⁰In his thesis, Cichy underlines the relevance of recusant music cultures to exiled English convents, but notes further work needs to be done. Cichy, "How Shall We Sing", 137–49, 153–55, 174–75, 201–09.

²¹For further discussion on this issue and examples, see the forthcoming article Caroline Lesemann-Elliott, 'The Nevell Manuscript: New Evidence of 17th-Century Gentlemen's Music Book-Sharing and Education at Exiled English Convents', *Early Music* (in press).

²²See, for example, the sparse commentary on evidence regarding Mary Cecily Tichborne's ownership and potential usage of the Selosse manuscript. Leech and Whitehead, 'In Paradise', 77–82; Terrence Charlston, 'Concealed within? Liturgical Organ Music in the Selosse Manuscript', *The Organ*, **84** (2010), 15–20.

²³Bowden, *Chronicles*, 205. Quoted in Cichy, "How Shall We Sing", 181–83.

²⁴Bowden, *Chronicles*, 205. For further discussion of these items, see Lesemann-Elliott, 'Music, Power, and Place', 314–17.

²⁵Douai Abbey BT/V/II no. 2/2, 328–29.

²⁶Ibid.

These anecdotes of music book-sharing complement wider evidence of a rich tradition of book exchange over the convent wall. As Caroline Bowden has noted, book production and consumption at exiled English convents often involved material exchange with lay women; equally, English nuns were also known to compile books for their male brethren.²⁷ Through an exploration of manuscript inventories of English convent libraries in conjunction with surviving convent archives, Bowden has shown that while there was great diversity in the size and contents of these libraries, books were generally understood to be kept in different parts of the convent in different collections depending on their purpose, rather than kept in one specific nun's room.²⁸ While books in the convents were intended primarily to be communal property, they were one of the few objects that nuns could temporarily claim 'ownership' of, and personalize through inscription and annotation.²⁹ Exchanging books over the convent wall with friends and family was also an acceptable method for nuns to maintain earthly relationships, with books acting as tangible tokens of kinship.³⁰ While the influence of a convent's confessor can be seen in 'every aspect of the creation of book collections', Bowden recognizes the contributions and curatorial skills of individual nuns, with communities constantly exchanging, readjusting, and repurposing books according to need, in part due to scarcity of materials.³¹

Transfer of books over the convent wall was not isolated to exchanges between individuals. Jenna Lay has made a compelling case for English convent literary compilations – copied or composed – as situated within the mainstream of early modern English literary culture, with the nuns' individual or communal identity remaining hidden.³² Lay shows how Catholic crucifixion poems – particularly those written by women – reflect a sense of displacement experienced by exiled English nuns, a disjointedness that reflects 'the women who wrote from exilic, enclosed, recusant, and conformist perspectives'.³³ Lay echoes theories developed by Helen Hackett, whose analysis of Constance Aston Fowler's 'On the Passion of our Lord and saviour Jesus Christ' shows the ways in which women wrote 'statements of faith' using influences from across Europe, including exiled English convent literature.³⁴ Jane Stevenson has highlighted overlaps between poetry in recusant miscellanies – such as the poem 'The Royal Nun' from the Tixall collection – and poetry copied and/or composed by exiled English nuns, including both applicability for recreational music-making within and without the convent.³⁵ This suggests that exiled English convents' literary and devotional cultures were intertwined with, and influenced, lay Catholic culture beyond individual communities.

²⁷Caroline Bowden, 'Community Space and Cultural Transmission: Formation and Schooling in English Enclosed Convents in the Seventeenth Century', *History of Education*, 34 (2005), 365–86. For an example of an English nun producing books for lay men, see Bibliothèque d'Agglomération de Saint-Omer Ms 412, 'Livre de méditations et exercices de piété' ('Book of meditations and pious exercises'), inscribed 'Jesus, Maria, Dominicus. Je donne ce livre à mon très cher frere monsieur Bernard Howard de Norfolk, luy prient de l'agreer et de s'en servir pour l'amour de sa très affectionnée sœur et servante, sœur Elisabeth Dominique Howard †. Mardy l'Exaltation de la sainte Croix, le 14^e septembre 1700 ('I give this book to my dear brother Mr Bernard Howard of Norfolk, I ask that he accepts and uses it for the love of his affectionate sister and servant, Sister Elisabeth Dominique Howard †. Tuesday the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, 14th of September 1700').

²⁸Caroline Bowden, 'Building Libraries in Exile: The English Convents and their Book Collections in the Seventeenth Century', *British Catholic History*, 32 (2015), 343–82.

²⁹Ibid., 352–56.

³⁰Bowden, 'Patronage and Practice', 483–95; Bowden, 'Building Libraries', 352–56. See also Jenna Lay, *Beyond the Cloister: Catholic Englishwomen and Early Modern Literary Culture* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), 120–61.

³¹Bowden, 'Patronage and Practice', 486. See further case study in Jan Rhodes, 'The Library Catalogue of the English Benedictine Nuns of Our Lady of Good Hope in Paris', *The Downside Review*, 130 (2012), 54–86.

³²Lay, *Beyond the Cloister*, 142.

³³Ibid., 161–72.

³⁴Helen Hackett, 'Women and Catholic Manuscript Networks in Seventeenth-Century England: New Research on Constance Aston Fowler's Miscellany of Sacred and Secular Verse', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 65 (2012), 1094–124; Femke Molekamp, *Women and the Bible in Early Modern England: Religious Reading and Writing* (Oxford University Press, 2013), 185–217.

³⁵Jane Stevenson, 'The Tixall Circle and the Musical Life of St Monica's, Louvain', *British Catholic History*, 33 (2017), 583–602.

The preceding anecdotes and case studies situate the musical cultures of exiled English convents within wider early modern book cultures. In line with previous scholarly work on anonymity and English convent culture, this article will argue that traces of English convent music cultures can be uncovered with due cross-examination and contextualization of sources, and apply these methods to the musical miscellany Douai Ms 785.

Douai Ms 785: Structure, Content, and Scribes

Douai Ms 785 was first noted by Peter Leech and Maurice Whitehead in 2016.³⁶ A small, duodecimo manuscript miscellany, it resides in the special collections of the Bibliothèque Marceline Desbordes-Valmore (formerly the Bibliothèque Municipale de Douai). Watermarks generally appear in the top corner near the binding of the book, and are similar to those in paper made in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century London.³⁷ The manuscript is divided into fifteen quires, labelled A1–A15 in the bottom right-hand corner of relevant folios (Figures 1 and 2³⁸). These labels were likely attributed by the scribe, judging by similarities between the quire numbers and the numbers in figured bass inscriptions (Figures 2–3). The number of folios in each quire ranges from four folios in quires A3 and A13, to twenty-one folios in A15. Several quires have pages near their end that are either completely blank or with blank pre-ruled staves. The quires are grouped according to content, with A1–5 being organized by musical

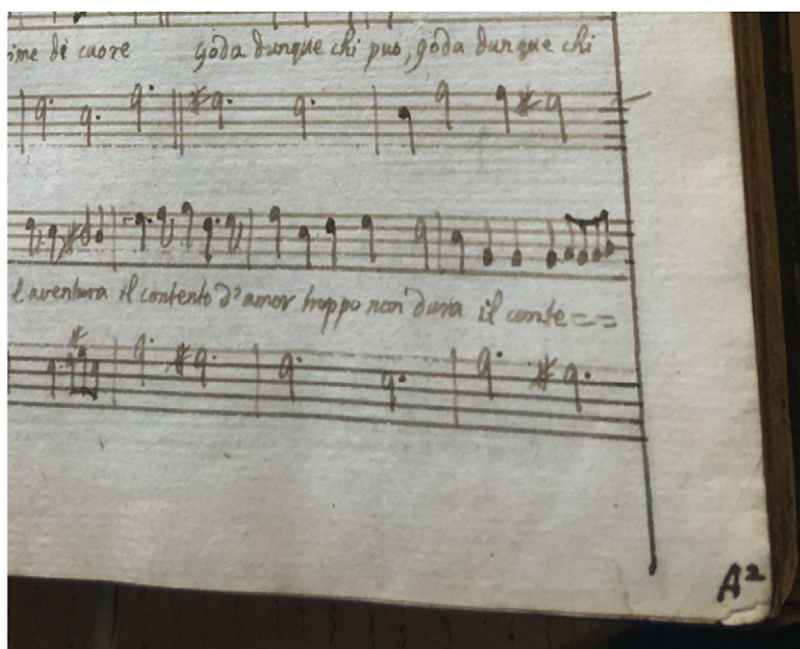


Figure 1. Douai Ms 785, fol. 9^r (original foliation fol. 11^r). With many thanks to Jean Vilbas and the Bibliothèque Marceline Desbordes-Valmore in Douai, France, for previous provision of scans and support of fieldwork trips.

³⁶Peter Leech and Maurice Whitehead, “CLAMORES OMNINO ATQUE ADMIRATIONES EXCITANT”: New Light on Music and Musicians at St Omers English Jesuit College, 1658–1714”, *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 66 (2016), 123–48 (pp. 129–31). Leech and Whitehead’s commentary will be discussed near the end of this article.

³⁷Cf. E. Heawood, *Watermarks, Mainly of the 17th and 18th Centuries* (Krown & Spellman, 2003), nos. 1669, 1674, 1679, 1712.

³⁸All figures of Douai Ms 785 are courtesy of Jean Vilbas, Curator of Rare Books at Bibliothèque Marceline Desbordes-Valmore.

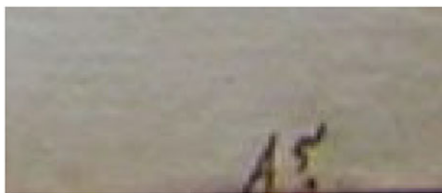


Figure 2. Douai Ms 785, fol. 30^r (original foliation fol. 33^r).

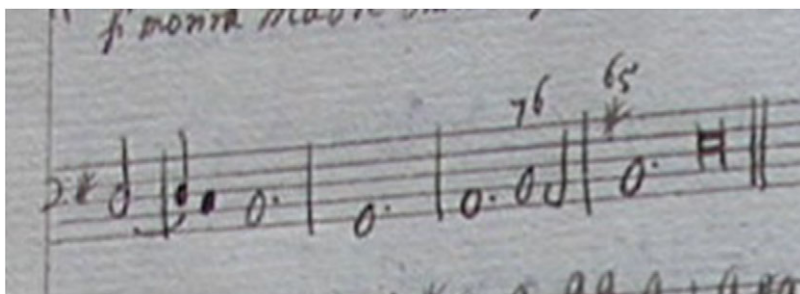


Figure 3. Douai Ms 785, fol. 14^v (original foliation fol. 16^v).

genre, and A6–15 mostly, but crucially not always, organized according to material copied (as will be discussed momentarily later).³⁹ Two of the quires – A6 and A14 – have their labelling partially cut off. This evidence suggests the scribe of Douai Ms 785 perhaps organized a series of blank quires with varying numbers of folios according to what (and how much) material they planned to copy, then labelled the quires A1–15, and trimmed them to the size needed for binding (occasionally cutting off a quire number in the process).

Quires A1–5 contain notated music (fols. 1^r–35^v, original foliation fols. 3^r–36^f). Some folios have stave lines drawn with rastrum, some without, with the latter often including blank space (presumably for additional writing). The music and text copied is exceptionally small and cramped, with letters sized roughly 2mm on average; musical notation is particularly small on pages with staves ruled without a rastrum or straightedge.⁴⁰ Quire A1 primarily features English language continuo songs, some partially incomplete. Quires A2–4 contain almost entirely Italianate music, with eighteen Italian secular arias, a devotional cantata, and a Latin motet.⁴¹ Quire A5 features abridged versions of arias and choruses from operas by Jean-Baptiste Lully (1632–87) arranged for single voice and continuo. Judging by the dates copied at the end of some of the pieces in the manuscript, concordances with other manuscripts or publications, and the dating of the watermark, the music in Douai Ms 785 was likely copied at some point between the mid- to late 1680s and the early 1700s.⁴²

³⁹On fols. 97^r–103^v (original foliation fols. 78^r–84^v), the scribe has copied ‘General notes of Heraldry’. The first folio (fol. 97^r) is labelled A13. On fol. 101^r (original foliation 92^f), before the scribe finished copying their notes on heraldry, there is a new quire labelled A[illeg.], with what is presumably the number 14 cut off. The next section of material, ‘Titulorum honorariorum [:] origines’, is copied from fols. 104^r–107^r (original foliation 85^r–88^f), with fols. 107^v–113^r of this quire (original foliation fols. 85^r–88^f) left blank. The first folio of the final quire, A15, is where the final section begins (‘Grammatica Hebraica’).

⁴⁰Stave lines drawn with rastrum are consistently 2mm apart; however, distance between systems is variable, suggesting a single-nibbed rastrum was used. Those with a straight edge vary from 1.5 to 2mm between stave lines.

⁴¹See appendix, pp. 00–00 for a full listing, including concordances.

⁴²See, for example, ‘May 3, 1685’ at the end of ‘A Building Once There Stood’ on fol. 1^r, or ‘Sept: 4 1685’ copied in the title of ‘Inter Tumultuantis’ on fol. 20^r. Concordances for pieces copied in quires A2–4 are mostly with manuscripts copied between the 1680s and early 1700s, such as GB-Ob Ms. Mus. D.247 (section with concordances copied between 1693 and 1703), D.255 (likely copied between 1680 and 1699), F-Pn Rés VmC Ms 77 (copied before 1703). The items from operas by Lully in Quire A5 are derived from Lully’s *Les Amants Magnifiques* (1670), *Isis* (1677), *Psyche* (1678), and *Proserpine* (1680).

Quires A6–15 feature eight different sections of non-musical text, and are far more extensive in terms of content and folios. The quires do not always align to content, with new quires sometimes starting in the middle of written sections. No precise concordances for the written text have yet been identified. While the author of this article has not yet completed a full transcription and translation of these items, provisional work suggests that the first four sections concern matters of church history and monastic hierarchies, with quotations generally being from Biblical texts, works by early Christian patriarchs, or Classical texts. The ensuing four sections (fols. 90^r–127^r, original foliation fols. 74^r–107^v) are largely concerned with practical knowledge.

The first section – ‘Collao I. De conciliis’ (fols. 38^r–46^v, original foliation 38^r–46^v) – comprises a history of church councils. It concerns councils as they appear in the Old Testament, early Christian synods in the third and fourth centuries, and the first Council at Nicea (AD 325).⁴³ The second section – ‘De disponibus ad ordinem hierarchicum necessari’ (fols. 58^r–63^v, original foliation fols. 47^r–57^v) – comprises 21 twenty-one subsections that describe processes for adopting holy orders and living a monastic life, both for nuns and for monks. These include discussion of how postulants should experience ‘calling’ (‘voca[b]o’) to monastic life, monastic education, familial backgrounds of postulants, integrity of the body and age of postulants, appropriate behaviour, allocation of offices, and provision of doctrine. The next three sections discuss the monastic role of poetry, the art of diction (or declamation), civil and canonic law, philosophy, mathematics, meditation (‘de Theosebiam’), theology, and practical languages. In the third section, the scribe has copied at the top of each page ‘speculum clericorum’. This is perhaps a reference to *Speculum Clericorum* (c. 1451) by the Franciscan John of Capistrano (1386–1456), first published in Venice by Antonio Ferrari in 1580. Early modern English writers across confessions were clearly familiar with this work, as evinced by reference to it in Richard Braithwait’s *Time’s Treasury* (1652).⁴⁴ The fourth section – ‘De moribus veterum patriarcharum’ (fols. 67^r–76^r, original foliation fols. 53^r–62^r) – concerns the history of the Hebrew patriarchs as told in the Book of Genesis, Jewish moral principles as established in the Pentateuch (i.e., the first five books of the Christian Old Testament), and early Christian patriarchs and Christian moral principles as established in the Acts and Epistles of the New Testament.⁴⁵ The fifth section – ‘Colla[t]iones Historicae’ – features four subsections St Adelaide of Burgundy (c. 931–999), Grand Vizier Mahomet Coprogli (1575–1661, founder of the Ottoman-Turk Köprülü dynasty), his heir Achmet Coprogli (1661–76),⁴⁶ and Turkish affairs from the years 1623–76.

The sixth section, entitled ‘Brevis Praxis Medica’, is a short section on maladies and medicine, similar in structure to other Latin-language treatises of the time.⁴⁷ The case studies copied concern men and women of various ages and a wide variety of ailments, such as heat- or cold-induced headaches, lethargy, apoplexy, insomnia, catalepsy, or ‘hydrophobia’ (likely rabies). The seventh section, entitled ‘General notes of Heraldry’, features English and French, with much material copied from *Abrege methodique des principes heraldiques* (Lyon, 1681) by the Jesuit Claude-François Menetrier (1631–1705). The eighth section concerns honorary titles (‘Titulorum honorariorum[:]’), beginning with an introductory section establishing the origin of honorary titles, followed by a section listing and defining terms for historical and contemporaneous rulers (e.g., ‘Imperatoris’, ‘Caliph’, ‘Sultan’, ‘Maiestas’). The ninth and

⁴³Specifically, the council’s debates over hierarchies of Church fathers, who can act as proxy for the Pope, the location of synods, and the canons passed.

⁴⁴Richard Braithwaite, *Times Treasury, or, Academy for Gentry Laying Downe Excellent Grounds, Both Divine and Humane, in Relation to Sexes of Both Kindes* (Nath. Brooke, 1652), 81. Braithwaite cites ‘Capistranus’ as ‘A Frier, who writte diverse works viz. De Papae & Corelij, Autoritate. Speculum Clericorum. &c.’. The text copied in Douai Ms 785 does not match the 1580 publication, nor does it match a later publication by the same name attributed to Candido Brognolo, published in Venice in 1663.

⁴⁵Fols. 68^r–70^v (original foliation fols. 54^r–56^v) bear the heading ‘Mores Judaeorum’.

⁴⁶The Turkish titles for these two rulers are Mehmet Paşa and Köprülü Fazıl Ahmet Paşa respectively, with ‘Paşa’ being the attributed title, ‘Mehmet’ and ‘Fazıl’ given names, and ‘Köprülü’ being the familial dynastic name.

⁴⁷See, for example, Michael Etmüller’s *Opera omnia theoretica et practica* (1685) or Johannes Jacobus Mangetus *Bibliotheca medico-practica* (1698).

final section comprises a guide to Hebrew, entitled ‘Grammatica Hebraica’, the source of which will be discussed momentarily.

The contents of Douai Ms 785 (both music and text) are copied by a single scribe throughout.⁴⁸ Judging by the style of clefs, note heads, note tails, and the frequent copying of English-language songs in quires A1–5, the scribe was likely trained in England at some point over the mid- to late seventeenth century.⁴⁹ Three other scribes have copied inscriptions. The first scribe copied ‘J Petri Coghlan’ on the front paste-down, while a second, different scribe copied ‘Mr James Peter Coghlan with the English Recolets at Douay a Ms of Value’ on the front flyleaf. A third scribe copied ‘Cette grammarie est celle d’Edouard Slaughter, Jasuise Amsterdam, mis primée a Amsterdam, par allared aalitz, en 1699’ on fol. 113^v (original foliation fol. 89^v, Figure 4).⁵⁰

The first two inscriptions suggest that the manuscript was at some point owned by James Peter Coghlan, a prolific Catholic printer active c. 1750–1800.⁵¹ Coghlan was not only a major printer of plainchant for use in Catholic liturgy, but also a book collector. Amid the suppression of the Jesuit order over the 1770s and 1780s, Coghlan purchased a library belonging to an English Jesuit institution in the Low Countries (most likely from one of the colleges, i.e., St Omers, Watten, or Bruges).⁵² He also had two daughters at the English Poor Clare convent in Aire: Mary Anne (née Anne, 1765–1829) and Mary Joseph (née Elizabeth Grace, 1764–1838) Coghlan.⁵³ The third inscription likely refers to *Grammatica Hebraica Auctore*, authored by the Liège-based Jesuit Edward Slaughter, and published in Amsterdam by Allardi Aaltsz in 1699. At least one English Catholic college – the English college at Douai – owned a copy of this print.⁵⁴ While it is possible Slaughter’s text was circulated prior to printing, the near-identical contents and layouts between sources suggest the scribe of Douai Ms 785 likely copied from the 1699 published edition, thus placing the manuscript as copied at least through 1699.⁵⁵

This latter point is particularly important for dating Douai Ms 785’s copying and usage. In the only published scholarship on Douai Ms 785, Peter Leech and Maurice Whitehead suggest that the scribe of the manuscript was the Jesuit Thomas Kingsley (1650–96). They base their theory on the signature ‘Laus Deo T:K’ at the end of a motet entitled ‘A Mottet composed for Dame Caecilia Tasbrough at Gant Sept: 4 1685’, copied on fols. 20^r–21^f (original foliation fols. 22^f–23^f), interpreting the initials to refer to Kingsley as composer. They posit that he also copied the motet, and therefore the whole manuscript, and the composer of a series of songs copied on fols. 4^v–6^v (original foliation fols. 6^v–8^v), entitled ‘Songs by Joseph Radford, set by mee’. As evidence, they primarily cite biographical details of Kingsley’s life,

⁴⁸Leech and Whitehead, “CLAMORES OMNINO”, 129. Leech and Whitehead note that the text scribe also composed some of the music in Douai Ms 785, specifically ‘Songs made by Joseph Radford, set by mee’ on fols. 4^v–6^v (original foliation fols. 6^v–8^v). These songs are in the same hand that copied music throughout the manuscript.

⁴⁹Early modern English C-clefs tend to have equally long parallel vertical lines on either side of the four horizontal lines denoting where C is, while early modern French C-clefs tend to have uneven verticals, the left one long, the right one short. The G2-clefs copied in Douai Ms 785 are more similar to styles of copying in the last quarter of the seventeenth century (i.e., with the upper and lower loops being on top of each other, rather than side by side in an ‘H’ form). For a comparable manuscript example, see C-clefs and G2-clefs similar to Douai Ms 785 in the music book of Lady Anne Blount (GB-Lbl 1041), copied c. 1635–75.

⁵⁰The flyleaves have been added separately to the quires of the book; they bear a different watermark to the rest of the book and feature a later eighteenth-century hand that has added the ‘Coghlan’ inscriptions.

⁵¹J. L. C. Steenbrink, ‘Coghlan, James Peter, 1731(?)–1800’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2008).

⁵²F. Blom, ‘English and Irish Catholic Books and Convents in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: The Link with the Low Countries. The Cases of Peter Wadding, Lady Lucy Herbert and James Peter Coghlan’, *Journal of Low Countries Studies*, 26 (2002), 169–82.

⁵³The order of the Poor Clares were second order Franciscans, and thus adopted similar spiritual directions.

⁵⁴See the copy of Slaughter’s treatise now held at the Bavarian State Library in Munich (L.as. 338), inscribed ‘Collegii Societatis Jesu Duai’.

⁵⁵The scribal hand of Douai Ms 785 does not match any items attributed to Slaughter in the archives of Stonyhurst College, although it is possible that such items were copied by a novice under the supervision of Slaughter. I am grateful to the archivist of Stonyhurst College for his assistance and insights.

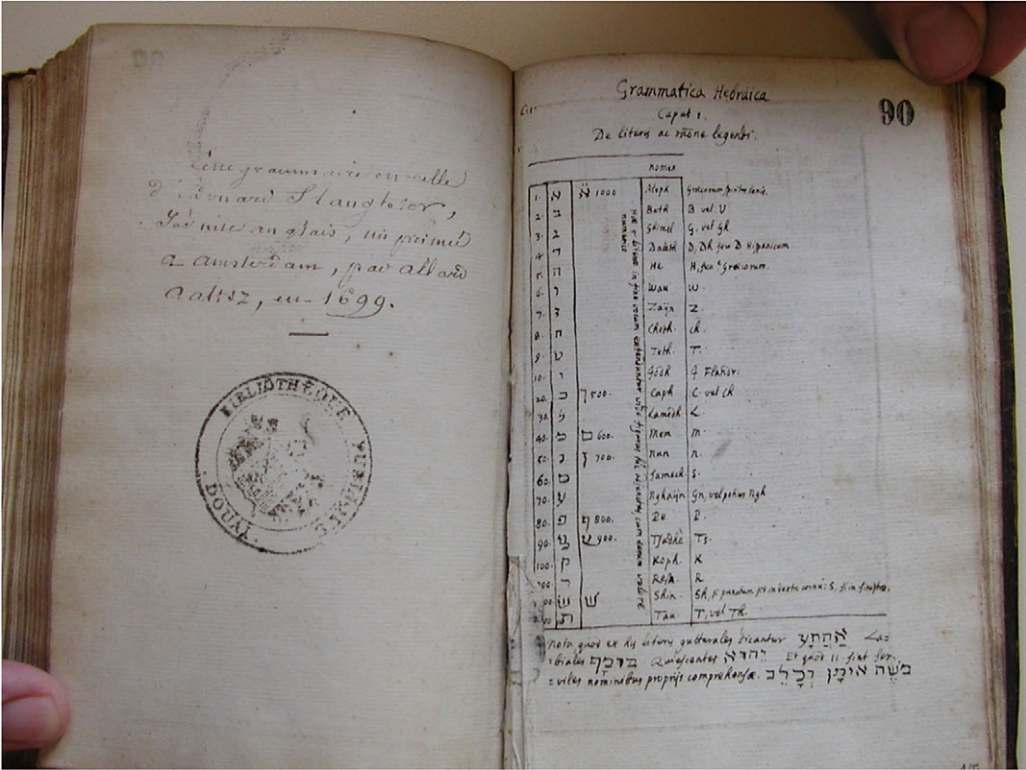


Figure 4. Douai Ms 785, fols. 113^v–114^r (original foliation fols. 89^v–90^r).

namely that Kingsley was active at the English Jesuit college in Liège at the same as Radford (Kingsley from 1679 to 1684, Radford from 1677 to 1684), and that he spent his tertiary year in 1685 in Ghent. They also cite evidence of English Jesuits acting as chaplains, confessors, or spiritual advisors to English convents in France and the Low Countries (although they do not substantiate how these roles might relate to the composition of music for use by English nuns).

Leech and Whitehead are clear that their article was a provisional argument made before a detailed inventory of the manuscript had been completed. Their assessment of Jesuit connections evinced in Douai Ms 785 was undoubtedly correct; however, the dating of materials copied in the back pages of Douai Ms 785 suggests their theory of Thomas Kingsley as scribe was not, as the scribe was clearly working after Kingsley died (at some point between 1695 and 1696 in London). This evidence does not necessarily exclude Thomas Kingsley as composer of Tasburgh’s motet; it is entirely possible he did indeed compose this piece, and that the attribution ‘T:K’ was copied out of the source, or attributed by the scribe of Douai Ms 785. However, it is important to acknowledge the many other pensioners, family members, or nuns with relationships to Cecilia Tasburgh – such as Tasburgh’s fellow nun Teresa (née Esther) Kennion (b. 1635, professed 1658) – could also be referenced by these initials. The scribe also indicates their authorship of music differently elsewhere in the manuscript, using the phrase ‘set by mee’ to describe songs copied on fols. 4^v–6^v (original foliation fols. 6^v–8^v), with no initials copied. The one composer attribution in Douai Ms 785 is also indicated differently. On fol. 20^r (original foliation fol. 22^r), the piece ‘Chi mi Turba il Riposo’ is attributed to ‘Signor Giuseppe Zamponi’, which is copied underneath the basso stave of the final bar. As such, it is possible that the initials ‘T:K’ are inscribed to attribute some other aspect of authorship, such as the text set. In terms of musical evidence for Kingsley’s authorship, the only argument Leech and Whitehead rely on for Kingsley as author is that the fourth Radford song – ‘Unhappy Damon, why so sad?’ – is set with a three-part chorus at the end of the

piece (two trebles and bass), a texture they note is ‘in a similar fashion to the songs attributed to Kingsley in GB-Lbl Add.29397, which both include SSB choruses’. Considering this is a common texture in seventeenth-century music, attribution on this basis seems questionable; equally, the lack of any notated music for ‘Unhappy Damon, why so sad?’ beyond indication of voicing (two treble clefs and a bass clef) makes this comparison particularly difficult to substantiate.

In-depth assessment of the manuscript and inventorying of Douai Ms 785 has yet to reveal the manuscript’s scribe, or the precise circumstances for its usage and/or copying. However, evidence of the scribe’s institutional connections and the musical resources they had access to have been elucidated, as well as contextual evidence for certain items of music. The rest of this article will outline this evidence via analysis of the repertoire (e.g., musical style, instrumentation, texts set), concordances with other sources, and evidence pertaining to the people and institutions referenced in the manuscript (either explicitly or implicitly).

Musical Contents: Quire A1

Quire A1 opens with one voice-part for three secular songs (fols. 1^r–2^r, original foliation fols. 3^r–4^r), two in English and one French *air à boire*, all numbered 1–3 in the margins (Figures 5 and 6).⁵⁶ The first English song, ‘A Building Once There Stood’ (fol. 1^r, original foliation fol. 3^r), bears no rubrication besides the date ‘May 3 1685’. The second, ‘Six Merry Singers’ (fol. 1^v, original foliation fol. 3^v), is marked ‘A. 3. voc’ and ‘cantus’, and bears the date ‘April 10 1685’. The *air à boire* ‘Allons, Marchons’, also featured on fol. 1^v (original foliation fol. 3^v), is marked ‘A. 2. voc’, with no date inscribe. Given that the first two songs are copied consecutively but out of chronological order, it is likely that the dates written do not refer to when the music was copied, but instead were perhaps copied from the source from which the scribe also copied the music or indicates when the piece was composed or performed.

After an unnumbered, abridged compilation of airs and choruses arranged for voice and continuo from Lully’s *Amadis* (1684) on fols. 3^r–4^v (original foliation fols. 5^r–6^v), there are five incomplete songs (also numbered in the margins) setting English texts attributed to ‘Joseph Radford’.⁵⁷ While many of the items in Douai Ms 785 have been copied from other sources, the items labelled ‘Songs made by Joseph Radford, set by mee’ suggest the scribe was actively composing music in this manuscript. As noted by Peter Leech and Maurice Whitehead, this title likely refers to the Jesuit Joseph Radford (1646–?), a teacher of philosophy and theology at the English Jesuit college in Liège from 1679 to 1685.⁵⁸ The first two songs are of a devotional nature, one regarding the death of the hermit St Hilarion, another regarding the pain of the Blessed Virgin Mary at the Crucifixion. The third song features a text warning of the perils of vanity, while the final two concern pastoral themes of singing shepherds in competition, namely Damon, Strephon, and Menalcus.⁵⁹ All five songs are incomplete, with the vocal line and a blank bass stave provided in songs one, two, and five, and only words given for songs three and four.

There are many ways the scribe could have obtained Radford’s unpublished poetic ‘songs’, such as through a visit to the English Jesuit college at Liège where Radford was based, or if Radford brought or sent his poetry to an institution frequented by the scribe of Douai Ms 785. In terms of how the scribe engaged with them, the music setting the songs remains unfinished, with not only missing notes, but missing bass clefs at the start of song one and near the end of songs three and four (Figures 7–9). The music is copied on staves drawn freehand, supporting the notion that the scribe did not intend to produce a careful copy, but rather, was jotting down texts they wished to set, and starting to formulate ideas on

⁵⁶See appendix, pp. 00–00 for a transcription of the texts.

⁵⁷See pp. v–ix for a transcription of texts attributed to Joseph Radford set on fols. 4^v–6^v (original foliation fols. 6^v–8^v).

⁵⁸Leech and Whitehead, “CLAMORES OMNINO”, 130.

⁵⁹See appendix, pp. 00–00 for a transcription of the texts of these songs.



Figure 5. Douai Ms 785, fol. 1^r (original foliation fol. 3^r).

how to do so (although the manuscript lacks the deletions and signs of drafting that might be expected in a composing score).⁶⁰ The texts by Radford do not seem to have circulated in manuscript or print form; judging by lack of concordances where music has been notated, neither did the settings composed by the scribe of Douai Ms 785.

The final piece of music in quire A, ‘Hail Basilinda’ nun (copied on fols. 7^{r-v}, original foliation fols. 9^{r-v}), is one of two compositions in Douai Ms 785 dedicated to an English nun (Figures 10 and 11). Its title – ‘Made for Dame Ignatia Warner’ – likely refers to Dame Ignatia (née Susan) Warner, an English Benedictine at Dunkirk (1662–1711).⁶¹ The piece is inscribed ‘Jan 27 1686 Wattenis’ at the end; given

⁶⁰See examples in Rebecca Herissone, “‘Fowle Originalls’ and “‘Fayre Writing’”: Reconsidering Purcell’s Compositional Process’, *Journal of Musicology*, 23 (2006), 569–619.

⁶¹See entry in *WWiN* database (accessed 15 January 2024).



Figure 6. Douai Ms 785, fols. 1^v–2^r (original foliation fols. 3^v–4^r).

Ignatia Warner's Jesuit father John Warner (1640–1705) was based in Watten in 1686,⁶² this inscription suggests a scribal link with the English Jesuit college there. The place name and the rubrication – 'made' – differentiate this date from those given on the aforementioned English songs copied out of chronological order on fols. 1^r–^v (original foliation fols. 3^r–^v). The date and locale could record when and where the scribe or another anonymous agent 'made' the piece, though the meaning of 'made' – whether it refers to the composition of the text or music, or to the act of copying – remains unclear. Equally, the date could record when and where the piece was performed.

'Hail Basilinda' is a continuo song with similar characteristics to the Radford songs copied in the preceding folios.⁶³ More unusual is the text set, particularly in its context as 'made' for a named English nun:

Hail Basilinda, whose auspicious reign
 The happy golden age restores again:
 Whose powerful voice makes stormes and tempests cease
 Henceforth no creature shall disturb our peace.

⁶²Geoffrey Holt, 'The English Jesuits 1650–1829: A Biographical Dictionary', *Catholic Record Society*, 70 (1984), 159.

⁶³For example, in the Radford songs, descending augmented sixths feature halfway through beat three in 'Methinks I see Hilarion Sweat', while in Hail Basilinda, a descending diminished fourth occurs on the words 'creature' and 'warres'. Both songs feature an ascending minor sixth: in the Radford song 'On an Enamell'd Flowry Bed' at the end of bar four into bar five; in 'Hail Basilinda', at the end of bar 2 into bar 3.



Figure 7. Douai Ms 785, fols. 4^v–5^r (original foliation fols. 6^v–7^r).

No low'ring Discord, nor impetuous rage
 In endless warres your subjects shall engage
 All countries now shall Halcyon daies possesse
 And to your influence ow their happinesse.

While ‘Basilinda’ was not a common term in late seventeenth-century parlance, some early modern English texts define it as an ancient Greek game involving a mock ruler chosen by chance.⁶⁴ Other sources define it as a game for Twelfth Night, or celebrations surrounding the Feast of Epiphany which took place either the evening of 5 January, or throughout the day on 6 January (Epiphany).⁶⁵

The selection of a mock ruler during Epiphanytide appears to have taken place at exiled English convents. In a letter dated 18 December 1706, Abbess Dorothy Blundell of the English Benedictine convent in Brussels wrote to Abbess Elizabeth Dabridgecourt of the English Benedictine convent in Pontoise, the mother house to the Dunkirk Benedictine convent, to ‘satisfy [Abbess Dabridgecourt] and

⁶⁴See, for example, its definition as a part of an ancient Greek game in Balthasar Bonifacio’s *Balthassaris Bonifacii Ludicra historici* (1659), as well as mention in the satirical work *Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus* (c. 1713/1714) by Jonathan Swift, Alexander Pope, and John Arbuthnot (Chapter five ‘A Dissertation on Playthings’, 296).

⁶⁵For example, George Meriton’s *The Young Clerk’s Vocabulary* (1685) defines the term as in reference to ‘The Play called Questions and Commands, or choosing of King and Queen at Twelfth tide’ (165).

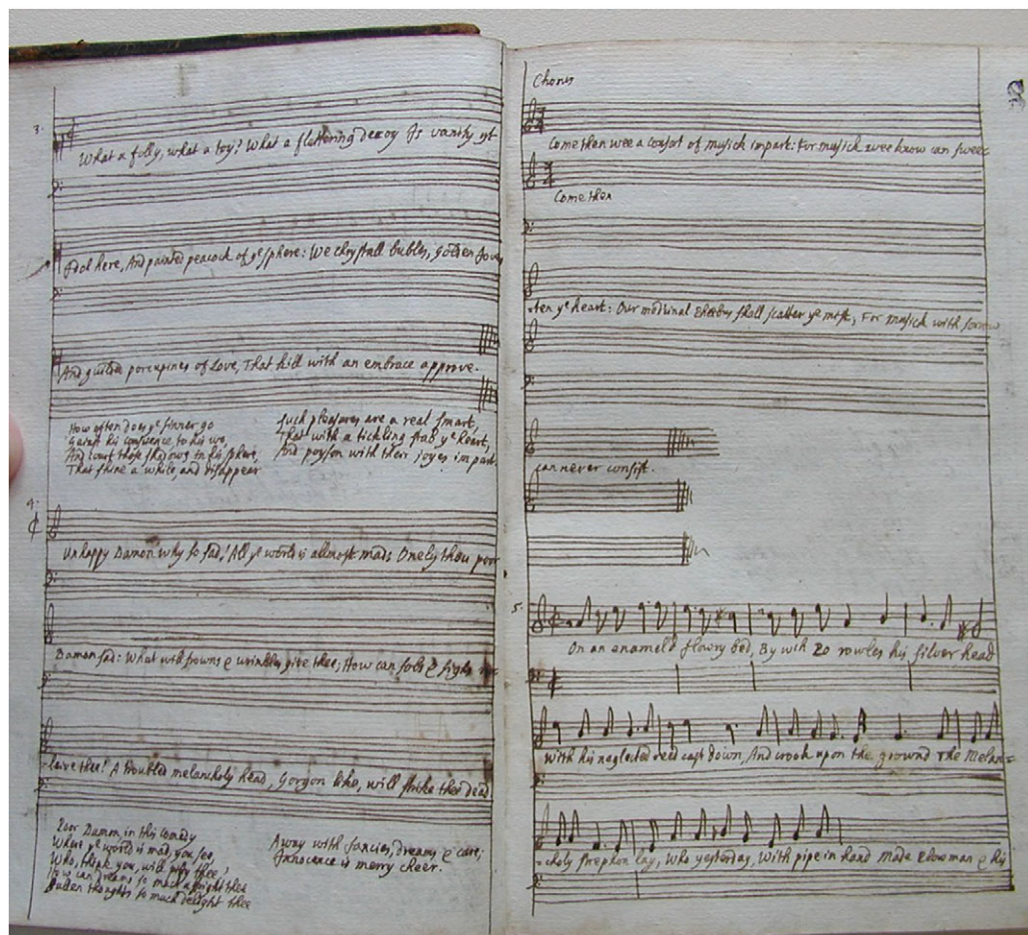


Figure 8. Douai Ms 785, fols. 5^v–6^r (original foliation fols. 7^v–8^r).

Dames what is our customs' regarding the Feast of St Thomas (21 December) and Epiphany.⁶⁶ Blundell notes that a 'queen' was chosen on Epiphany eve via cakes, in which one cake had a bean in it. This queen would 'rayne' for the week of recreation before Septuagesima Sunday, after which Epiphanytide ended, and the pre-Lenten period (or Shrovetide) began. It appears the Pontoise house adopted this game, as Dabridgecourt copied instructions for the ritual into the abridged ceremonial for her community.⁶⁷ In 1686, that week would have been from 10 to 17 February, starting two weeks after the date – 27 January – copied at the end of 'Hail Basilinda'. However, Blundell mentions in her letter that 'your howers being difrent [sic] from ours [you] may have altered your [celebrations]'.⁶⁸ It is therefore possible that the Dunkirk nuns might have held their week of pre-Lenten recreation at a different time from their mother

⁶⁶Douai Abbey BT/IV/1 no. 4 Manuscript 'Seremonys and Customs Throughout the year for all feasts and occations Drawne from our Seremoniall, in a Brife Maner', loose sheet embedded between fols. 95 and 96. Judging from a mention on fol. 44^v, the English Benedictine nuns at Pontoise also undertook this ritual. The Douai Abbey BT (Benedictines, Teignmouth) archive contains primarily material from the English Benedictine convent at Dunkirk (from which the Teignmouth Abbey nuns fled after the French Revolution), and also some items from the English Benedictine convent at Pontoise, who joined the Dunkirk convent after going bankrupt in 1786.

⁶⁷Douai Abbey BT/IV/1 no. 4 Manuscript 'Seremonys and Customs Throughout the year for all feasts and occations Drawne from our Seremoniall, in a Brife Maner', fol. 44^v.

⁶⁸Easter Sunday was on 14 April in 1686, making Septuagesima Sunday 10 February.

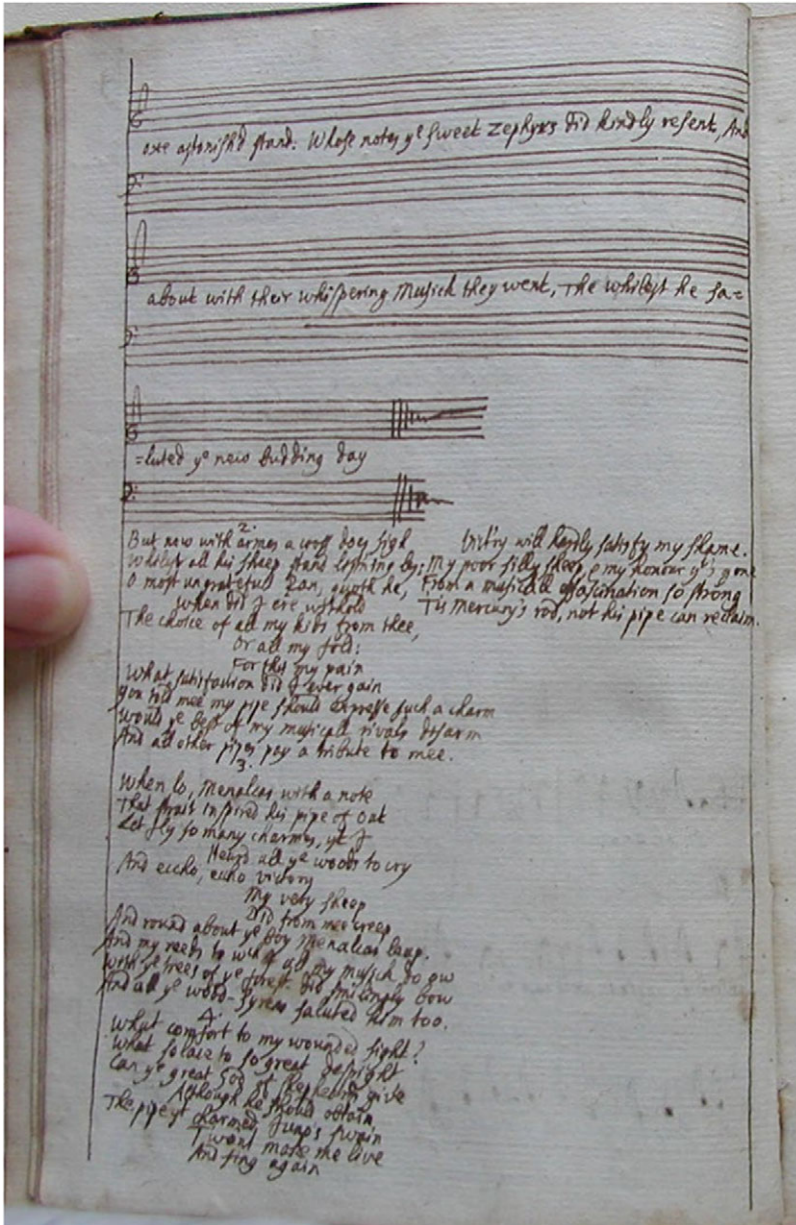


Figure 9. Douai Ms 785, fol. 6^v (original foliation fol. 8^v).

houses in Pontoise, Ghent, and Brussels, and thus the start of such a recreation week still a potential context for ‘Hail Basilinda’.

There are also deeper political connotations within the text. ‘Hail Basilinda’ was ‘made’ for Ignatia Warner in the year of her profession, at some point in 1686. As the item uses her religious name in the dedication, this song could be a part of celebrating Warner’s profession by giving thanks for a new, Catholic sovereign: King James II. Notions of new golden ages, akin to the rebirth of the Phoenix, complement reference to a return to ‘Halcyon daies’, perhaps an indication of the nuns’ belief in an imminent return of England to the ‘true faith’ under James II. ‘Halcyon’ days also has Classical



Figure 10. Douai Ms 785, fol. 7^r (original foliation fol. 9^r).

connotations with the Greek myth of Alcyon, a grieving widow-turned-seabird whose sea-side nests relied on periods of calm amid the storms of winter. Like Alcyon, the Dunkirk convent's location in a port on the north coast of France often meant they were geographically proximate to naval battles, with their home reliant on divine protection.

The contents of quire A1 contain a wide variety of unique English continuo songs for a variety of voices and purposes. Its marginalia and dedications suggest the scribe had a broad range of English monastic connections across Flanders. They collected music and texts from male monastic institutions and at least two pieces of music designed to be used (or in one case, definitely sung by) named English nuns. While further discussion of these connections will feature in the final part of this article, quires A2–A4 discussed next will highlight further connections with other English Catholic communities, including English convents in Ghent and Paris in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.



Figure 11. Douai Ms 785, fol. 7^v (original foliation fol. 9^v).

Musical Contents: Quires A2–A4

'Hail Basilinda' marks the end of quire A1, and the last English-language song in Douai Ms 785. Quires A2–4 feature Italian vocal music primarily from late seventeenth-century Venetian and Roman schools (judging by ascertained composers or musical style).⁶⁹ One of the secular arias, Giacomo Carissimi's 'Vittoria mio Cuore', was extensively copied, with versions appearing in print in England by the 1650s.⁷⁰ However, most of the other seventeen arias are either unique or relatively rare, thus far identified in only one or two other manuscripts. 'Quell' istessa ch'io miro' is the item with the most concordances thus far identified, appearing in four other manuscripts, two of which belonged to English Catholics: Oxford Bodleian Ms. Mus. D.247 (a manuscript partially used by two pupils at the English Augustinian convent school in Paris) and Bibliothèque Nationale de France Rés VmC Ms-77 (the 'Teynham' manuscript).⁷¹ Indeed, most of the music copied in quires A2–4 also features in F-Pn Rés VmC Ms 77 (the 'Teynham' manuscript); of the six items in Douai Ms 785 quires A2–4 that do not concord with the Teynham manuscript, three of these – 'Pensieri d'amore partite da me', 'Son amante e non io come', 'Chi segue amor fallace' – are Italian secular arias similar in style to other items in the Teynham manuscript.⁷² These concordances, and what they reveal about Douai Ms 785, will be discussed later in this article.

There are four items within quires A2–4 that are unusual for their devotional nature. The first of these, 'S'ul Horrida Scena', is a short piece seemingly describing Mary Magdalen at the foot of the cross.⁷³ The other three are all unique to Douai Ms 785; they comprise a devotional cantata, a Latin motet, and a

⁶⁹See appendix, pp. 00–00.

⁷⁰See Table 1; see also versions published in *Select Musickall Ayres and Dialogues*, book one (John Playford, 1652, 1659), or *The Treasury of Musick* (William Godbid, 1669).

⁷¹Lesemann-Elliott, 'The Blount Music Collection', 45–53. Details of the Teynham manuscript's structure and provenance – as well as an inventory – can be found online in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France Catalogue Générale <<http://ark.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb42594256m>>.

⁷²For example, one of the items – 'Son amante e non io come' – has been attributed elsewhere to Antonio Sartorio, a composer whose works appear four times in the Teynham manuscript; see RISM references in Biblioteca della Fondazione Querini Stampalia, Venezia MS Cl.VIII.18 (1440).

⁷³Su'l horrida scena diceva pentita
la bella Romita la gran Maddalena[;]
Con flebil' accenti
Mio perfid' orgaglio[,]
Hor pianger io voglio
Quando gia pecca[v]i[.]

This piece also appears in the Teynham manuscript.

Marian text ('O Mater Salvatori') not set to music.⁷⁴ The first of these, 'Dextro Speco Ramito' (fols. 15^v–17^v, original foliation fols. 17^v–19^v), sets a text that seems primarily in Italian, but with the opening recitative fusing Latin and Spanish words.⁷⁵ As best as can be translated, the text is a crucifixion meditation. The first section of the cantata opens with a recitative sung from a third-person perspective, in which the narrator describes watching a '*publicano*', or publican, at the right-side of the cross being splashed with the blood from Christ's side wound:

At the right hand of the free-flowing channel on the boughs of penance
the contrite publican takes refuge,
deadly clouds raining on the back of the supplicant[.]

The recitative continues in a second section, denoted by double bar, with the narrator describing the publican turning 'both eyes' towards the cross ('Quando rivolto al crucifisso nume e l'un e l'altro lume'), and 'from the arches of his mouth shoots these devout words'.⁷⁶ These 'devout words' comprise the ensuing third recitative, again denoted by a double bar, and by a shift in perspective from omniscient narrator to first-person narration by the publican, who begs Christ to pardon those who seek forgiveness ('Perdon Signore, perdono che degno e di perdon'). This is followed by an aria (labelled as such above the second system on fol. 16^f, original foliation fol. 18^f), the first section of which sees the publican submits himself as a 'stubborn delinquent' who takes hope in Christ's wound that 'though I am without worth, you [Christ] are not without pity[.]'⁷⁷ The second section is in triple-time, with the publican lamenting his inadequacies:

You bleed, I sin more; you love me, I do not kindle; you beg me, I do not surrender; you call to me and I feign deafness.⁷⁸

The third section of the aria is in duple-time, but remains in first-person perspective, opening with calls to 'my lovely spouse, my dearest desire, my God' ('Mio sposo vezzoso, mio caro desio, mio Dio') who has been 'wrongly pierced, hoisted onto the cross' ('ch'a torto confitto hafitto in croce'). This is followed by a fourth section in triple-time, copied using void notation, in which the first-person narrator – presumably the publican – calls for vengeance on those who have harmed Jesus.⁷⁹

The use of the word '*publicano*' in the libretti immediately calls to mind Luke 18:9–14 (the parable of the self-righteous Pharisee and the penitent publican). However, the poetic specifics used to describe the publican's conversion are perhaps more evocative of the apocryphal figure of Longinus, the centurion who upon spearing Christ on the cross was cured of his blindness after his eyes were splashed with Christ's blood and converted. Not only does the opening recitative text of '*Dextro Speco Ramito*' evoke these sensory experiences, the conversion narrative of Longinus the Centurion would perhaps have resonated more strongly with the English Catholic owner, user, and/or scribe of Douai Ms 785 than that

⁷⁴Discussion of 'O Mater Salvatori' has been omitted for purposes of space; see appendix, p. 00 for full transcription of text.

⁷⁵*Dextro speco ramito di penitenza albergo publicano contrite, nembo micidial piovea [pioverà?] Sul tergo di filati supplici [.]* See appendix, pp. 00–00 for full transcription of text. All translations provided by the author unless otherwise specified. The author of this article has yet to identify the word 'Dextro' in early modern Italian sources; the term is likely from the Latin term 'dexter' ('at the right hand'), as opposed to 'destro' in Italian (also meaning 'at the right hand'). The scribe of Douai Ms 785 has very clearly written an 'x', rather than an 's', in this word. The word 'ramito' could be a mis-conjugation of the Italian word 'ramo' ('boughs' or 'branches'); however, 'ramito' does not appear in early modern Italian lexicons (such as the 1612, 1623, and 1691 editions of the *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca*). In context, it seems more similar to the Spanish conjugation 'ramito', also meaning 'boughs', or 'branches'. The grammar of this sentence is also somewhat incongruent with syntax for Italian dialects. I am grateful for the assistance of colleagues Hannah Wight and Carmela Barbaro in translating this text.

⁷⁶Da gl'archi della bocca questi'accenti divoti al aure scocca'.

⁷⁷Che s'io sono senza merto, tu non sei senza pieta[.]'

⁷⁸Tu dai sangué ://: Io piu mi lordo ://:

Tu pur m'ami ://: Io no m'accendo

Tu mi preghi ://:Io non m'arrendo ://:

Tu mi chiami ://: Ed Io fo'il sordo[.]'

⁷⁹Vendetta su su Armata mia destra Dell'anima alpestra ch'ha'offesa Jesu'. For more on the significance of void notation, see Shirley Thompson, 'Once More into the Void: Marc-Antoine Charpentier's "Croches Blanches" Reconsidered', *Early Music*, 30 (2002), 82–92.

of the publican.⁸⁰ The emphasis placed by this text on Christ's wound as a source of mercy, or a refuge, is particularly evocative of references to Longinus and the spearing of Christ in late seventeenth-century English translations of St Augustine's *Meditations*, commonly used across exiled English monastic houses.⁸¹

The cantata's text also emphasizes an erotic, loving relationship between the publican and Christ, including specifically identifying Christ as 'spouse' ('Mio sposo vezzoso'). Poetic Figurery of Christ as bridegroom was used in a wide variety of contexts on the continent and in England, including crucifixion meditations written by early modern English Catholics from a male perspective.⁸² However, this text does evoke Figurery strikingly similar to the Song of Songs, a Biblical text that underpinned not only the liturgies of investiture and profession for post-Tridentine nuns, but also their spiritual identities.⁸³ Particularly notable is how the publican's lament affectively evokes a penitent lover's refusal to follow or heed Christ's beckoning to love. Extracts from the Song of Songs used in investiture and profession ceremonies, as well as English translations of meditations by St Augustine used across exiled English convents, often describe how devotees should be ready to hear the call of their beloved, and not – in the words of the publican – 'feign deafness'.⁸⁴ The penitent publican's failure to 'kindle' in response to the fires of (Christ's) love is redolent of poetry and meditations used by English nuns, as well as convent epistolary evidence, which often emphasized the difficulty of balancing a desire for complete surrender to the Divine Love of Christ with the temptations of earthly life and their bodily needs or urges.⁸⁵

⁸⁰For an example of seventeenth-century English Catholic invocation of Longinus as convert, see relation of the story of 'blind Longinus piercing Christ's side, & recovering his sight, & being converted' in John Patrick's *Choice Devotions of the Roman Church, with Some Reflexions upon Them* (Richard Royston, 1674). For earlier examples, see an engraving in Robert Persons's *De persecutione Anglicana libellus* (1582) in which Longinus is invoked as an angst-ridden spectator to the right of the gallows at the hanging of English Catholic martyr Edmund Campion in 1581. Marianne Dirksen, 'Martyrological Themes and the Revival of Catholic Identity in Robert Persons' *De Persecutione Anglicana*', *Southern African Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 29 (2019), 98–114 (p. 102). See also a crucifixion sculpture at Rushton Hall, home of the recusant Tresham family, constructed c. 1577, in which depictions of the Centurion (St Longinus) and Mary Magdelene feature in greater prominence relative to other figures. Richard Williams, 'A Catholic Sculpture in Elizabethan England: Sir Thomas Tresham's Reredos at Rushton Hall', *Architectural History*, 44 (2001), 221–27. For wider discussion of conversion narratives in English Catholic culture, see Eamon Duffy, *Reformation Divided: Catholics, Protestants, and the Conversion* (Bloomsbury, 2017). For conversion narratives in English convents, see Claire Walker, 'Prayer, Patronage, and Political Conspiracy: English Nuns and the Restoration', *The Historical Journal*, 43 (2000), 1–23; Claire Walker, 'The Embodiment of Exile: Relics and Suffering in Early Modern English Cloisters' in *Feeling Exclusion: Religious Conflict, Exile and Emotions in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Giovanni Tarantino and Charles Zika (Routledge, 2019), 81–100; Laurence Lux-Sterritt, *English Benedictine Nuns in Exile in the Seventeenth Century: Living Spirituality* (Manchester University Press, 2017), 101–35.

⁸¹See, for example, *The Meditations, Soliloquia and Manuall of the Glorious Doctour S. Augustine Translated into English* (Mrs. Blageart, 1655), 'The Remembrance of the woundes of Christ our Lord', 401: 'Those nayles, & that lance, doe cry out to tell me, that in deed I am reconcyled to Christ, if I resolute to loue him. Longinus opened the side of Christ with his lance, there doe I enter in, and there I do safely rest.' This edition was used at multiple exiled English monastic houses, including the English Benedictine convent at Ghent (Douai Abbey Berkshire, Oulton 3/3); different publications with similar phrasings (one printed at St Omers in 1624, one printed by Matthew Turner, 1686) were used at the English Benedictine convents at Dunkirk and Pontoise (Douai Abbey Berkshire, BT/IV no. 8, BT/V/IV).

⁸²Richard Rambuss, 'Pleasure and Devotion: The Body of Jesus and Seventeenth-Century Religious Lyric', in *Queering the Renaissance*, ed. Jonathan Goldberg (Oxford University Press 1994) 253–79.

⁸³Lesemann-Elliott, 'Music, Power, and Place', 94–100.

⁸⁴See *A Heavenly Treasure of Comfortable Meditations and Prayers* (Boscard, 1624), 87–88, 390, now held in the Dunkirk Benedictines' collection, also listed in their library catalogue, Douai Abbey BT/VI/I no. 4b. See also *Meditations, Soliloquia, and Manual*, trans. John Floyd (Mrs Blagaert, 1655), 79–80, 160, 322, or *The Life of S. Augustine*, trans. John Crook (J. C., 1660), 66. Both of these appear in the Oulton Abbey collection of books (Douai Abbey), which comprises the English Benedictine convent at Ghent's archives.

⁸⁵Clare Walker, 'Exiled Children: Care in English Convents in the 17th and 18th Centuries', *Children Australia*, 41 (2016), 168–77; Lux-Sterritt, *English Benedictine Nuns in Exile in the Seventeenth Century*, 35–37, 136–84; Stevenson, 'The Tixall Circle and the Musical Life of St Monica's, Louvain', 597–98; Caroline Bowden, 'Lived Religion in English Convents in Exile, 1600–1800: Accommodating the Ordinary and the Exceptional within the Rule', *E-rea [En-ligne]*, 18.1 (2020); Jaime Goodrich, *Writing Habits: Historicism, Philosophy, and English Benedictine Convents, 1600–1800* (Oxford University Press, 2021), 62–80.



Figure 12. Douai Ms 785, fol. 20^r ('Inter Tumultuantis', original foliation fol. 22^r).

The preceding themes do not necessarily cement 'Dextro Speco Ramito' as a piece definitively placeable in a convent context. However, the potential association of 'Dextro Speco Ramito' with convent spirituality is further supported by its place in the same quire as the other piece in Douai Ms 785 referring to a named English nun, 'Inter Tumultuantis Saeculi' (copied five folios after 'Dextro Speco Ramito' on fols. 20^r–21^r, original foliation fols. 22^r–23^r, Figures 12 and 13).⁸⁶ This piece is entitled 'A Mottet composed for Dame Caecilia Tasbrough at Gant Sept: 4 1685' and signed 'Laus Deo T:K'. Likely dedicated to Dame Caecilia (née Catherine) Tasburgh (1649–?), an English Benedictine nun at Ghent, this unique motet is scored for high voice in C1 clef, a treble instrument, and basso continuo. It is similar to late seventeenth-century Roman vocal music, with a slow, recitative-like duple-time opening featuring solo voice and continuo, followed by a fast triple-time section. A part for a treble instrument (notated on fol. 21^r, original foliation fol. 23^r) was probably intended to accompany the voice in the triple-time section.⁸⁷ The vocal line features a reasonably large range (a tenth, e'–g') with some chromaticism and regular jumps of sixths and octaves, yet remains relatively melodic, setting a neo-Latin Marian text.

⁸⁶See appendix, p. 00 for a transcription of the text.

⁸⁷See, for example, the 'slow 4, fast 3' structure in Luigi Rossi's 'O amantissime Jesu', Alessandro Stradella's 'Crocifissione e morte', or Vincenzo Albrici's 'Laboravi clamans rauca'.



Figure 13. Douai Ms 785, fols. 20^v–21^r (original foliation fols. 22^v–23^r).

Ester Lebedinski's work on Roman vocal music in Restoration England has suggested that by the end of the seventeenth century, this repertory had lost its specifically Catholic confessional implications and instead was valued by Anglicans as a sign of personal connoisseurship.⁸⁸ Tasburgh's motet, however, suggests that late seventeenth-century Roman vocal styles could be still closely valued within Catholic devotional practices. Claire Walker has emphasized the importance to English nuns of narratives that characterized the experience of exile and rigours of monastic life as an equivalent to the suffering experienced by martyrs at home in England.⁸⁹ The text of Tasburgh's motet alludes to the experience of exile, such as in the opening, recitative-like duple-time section:

After the tempestuous age of gales and storms,
 the miserably troubled soul turns to the unknown,
 while the strong, bright star of the sea watches on from far away,
 with sighs and tears for the broken voices.⁹⁰

The maritime connotations arguably recall the journey of English nuns across the Channel to the Low Countries to begin life anew in the convent. The vocal line for this passage evokes the 'broken voices' of

⁸⁸Ester Lebedinski, 'Roman Vocal Music in England, 1660–1710: Court, Connoisseurs, and the Culture of Collecting' (PhD dissertation, Royal Holloway, 2014), 144–96.

⁸⁹Walker, 'The Embodiment of Exile', ed. Tarantino and Zika, 86–89.

⁹⁰'Inter tumultuantis saeculi procellas et tempestates, miserà jactata anima Quo verteret se nescia, dum forte lucidam maris stellam à longè conspiceret cum suspiriis et lachrymis in Res voces prorupit.'

those exiled across the water of the Channel through falling disjointed passages high in the vocal tessitura on the words ‘res voces’ (see the final three bars in Figure 12). The place of a neo-Latin Marian devotional motet in a travelling commonplace book seemingly used until at least 1699 suggests perhaps there was more room for Jesuit-influenced Roman vocal music among English singers than previously imagined.

The question remains as to how these pieces – ‘Dextro Speco Ramito’ and ‘Inter Tumultuantis Saeculi’ – relate to the other pieces in quires A2–4. Items on fols. 9^r–17^v (original foliation fols. 11^f–19^v) are numbered 1–8, with a ‘9’ rubbed out in the margins of fol. 16^f (original foliation fol. 18^f) in the middle of the piece ‘Dextro Speco Ramito’. The rubbed-out ‘9’ suggests that the scribe of Douai Ms 785 had initially planned to copy something else in this section, perhaps another piece of secular Venetian or Roman vocal music, but had to change their plan. The manuscript’s organization further supports the theory that ‘Dextro Speco Ramito’ was not originally intended to be copied in this place. The scribe began copying the piece preceding ‘Dextro Speco Ramito’, the popular song ‘Vittoria Mio Cuore’, on fol. 15^f (original foliation fol. 17^f, see Figure 14). Having copied the first verse, the scribe began copying the second verse near the bottom of fol. 15^f, but rather than continuing to copy this verse on the verso side of the folio (fol. 15^v, original foliation 17^v), commenced copying ‘Dextro Speco Ramito’. The scribe recommenced the



Figure 14. Douai Ms 785, fol. 15^f (original foliation fol. 17^f).



Figure 15. Douai Ms 785, fols. 15^v–16^r (original foliation fols. 17^v–18^r).

second verse of ‘Vittoria, Mio Cuore’ on fol. 18^r (original foliation fol. 20^r, Figure 17), having completed a full copy of ‘Dextro Speco Ramito’.

The scribe also pauses copying a piece of Italian vocal music on fols. 26^f–28^f (original foliation fols. 27^f–29^f). On fol. 26^f, the scribe began copying ‘Chi segue amor fallace’ (a song with no concordances yet identified) but stopped mid-line at the end of fol. 26^v; on fol. 27^f, they copied a series of Marian verses, ‘O Mater Salvatori’. The scribe resumed their copy of ‘Chi segue’ on fol. 28^f. The symbol *:::* copied between text in ‘O Mater Salvatori’ (Figure 18) is an abbreviatory symbol commonly used in notated music sources – both print and manuscript – to indicate that underlay should be repeated. This suggests that this text was intended to be sung, although to what music or tune remains unclear.

Why these items were copied in places the scribe seemingly did not originally intend to copy them remains unclear. However, these interruptions in copying in quires A2–4 only occur between pieces of secular vocal music and pieces of devotional music or text. It is possible the scribe organized quires A2–4 with the intention of copying Roman or Venetian vocal music, but occasionally paused to copy devotional items that were similar in style to the secular repertoire copied, particularly where they thought they might run out of room to completely copy a piece or a verse (as appears to be the case with the copy of the second verse of ‘Vittoria, Mio Cuore’, Figure 17).

How the scribe of Douai Ms 785 copied quires A2–4 (e.g., what resources they used, where they were located, when they were accessed) can in part be interrogated by investigating the repertoire’s place within the wider exiled English Catholic community. As noted earlier in this section, the Roman and Venetian vocal music copied in quires A2–4 are exceptionally rare, with many items featuring in only one other source



Figure 16. Douai Ms 785, fols. 16^v–17^r (original foliation fols. 18^v–19^r).

of notated music, also owned by an exiled English Catholic: F-Pn Rés VmC MS 77 (the ‘Teynham manuscript’). In order to shed more light on the music in quires A2–4, it is necessary to outline these concordances, and compare the circumstances of copying, usage, and ownership of these two manuscripts.

Douai Ms 785 and the Teynham Manuscript

A total of 15 of the 18 pieces of secular Italian vocal music in quires A2–4 of Douai Ms 785 concord with the Teynham manuscript; nine of these have thus far been identified only in these two manuscripts (Table 1). The three items that do not concord – ‘Pensieri d’amore partite da me’, ‘Son amante e non io come’, ‘Chi segue amor fallace’ – are highly similar in style to other items in the Teynham manuscript.⁹¹

Given the relative rarity of these pieces, and that the concordances are entirely confined to quires A2–4, it seems the scribe of Douai Ms 785 either utilized connections with the scribe, compiler, owners, and/or users of the Teynham manuscript when copying quires A2–4, or had access to the same collection of music. Assessing provenance and/or usage of the Teynham manuscript and its contents might therefore offer insight into its relation to Douai Ms 785.

⁹¹For example, one of the items – ‘Son amante e non io come’ – has been attributed elsewhere to Antonio Sartorio, a composer whose works appear four times in the Teynham manuscript; see RISM references in Biblioteca della Fondazione Querini Stampalia, Venezia MS Cl.VIII.18 (1440).



Figure 17. Douai Ms 785, fols. 17^v–18^r (original foliation fols. 19^v–20^r).

The Teynham manuscript was at some point owned by the recusant Barons Teynham, the Ropers of Linsted Lodge in Kent. The Roper family crest features on the front board, and bears the inscription ‘The Right Hon[ourable] Henry Roper Baron of Teynham 1703’ (Figure 19), while a signature ‘Teynham’ is also found on the table of contents (Figure 20). At least the former iteration – if not both – refers to Henry Roper, 8th baronet (c. 1676–1723), son of Christopher Roper, 5th Baron Teynham.⁹² Codicological evidence suggests that the Teynham manuscript was compiled by a single English hand onto paper most likely from England or the Low Countries.⁹³

Who compiled the Teynham manuscript, and who used it, can in part be ascertained by examining the whereabouts of Henry Roper, 8th Baron Teynham and his family members. Most of the family’s connections with Catholic institutions were with exiled English convents.⁹⁴ The family fled to the

⁹²See reference to Henry Roper 8th Baronet in *WWtN* family tree for the Ropers of Linsted Lodge.

⁹³See description of the Teynham manuscript in the BnF catalogue.

⁹⁴Three of Henry’s relations – Mary (1640–90), Catherine (1644–1709), and Placida (née Elizabeth, d. 1700) Roper, daughters of Edmund Roper (n.d.) – became nuns at the English Benedictine convent at Pontoise (see entries in *WWtN* database, accessed 15 January 2024). Henry’s great-aunt Mary Frances Roper (1623–after 1650) was a nun at the English Benedictine convent at Ghent, while his great-grandmother had her heart buried at the English Franciscan convent in Brussels in 1647; see *The English Franciscan Nuns, 1619–1821*, ed. Trappes-Lomax, 258. Henry’s son Philip (1707–27) had his heart buried with great pomp and circumstance at the English Augustinian convent in Paris in June 1727 (Westminster Diocesan Archives, AC, no shelfmark, ‘Diurnal of the English Canonesses Regulars of St Augustin’s Order established in Paris upon ye fossé of Saint Victor [1695–1738]’, referred to in this text as the Diurnal, fol. 171^v).

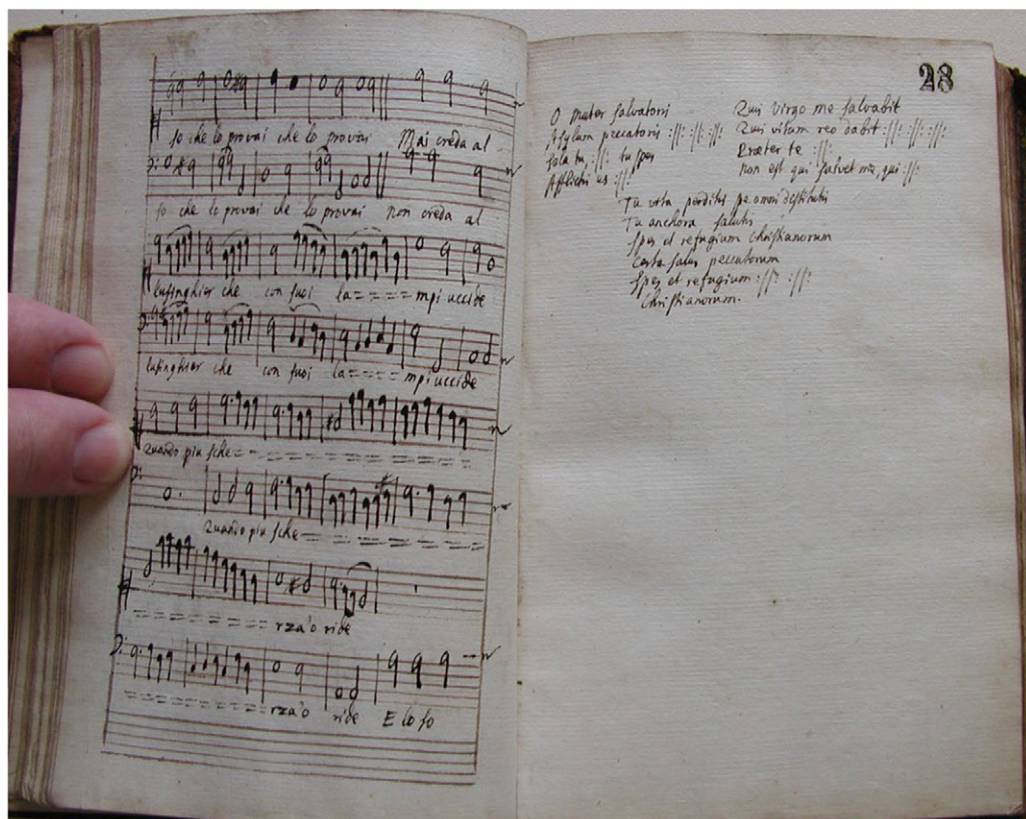


Figure 18. Douai Ms 785, fols. 26^v–27^r (original foliation fols. 27^v–28^r).

continent during Monmouth's Rebellion in 1685, and remained in exile in the Low Countries until 1716, when Henry Roper 8th Baronet conformed and took his seat in the House of Lords.⁹⁵ Henry and his eight siblings were orphaned in 1689, as their father died in Brussels in 1688, followed by their mother in October/November of 1689.⁹⁶ Henry's sisters – from eldest to youngest, Elizabeth, Mary, Philadelphia, Winefride, Anne, Frances, and Katherine – were placed at the English Augustinian convent in Paris, where they remained primarily resident from around 1690/92 until 1707.⁹⁷ During this time, Mary and Philadelphia professed as choir nuns at the convent in 1695 and 1700, respectively.⁹⁸

When Henry inherited the baronetcy in 1699 after both his elder brothers died,⁹⁹ he appears to have joined his sisters at the English Augustinian convent in Paris for some time. The convent's Diurnal notes on 28 October 1699: 'My Lord Teynham came to Paris, & Dyated [boarded]¹⁰⁰ for some time at ye Monastery w[i]th Mr Dod a Priest his L[ordships?] Governor[.]'¹⁰¹ He then re-located 'to his new

⁹⁵J. Burke, *A General and Heraldic Dictionary of the Peerage and Baronetage of the United Kingdom, for M.D.CCC.XXVI* (Colburn, 1826), 319.

⁹⁶New evidence from the Browne miscellany indicates that Lady Teynham (Elizabeth Roper, née Browne) died in November 1689, the same year her husband died (Westminster Diocesan Archives, A38 Browne Miscellany, nos. 15 and 16).

⁹⁷Lesemann-Elliott, 'Music, Power, and Place', 220–28. See also Browne *Miscellany*, nos. 23, 34, 161; Diurnal, fols. 6^r, 7^v, 14^r, 15^r, 17^v, 20^r–21^v, 38^r, 44^v, 45^v–46^r, 49^r, 56^r, 63^r, 65^r.

⁹⁸See entries for Mary Roper and Philadelphia Roper in *WWiN* database (accessed 15 January 2024).

⁹⁹Burke's *Peerage* (1826), 319.

¹⁰⁰See Oxford English Dictionary etymology of 'diated', nos. 4 and 5b.

¹⁰¹Diurnal, fol. 24^r.

Table 1. A summary of concordances between Douai Ms 785 and the Teynham manuscript

Concordances between Douai Ms 785 and the Teynham manuscript	Other concordances
Quell' istessa ch'io miro Douai Ms 785: fol. 9 ^r (original foliation fol. 11 ^r) Teynham Ms: 14 ^v (p. 27)	Oxford Bodleian Ms. Mus. D.247 Bibliothèque Nationale de France Vm7–4 Yale University Misc. Ms 170, Filmer 27 Mecklenburgische Landesbibliothek (Schwerin) Mus.4718b
'Dormite pensieri' Douai Ms 785: fol. 9 ^v (original foliation fol. 11 ^v) Teynham Ms: fol. 131 ^v (p. 261)	Harvard University Ms. Mus. 106 Oxford Bodleian Ms. Mus. D.255
'No, non si spera e morta' Douai Ms 785: fol. 10 ^r (original foliation fol. 12 ^r) Teynham Ms: fol. 104 ^v (p. 207)	Biblioteca Casanatense (Rome) Mss. 2226.22 Harvard University Ms. Mus. 106
'Non e tempo di viver' Douai Ms 785: fol. 10 ^v (original foliation fol. 12 ^v) Teynham Ms: fol. 114 ^v (p. 228)	None
'Speranze che dite' Douai Ms 785: fol. 12 ^r (original foliation fol. 14 ^r) Teynham Ms: fol. 82 ^v (p. 163)	None
'Siano per tutte finite' Douai Ms 785: fol. 13 ^r (original foliation fol. 15 ^r) Teynham Ms: fol. 1 ^v (p. 1)	Biblioteca Casanatense (Rome) Baini Ms 2226
'Non dorme cuor mio' Douai Ms 785: fol. 14 ^r (original foliation fol. 16 ^r) Teynham Ms: fol. 34 ^v (p. 67)	British Library, Harley 1863 ^a
'Vittoria mio cuore' Douai Ms 785: fol. 15 ^r , 18 ^r (original foliation fol. 17 ^r , 20 ^r) Teynham Ms: fol. 16 ^v (p. 31)	Playford's <i>Select Musickall Ayres</i> (1653) book 1 Bibliothèque Nationale de France Rés VM7–59–101 Conservatoire royal de Bruxelles Ms 586 Kungliga biblioteket, Stockholm S 231 British Library Add. Ms. 11608 Christ Church (Oxford) Ms. Mus. 17, 350 Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel Cod. Guelf.11 Noviss. 2o (Nr. 8)
'Chi mi turba il riposo' Douai Ms 785: fol. 19 ^r (original foliation fol. 21 ^r) Teynham Ms: fol. 19 ^v (p. 37)	None
'Su'l horrida scena' Douai Ms 785: fol. 23 ^r (original foliation fol. 24 ^r) Teynham Ms: fol. 24 ^r (p. 46)	None
'Non ti diss'io, O filli amata' Douai Ms 785: fol. 25 ^r (original foliation fol. 26 ^r) Teynham Ms: fol. 32 ^v (p. 63)	None
'Dove n'andro che non mi segua amor' Douai Ms 785: fol. 25 ^v (original foliation fol. 26 ^v) Teynham Ms: fol. 9 ^r (p. 16)	None
'O mia filli gradita' Douai Ms 785: fol. 28 ^v (original foliation fol. 29 ^v) Teynham Ms: fol. 107 ^v (p. 213)	Bibliothèque Nationale de France attributes first publication to Valvasensi Lazzaro, <i>Terzo giardino d'amorosi fiori a 1 e 2 voci</i> (1630). Version for theorbo found in Lambeth Palace Library Ms 1041 ('Lady Anne Blount's music book')
'Una cetra l'accoglie' Douai Ms 785: fol. 29 ^v (original foliation fol. 30 ^v) Teynham Ms: fol. 109 ^v (p. 217)	None

^aI am very grateful to Margaret Murata for sharing her notes and theories regarding the Teynham manuscript with me.



Figure 19. 'Teynham' manuscript, front paste-down. Source: Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

Lodgings' on 9 December 1699.¹⁰² Given the *Diurnal* generally notes when an individual is returning to England, or even leaving Paris for elsewhere in France, this entry suggests that Lord Teynham was still nearby in the city. The next mention of Henry Roper's location is 31 May 1700, amid concerns over his sisters' dowries in the wake of enactment of the Popery Act of 1698. The *Diurnal* records that Henry's uncle, and executor of Henry and his sisters' estate, Henry Browne – 5th Viscount Montagu and secretary to the exiled James II – had 'pretended to defray' £100 from each of his sisters Mary and Philadelphia's portions on their investiture as novices at the English Augustinian convent in Paris in 1698 and 1700, respectively. Browne claimed this discount was allocated because Mary and Philadelphia had 'learned to play upon ye organs'.¹⁰³ In order to pay this difference, the *Diurnal* noted that 'My Ld Teynham should come tod[a]y, ye security for ye sayd Annuity of thirty pds to be payd out of my sayd Ld Teynham's estate would prove no force, & therefore we desired yt either security might be given in France'.¹⁰⁴ The *Diurnal* indicates that two months later on 14 July, Lord Teynham visited the convent, and 'being under age of giving any legal security for remaining of ye sayd apprehension, gave his word of honor before witnesses' that if his sisters' annuity was seized upon due to acts of Parliament, he would 'indemnify ye Monastery upon [his] account'.¹⁰⁵ Lord Teynham is next mentioned in the *Diurnal* as bringing some game he hunted to the convent for a dinner on 3 February 1701.¹⁰⁶ No further mention is made of formal visits.

¹⁰²*Diurnal*, fol. 25^r.

¹⁰³*Diurnal*, fol. 31^v.

¹⁰⁴*Diurnal*, fol. 31^v.

¹⁰⁵*Diurnal*, fol. 32^r.

¹⁰⁶*Diurnal*, fol. 36^v.



Figure 20. 'Teynham' manuscript, fol. 1r. Source: Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

In summary, the Teynham manuscript was copied by an English scribe mainly for use by English Catholics, probably in the 1690s or 1700s. Shortly before acquiring the Teynham manuscript in 1703, Henry Roper 8th Baronet and his sisters were mainly based in Paris, and at least in part at the English Augustinian convent there. The current residence of the Teynham manuscript in Paris at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, with no evidence that the manuscript ever left France for England or elsewhere, suggests it remained in Paris from around 1703.

Where the music was copied remains a matter for conjecture. The scribe had access to rare music circulated via English Catholic networks, and judging by concordances with Douai Ms 785, specifically networks proximate to exiled English monastic institutions (including English convents). One possible location could be an exiled English Catholic institution such as the Jacobite court at St-Germain-en-Laye. This institution was where musicians such as David Nairne and Innocenzo Fede were based, both of whom collected Italian music, and both of whom engaged with English convents in exile.¹⁰⁷ The institutional connections held by the Roper family also situate the Teynham manuscript as proximate to the English Augustinian convent in Paris. While all English convents in France, particularly those in Paris, engaged closely with the Jacobite court at Saint-Germain-en-Laye, this convent had particularly close bonds with the royal family.¹⁰⁸ The English Augustinians in Paris also had close connections with David Nairne via his daughters Françoise and Marie, who spent much of

¹⁰⁷ Lesemann-Elliott, 'Music, Power, and Place', 147, 233–45

¹⁰⁸ Claire Walker, 'When God Shall Restore Them to their Kingdoms': Nuns, Exiled Stuarts and English Catholic Identity, 1688–1745', in *Religion and Women in Britain, c. 1660–1760*, ed. Sarah Atrapei and Hannah Smith (Routledge, 2014), 79–97 (pp. 84–87).

their life at the convent (Marie even becoming a novice for a time).¹⁰⁹ The Roper sisters themselves also routinely moved between the convent and the Jacobite court. For instance, in 1703 (the year inscribed on the Teynham manuscript), Anne Roper went to St Germain-en-Laye on 4 July, returning to the convent two weeks later.¹¹⁰ On 31 January 1704, the convent's Diurnal notes Katherine went to 'the Ursulines of St-Germain-en-Laye [...] to Learne of Monsr Feydy to play ye Grounds of Musicke upon the harpsicalls'.¹¹¹ This anecdote links her, and arguably by proxy the convent she lived and studied at, with a flourishing Italianate music culture, which she accessed around the year inscribed on the Teynham manuscript.

The preceding contextual evidence regarding the Teynham family places the Teynham manuscript within the cultural milieu of exiled English Catholic communities in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Paris, with particular proximity to the English Augustinian convent there and the Jacobite court at Saint-Germain-en-Laye. The analysis of concordances suggests the scribe and/or compiler of the Teynham manuscript and the scribe of Douai Ms 785 were operating in the same cultural milieu, using similar (or perhaps even the same) institutional networks. Although Douai Ms 785 bears links to English monastic institutions in Flanders and Walloon (both male and female), these institutions were closely interlinked with their Parisian counterparts and frequently exchanged material and personnel, particularly after the establishment of the Jacobite court at Saint-Germain-en-Laye.¹¹² The shared repertoire between these manuscripts arguably speaks to the role of English Catholic communities, and particularly exiled English convents, in the circulation of vocal music across France and the Low Countries in the late seventeenth century.

Ascribing (and De-scribing) Douai Ms 785

Given it lacks any liturgical vocal music (e.g., plainchant or *plainchant-musicale*), it is unlikely that Douai Ms 785 is directly related to this article's opening anecdote, in which the English Benedictine monk Dominic Green surreptitiously collected rare, secret music from the French convent of Val-de-Grace on paper 'prepared for this purpose'.¹¹³ However, like Dominic Green, the scribe of Douai Ms 785 was most likely an English Catholic immersed in English monastic culture in the 1680s and 1690s, copying roughly on hand-ruled staves music and text that was not widely in circulation, including from convents that did not promote their music in notated form (either in publication or manuscript). As such, Douai Ms 785 represents the kind of musical cross-fertilization captured in Weldon's account of Dominic Green's endeavours, in which exiled English convents played a crucial role. While its contents and organization arguably reflect the wider miscellaneous nature of exiled English Catholic music cultures, this article has shown that Douai Ms 785 does contain the kinds of knowledge – both musical and general – that both exiled English nuns and English Jesuits would have found useful. In order to balance the previous assumption of Jesuit ownership and/or usage, this article has provided examples of exiled English nuns and lay women boarders who had access to the same cultural milieu as the scribe of Douai Ms 785, and convent contexts in the manuscript's contents may have been useful.

Despite careful comparison of handwritings with sources across British Catholic collections – both within Britain and across Europe – a precise scribal match for Douai Ms 785 (either for music or text) has yet to be identified. However, the evidence outlined in this article can be used to establish the scribe's dates, locale, demographic, and interests. The scribe was likely an English Catholic working roughly from

¹⁰⁹ Lesemann-Elliott, 'Music, Power, and Place', 147, 233–45

¹¹⁰ Diurnal, fol. 45^r.

¹¹¹ Diurnal, fol. 49^r.

¹¹² Kelly, *English Convents in Catholic Europe*.

¹¹³ *Plainchant-musicale* refers to reformed, newly composed chant developed throughout the early to mid-seventeenth century in France, combining ecclesiastical and modern styles. Generally syllabic, plain-chant musical was often mensurated such that rhythm or metre could be applied, and thus the chant is easier to harmonize or implement into polyphony in the French Baroque tradition.

1685 until at least 1699. They had access to unpublished texts by Joseph Radford, an English Jesuit based at least partly in Liège, music from the English Benedictine convent in Ghent, and either accessed or themselves ‘made’ a song for an English Benedictine nun in Dunkirk. They also had access to the same collation of rare Italian vocal music sources as the scribe of the Teynham manuscript (or perhaps even copied from the Teynham manuscript itself), suggesting connections with exiled English Catholics based in Paris, either near or at the English Augustinian convent. The scribe was likely well versed in Latin, familiar with French and Italian, and learning Hebrew. They had access to treatises on a range of topics including medicinal remedies, ecclesiastical history, classical history, ecclesiastical structure, and heraldry. The codicological evidence suggests the manuscript was compiled in order to collect music, texts, and information over time, with some adjustments needed during this process. While it is possible the scribe was based in one place and copied music and texts either brought to them or acquired over time, it seems more likely that the scribe used Douai Ms 785 to copy material encountered in a different location or locations. For what precise purpose Douai Ms 785 was copied (i.e., for personal use, for their own institution’s use, or for use by another person or institution) remains unclear.

Although Leech and Whitehead’s theory of Thomas Kingsley as scribe of Douai Ms 785 is likely incorrect, a Jesuit candidate as the scribe is certainly a strong possibility. As previously noted, the manuscript’s former owner, James Peter Coghlan, also purchased one of the Jesuit libraries in the Low Countries when they were suppressed in the 1770s (most likely from one of the colleges, i.e., St Omers, Watten, or Bruges).¹¹⁴ It is possible that this book came with the purchase, and that Coghlan was with the English Franciscan Recollects in Douai when he purchased said Jesuit library. Equally, there were plenty of English Catholic men – relatives, friends, or clergy – going between English convents with materials like Douai Ms 785 or the Teynham manuscript, such as Father Dominic Green, the English Benedictine monk who procured music for the English Benedictine convent in Dunkirk (mentioned in the opening vignette to this article).¹¹⁵ Another candidate for scribe might be the father of the Dunkirk Benedictine Ignatia Warner (dedicatee of ‘Hail Basilinda’), the aforementioned John Warner, who routinely travelled between Paris, Watten, Douai, and Liège, and was a major supporter of the English Benedictine convents at Pontoise and Dunkirk.¹¹⁶

However, the connections with male monastic orders evident in Douai Ms 785 do not necessarily mean that it was compiled by and/or for male monastic usage, and they should not detract from the book’s connections with an English convent context. English Jesuits were known to purchase music from exiled English convents, and as previously established, English convents constantly exchanged books over the convent wall (including with English Catholic men).¹¹⁷ It is possible that Coghlan acquired the

¹¹⁴F. Blom, ‘English and Irish Catholic Books and Convents in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: The Link with the Low Countries. The Cases of Peter Wadding, Lady Lucy Herbert and James Peter Coghlan’, *Journal of Low Countries Studies*, 26 (2002), 169–82.

¹¹⁵A comparison between the scribal hand of a guide to Compline copied by Dominic Green for the English Dominicans at Brussels (no shelfmark, now held at Douai Abbey) suggests that Green is not the scribe of Douai Ms 785.

¹¹⁶Holt, ‘The English Jesuits’, 259. Teignmouth Abbey Community, *A History of the Benedictine Nuns of Dunkirk Now at St Scholastica’s Abbey Teignmouth Devon*, ed. Wyndham D. B. Lewis (Catholic Book Club, 1954), 45–46, 92–93. Hereafter referred to as *Dunkirk History*. See also BT/VIIA/d1 (‘What parts of the office is sung, and on what days wee have high Mass in Musick or plain song, as also days on w[hi]ch My Lady & Mother Prioress Officiates’, noted elsewhere as ‘a paper belonging to the Chantress’ cupboard’). This early eighteenth-century manuscript notes the anniversary of Warner’s death was celebrated annually with a special ‘musick mass’ (i.e., figural music) at the English Benedictine convent in Dunkirk. Warner was also a major supporter of the English Benedictine convent in Pontoise. He is recorded as a donor (as is his daughter, Dame Ignatia Warner) to the English Benedictine convent in Pontoise multiple times; see BT/IV/I no. 1, fols. 9^r, 10^r, 16^r, 17^r, 18^r. See also ‘Abbess Neville’s Annals of Five Communities of English Benedictine Nuns in Flanders 1598–1687, edited by M J Rumsey’, *Catholic Record Society*, misc.5, 6 (1909), 67–72 (hereafter referred to as *Neville’s Annals*). ‘Registers of the English Benedictine Nuns of Pontoise OSB, etc. contributed by the Lady Abbess of Teignmouth and edited by the Archivist’, *Catholic Record Society*, misc.10, 17 (1915), 248–326 (pp. 257–61).

¹¹⁷Anderlecht (Belgium), Archives de l’Etat, MS26, ‘The Account with the Walloon Fathers’, fol. 158^v. Quoted in Patxi Xabier del Amo Iribarren, ‘Anthony Poole (c.1629–1692), the Viol and Exiled English Catholics’ (PhD dissertation, Leeds University, 2011), 95.

book via one of his daughters at the English convent of Poor Clares in Aire. Indeed, the phrasing of the inscription on the front flyleaf – ‘Mr. James Peter Coghlan with the English Recolets at Douay, a ms of value’ – is more reminiscent of early modern instructions for delivery of a book.

Evidence of libraries at English monastic institutions suggests the back pages of Douai Ms 785 would have been useful to both male and female institutions. For example, items similar to the first four written sections (i.e., ‘Collao I. De conciliis’, ‘De moribus veterum patriarcherum’) and the ‘Brevis Praxis Medica’ section appear not only in English Jesuit and Benedictine monks’ libraries, but also in English convent libraries.¹¹⁸ There are particular similarities between the titles and contents of Douai Ms 785 and the titles featured in a catalogue for the library of the English Benedictine convent at Dunkirk, where the dedicatee of ‘Hail Basilinda’ (Dame Ignatia Warner) was based. Compiled around the time of the convent’s dispersal amid the French Revolution, the catalogue indicates the convent library contained, among other things, ‘Basili Magni opera Latine Impressa anno 1520’, Richard Knolles’ *The Generall Historie of the Turkes* (first published in 1603), ‘Turkish H[is]try, 7 volumes’, *Summa theologiae moralis doctoris angelici s. thomaem* (n.d.) and an item listed as ‘scripture & antiquity concerning ye Doctrine of ye church for ye 1st 500 years after Christ’.¹¹⁹ The library also had a rich classics section, with the catalogue listing sources such as ‘Irenaus adversus hares’, ‘Seneca’s Morals’, ‘Epicturus’s [sic] Morals’, Johann Scapula’s *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum*, and an item titled ‘Ecclesiastical History translated from the Greek of Eusebius, Socrates, & Evagrius Printed an.1619’.¹²⁰ The library clearly contained several medical treatises, including an item titled ‘Praxis Medica’, a copy of *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis* (1668), *Pharmacopaeca Edinburgensi* (unclear which edition), *Medicina statica* (no date given), *An Essay Concerning the Nature of Aliments* (John Arbuthnot, 1735).¹²¹ The catalogue also notes having a copy of John Guillim’s *A Display of Heraldrie* (first published 1611, republished by Jacob Blome in London, 1660).¹²²

While the dispersal of monastic libraries amid the late eighteenth-century revolutions remains unclear, archival material from exiled English monasteries (including the convents) does appear in several municipal libraries in northern France.¹²³ The final abbess of Teignmouth Abbey (where the English Benedictines at Dunkirk eventually settled post-expulsion), Dame Mildred Murray Sinclair, noted that what remains in the archives was largely due to efforts by a Mrs Jarvis, ‘who in the early nineteenth century scoured the Municipal Archives, the Dunkirk Library and other Offices, from which she recovered whatever she could, especially books and mortuary notices’.¹²⁴ Equally, the nineteenth-

¹¹⁸Regarding English Benedictine monks’ and Jesuits’ libraries, see, for example, similar titles in the database European Jesuit Libraries Provenance Project (1550–1773) <<https://www.jesuit-libraries.com/the-database>> and the Catalogue of the Benedictine monastery of St Edmund’s in Paris (now at Douai Abbey), as compiled by Benet Weldon (1674–1713) <<https://www.douaiabbey.org.uk/st-edmund/brief-history.html>>, both accessed 15 January 2024. Regarding English convents’ libraries, see similar titles transcribed in Jan T. Rhodes, ‘The Library Catalogue of the English Benedictine Nuns of Our Lady of Good Hope in Paris’, *The Downside Review*, **130** (2012), 54–86.

¹¹⁹Douai Abbey BT/IV no. 3 (five loose folios folded together). In the catalogue, *The Generall Historie of the Turkes* is referred to as ‘Knolles History of the Turkes’. Other titles of interest include ‘Epistola R.P. Radisindi B. Prasisdis Benedictinorum contra Episcopum Chalcedonerem’, ‘S Chrysostimi Homilia in S Paulum et ad Populum Natiochernum printed ano 1523’, ‘Biblia sacra impresia Venetus anno 1476’, ‘benvolet meditations’ britannia sancta’, ‘Do printed at London Anno 1576’, and ‘considerations on the council of trent by R.N.’

¹²⁰Douai Abbey BT/IV no. 3.

¹²¹Douai Abbey BT/IV no. 3. There are several other medical treatises listed.

¹²²Douai Abbey BT/IV no. 3.

¹²³Many of these sources are cited in the monographs noted at the beginning of this article, or listed in the Archival Calendar of the *WWiN* database. However, many other sources have not yet been noted in existing scholarship. See, for example, Bibliothèque municipale de Dunkerque ms no. 16, ‘Excercises Spirituels’, inscribed ‘For use of Scholastica Jones’. This is likely a reference to Scholastica (née Cecilia) Jones, a choir nun at the English Benedictine convent at Dunkirk (professed 5 April 1740, died 1 February 1786; see *WWiN* database entry).

¹²⁴Dame Mildred Sinclair, ‘Unfinished Business: Archives of the Former Benedictine Monastery of St Scholastica, Teignmouth’, *Catholic Archives*, **11** (1991), 11–17 (p. 13).

century historian M. A. Bonvarlet noted that some of the convent's music was deposited in the Dunkirk municipal library.¹²⁵

The Dunkirk convent was also closely intertwined with the exiled Jacobite court at Saint-Germain-en-Laye, with one connection being the aforementioned John Caryll, Jacobite peer, secretary to Mary of Modena, one of Abbess Mary Caryll's brothers, and an agent for the convent.¹²⁶ If the concordances between the Teynham manuscript and Douai Ms 785 are in fact a result of links to music from Saint-Germain-en-Laye, the Dunkirk convent would thus remain a possibility for one of the potential places for use and/or compilation of Douai Ms 785. Someone like John Caryll, or one of the many other relatives of the Dunkirk nuns who were active at Saint-Germain-en-Laye, could easily have acted as a go-between for the convent, either bringing material to the convent or from the convent elsewhere.¹²⁷

Apart from go-betweens in the form of family members, pensioners, pupils, or clergy, the convents contained lay sisters who could travel freely to and from the institution. While general assumption among English convent scholars has often been that lay sisters were less educated, as their dowry was lower and generally came from less wealthy families, this was not always the case, with many lay sisters recorded as being highly literate,¹²⁸ or professing as a lay sister as a sign of humility.¹²⁹ Lay sisters at English convents were sometimes highly musically trained, such as the organist at the English Benedictine convent in Brussels, Margaret Urmstone (d. 1700).¹³⁰ They potentially even included daughters of professional musicians. For example, in 1666 the French travel writer Jean-Baptiste de Rocoles described a 'small concert' of nuns singing with a viol consort at the English Benedictine convent in Dunkirk, and noted one of viol was 'wonderfully played by a lay sister, the daughter of an English musician'.¹³¹ Said lay sister has been difficult to place a name to, as few lay sisters are recorded in the Dunkirk Benedictine records; indeed, recent research by

¹²⁵M. A. Bonvarlet, 'L'Abbaye des Dames Nobles Bénédictines Anglaises de Dunkerque', *Annales de Comité Flamand de France*, 17 (1888), 188. 'car parmi les collections que renferme la Bibliothèque communale de Dunkerque, l'on conserve un recueil d'ouvertures disposées pour orchestre et dues à ce musicien qui jouit d'une si grande vogue sur le sol de l'Angleterre, Haendel, l'auteur, croyons-nous, de la musique de l'hymne national: *God Save the King*.' This collection has yet to be identified.

¹²⁶Howard Erskine-Hill, 'John, First Lord Caryll of Duford, and the Caryll Papers', in *The Stuart Court in Exile and the Jacobites*, ed. Eveline Cruickshanks and Edward Corp (Bloomsbury, 1995), 73–90. See also Claire Walker, 'Contemplative Communities: English Catholic Convents in France and the Low Countries, 1598–1700' (PhD dissertation, University of Western Australia, 1986), 137–38. Comparison with an item in John Caryll's hand also held in the Dunkirk convent's archive at Douai precludes John Caryll as scribe of Douai Ms 785 (see Douai Abbey BT/V/III no. 7).

¹²⁷See, for example, Robert Strickland, father of Dunkirk Benedictine Mary Catherine (née Catherine) Strickland (1681–1748); Strickland was treasurer to the household of the royal family at Saint-Germain-en-Laye until 1709. Edward Corp, footnote 12 in 'The Jacobite Government-in-Exile', *State Papers Online: The Stuart and Cumberland Papers from the Royal Archives, Windsor Castle* (Cengage Learning, 2018) (accessed 9 February 2024).

¹²⁸See, for example, Mary Michael (née Mary) Turner (1641–1713), a lay sister at the English Franciscan convent in Bruges, whose obituary notes 'She was a Lay Sister much addicted to prayer and reading of pious Books'. *The English Franciscan Nuns, 1619–1821*, ed. Trappes-Lomax, 203. See also the obituary of the lay sister Martina Decken (1611–55) at the English Benedictine convent in Ghent, which describes her as 'much employed in buying and doing the necessary outward affairs of the monastery, for she had a Good understanding, could write & read, cast account and quickly did Learn her English', and attending devotions when her duties permitted. 'Obituary Notices of the Nuns of the English Benedictine Abbey of Ghent in Flanders 1627–1811, contributed by Lady Abbess and Community', *Catholic Record Society*, misc.11, 19 (1917) 1–92 (pp. 57–58).

¹²⁹See, for example, Ursula Frances (née Isabel) Alcock (1588–1658), a Poor Clare at Gravelines, who though sponsored by the co-founder of the convent John Gage, chose life as a lay sister (Gravelines Poor Clares Obituaries, 44–45).

¹³⁰Cichy, "How Shall We Sing", 168. See also the 'rare singer in musick [i.e., figural music and/or polyphony] Angela Alexious (née Elizabeth Ann) Jerminham (1601–67), who though professed as a choir nun at the English Franciscan convent in Brussels, held a brief, three-year stint as a lay sister at the newly founded English Conceptionist convent in Paris. See transcriptions of the English Conceptionist convent's diary and the Franciscan Book of Clothings, Profession, and Necrology, respectively: *The Diary of the 'Blue Nuns'*, ed. Trappes-Lomax and Gillow, 8, 10, 190. Hereafter referred to as the Conceptionist Diary. *The English Franciscan Nuns, 1619–1821*, ed. Trappes-Lomax, 127, 188–89.

¹³¹Jean-Baptiste de Rocoles, *Les Entriens du Luxembourg* (Paris, 1666), 81–83. 'L'autre regale fut d'un petit concert de musique, mariant leurs belles voix a des violes, dont l'une etoit merueilleusement bien touchée par une soeur converse, fille d'un Musicien Anglois.'

Emilie Murphy has suggested that lay sisters were generally poorly recorded in English convent records.¹³²

Equally, choir nuns did not always strictly adhere to the rules of enclosure. While James Kelly has provided compelling evidence of English nuns zealously embracing their voluntary confinement, this was not uniform.¹³³ For example, in 1701, three anonymous gentlemen reported visiting the English Benedictine convent at Dunkirk and meeting the ‘organist of the house’ Cecilia Conyers (1660–1710), who they report ‘understands musick, it seems, very well’.¹³⁴ The visitors note on enquiring about ‘the constitutions of the house’, that Conyers reportedly told them in no uncertain terms that a nun never left the convent after profession ‘except by a dispensation from the Bishop of the Diocese, a privilege rarely granted’. The visitors then note, however, that they ‘have been informed that Dame Cecilia has been often at Canterbury [her home pre-profession] since she was a Nun’.¹³⁵ While this anecdote may not necessarily indicate complete truth, there are accounts of travel by English choir nuns, particularly for the purposes of either founding new houses or moving houses.¹³⁶ Particularly notable are the relatively frequent travels of the first Abbess of the English Benedictine convent at Dunkirk, Mary Teresa (née Mary) Caryll (1630–1712), across England, France, and the Low Countries.¹³⁷

Cecilia Conyers, however, is an interesting potential point of contact with Douai Ms 785. Conyers’ Jesuit brother, Christopher (1669–1730), was based at Watten in 1688–93, and again in 1696.¹³⁸ He undertook his tertiary year at Ghent in 1697, before returning to Watten from 1697 to 1698.¹³⁹ As Leech and Whitehead have noted, the Dunkirk nuns described Christopher as having ‘played Very finely on the bass viol, some of the pieces which he performed being his own composition’.¹⁴⁰ Leech and Whitehead have also suggested that the Jesuit Thomas Conyers, another musician at the Jesuit college at St Omers active in the 1680s and 1690s, was a relation of these two musicians.¹⁴¹ Thomas Conyers’ dates in particular align closely with those in Douai Ms 785, as he undertook his novitiate in Watten in 1686, the same year inscribed under ‘Hail Basilinda’.¹⁴² It is possible that Cecilia Conyers or one of her brothers

¹³²Emilie Murphy, ‘Mobility, Multilingualism and Transnational English Catholicism in Exiled Convents’, in *Oxford Handbook of Travel, Race and Identity in Early Modern England* (forthcoming). I am very grateful to Emilie for providing the proofs of her chapter in advance of its publication.

¹³³Kelly, *English Convents in Catholic Europe*, 68–76.

¹³⁴Anonymous, ‘Descriptive Journal of a Tour taken by three Gentlemen in the last Year of the Reign of King William III (1701)’, *Gentleman’s Magazine*, 88/2 (1818), 495–96.

¹³⁵Ibid.

¹³⁶Regarding the foundation of new houses, see, for example, Ursula (née Catherine) Butler (1620–85), who travelled from the English Benedictine convent at Ghent in 1662 to help found the Dunkirk convent, then to Paris in 1681 to discuss plans for an Irish convent at Ypres, before going to Ireland to acquire funds for said convent in 1684 (she died on the return journey); Neville’s *Annals*, 41, 46. Regarding nuns re-settling in a different house, see, for example, Dame Etheldred (née Margaret), Smith (1598–1666), who moved to the English Benedictine convent at Paris for a ‘more retired life’; ‘English Benedictines of the convent of our Blessed Lady of Good Hope in Paris, now St. Benedict’s Priory, Colwich, Staffordshire, contributed by the Reverend Mother Prioress of Colwich, edited by Joseph S. Hansom’, *Catholic Record Society*, misc.7, 9 (1911), 334–431 (p. 338).

¹³⁷Beginning in Ghent, in 1661 Caryll travelled to England via Saint Omers and Calais (Neville’s *Annals*, 40), returning at some point in the first few months of 1662. On 6 May 1662, she went to Dunkirk to begin the process of founding the Dunkirk convent, and travelled to England on 11 June 1662 to acquire funds and personnel to support the fledgling Dunkirk convent, where she remained until at least the start of 1663 (Neville’s *Annals*, 41–42). In June 1663, she travelled to St Omers to be blessed as the Abbess of the Dunkirk convent (Dunkirk *History*, 20), and in 1666 she travelled to England for an unclear period, returning at least by February 1667 (Dunkirk *History*, 24). In 1669, Caryll was at the English Augustinian convent in Bruges, where she was miraculously healed of illness (Dunkirk *History*, 24). In 1678, she travelled with companions to Paris to see if it would be possible to move the community there, to no avail (Dunkirk *History*, 28). Around 1680/1681, she travelled again to Paris to negotiate plans for an Irish convent at Ypres (Neville’s *Annals*, 46). In 1701, Caryll travelled to the English Conceptionist convent in Paris (Conceptionist *Diary*, 50).

¹³⁸Holt, ‘The English Jesuits’, 65.

¹³⁹Ibid.

¹⁴⁰Leech and Whitehead, “CLAMORES OMNINO ATQUE”, 68. Dunkirk *History*, 49.

¹⁴¹Leech and Whitehead, “CLAMORES OMNINO ATQUE”, 69.

¹⁴²Holt, ‘The English Jesuits’, 66.

was the scribe of Douai Ms 785 and used it to gather music either from the Dunkirk Benedictine convent or for the convent's use.

One final order of religious women crucial to note as potential scribal candidates are the sisters of the Institute for the Blessed Virgin Mary (IBVM, also known as the Loreto sisters). The IBVM were a female order founded by Mary Ward as an unenclosed Ignatian-styled order, dedicated to education and missionary work. Ward and her followers established houses first in St Omer and Watten in 1609, followed by houses in Liège, Cologne, Trier, Rome, Naples, Munich, Vienna, and Prague.¹⁴³ As they operated in direct contradiction to stipulations established by the Council of Trent, they were formally suppressed in 1631; however, Ward and her followers continued their activities without official recognition.¹⁴⁴ On Ward's death in 1645, her followers continued her work both across houses in Europe and in England, founding an IBVM convent in Hammersmith (London) in 1669, and in York in 1686. In 1703, the second iteration of the institute established by Anna Barbara Babthorpe (1647–1711) received formal approbation from Pope Clement XI.¹⁴⁵

The foundational guidelines for the order placed emphasis on the importance of teaching music, including 'singing, playing musical instruments [...] [and] playing the organ'.¹⁴⁶ Members of the IBVM community were known to have learned Hebrew, Greek, and theology.¹⁴⁷ The written contents of Douai Ms 785 thus coincide with the kinds of materials that would have been useful to the IBVM sisters, who taught music (including liturgical music) to a high level in their schools.¹⁴⁸ Little more can be said beyond this, as the IBVM convents have been excluded from studies of English convent music thus far due to the order's extraordinary nature as a suppressed, unenclosed, yet thriving community. Further research is necessary on the sisters' musical lives and influence as mobile cultural and religious agents, particularly within book networks.

Conclusions

Ultimately, the links between Douai Ms 785 and exiled English Catholic communities and institutions – from convents to courts to Jesuit colleges – are manifold and overlapping. Not only is it impossible to precisely define the contexts for its compilation and usage, but also it is arguably unnecessary to do so. This article has hopefully demonstrated the need to interpret early modern music manuscripts (particularly miscellanies) as often reflective of fluid music cultures in which repertoire and knowledge was not necessarily defined by strict gender binaries. To isolate a musical miscellany as the product of a single institution or single individual, rather than the product of many overlapping musical networks and communities, often results in the prioritizing of named, often male, individuals as the creators of the object, at the obfuscation of all others involved. Douai Ms 785 is an excellent example of how embracing the complexity of evidence within music manuscripts allows for a broader understanding of historical musical communities, particularly for those communities – like exiled English convents – who existed at cultural crossroads and regularly engaged in varying amounts of self-effacement. Future research into manuscripts such as Douai Ms 785 will hopefully uncover more evidence of such communities and develop more methodologies for analysis.

¹⁴³Laurence Lux-Sterritt, *Redefining Female Religious Life: French Ursulines and English Ladies in Seventeenth-Century Catholicism* (Ashgate 2005), v.

¹⁴⁴For discussion of the Mary Ward sisters activities from 1631 to 1703, see *ibid.* Lux-Sterritt interweaves her discussion of the Ward sisters throughout her monograph, alongside discussion of French Ursuline life during this period.

¹⁴⁵*Ibid.*, v.

¹⁴⁶Bar Convent (York), B18 original documents, letters, including copies of 1612 Schola Beatae Mariae, 1616 Ratio Instituti, 1621 Institutum. Quoted in *ibid.*, 63.

¹⁴⁷*Ibid.*, 91–93.

¹⁴⁸Caroline Bicks, 'Producing Girls on the English Stage: Performance as Pedagogy in Mary Ward's Convent Schools', in *Gender and Early Modern Constructions of Childhood*, ed. Naomi J. Miller (Routledge 2011), 139–56.

Appendix: Inventory Douai Municipal Library Ms 785 pf

Provenance: Bibliothèque municipale de Douai

Format and dimensions: Upright 12mo, 180 × 120 × 10

Watermark: fleur-de-lis on shield (with crown), foolscap. No concordances as yet.

Number of leaves: 111 folios

Paper, binding, number of quires: Blank paper, varied ruling, calfskin binding, 15 quires. Quires A1–5 contain notated music; A1 has 8 folios, A2 has 10 folios, A3 and 4 have 4 folios, and A5 has 10 folios. Quires A6–15 have written material; A6 has 9 folios, A7 has 11 folios, A8 has 8 folios, A9 has 9 folios, A10 has 8 folios, A11 has 12 folios, A12 has 4 folios, A13 has 4 folios, A14 has 14 folios, and A15 has 21 folios.

Date of Copying: n.d., estimated late 17th-century/early 18th-century (c. 1695–1710)

Place(s) of Copying: unknown

Front fly-leaf inscription(s): verso: ‘Fr Petri Coghlan’; recto: ‘Mr. James Peter Coghlan with the English Recolets at Douay, a ms of value’

Back fly-leaf inscription(s): -

Names mentioned: Dame Ignatia [née Susan] Warner (1662–1711), English Benedictine at Dunkirk; Dame Caecilia [née Catherine] Tasburgh (1657–c. 1696?), English Benedictine at Ghent; Joseph Radford (1646–after 1685), English Jesuit at Liège; Edward Slaughter (1655–1729), English Jesuit and Hebrew scholar, based primarily in Liège (partially in Ghent).

Language(s) of sung text: English, French, Italian, Latin

Editorial notes: For sake of space and accessible formatting, library sigla have been used as shorthand in this appendix. The inventories supply information following categories typically used in RISM cataloguing. In the ‘scoring’ columns, where ‘b’ is given (i.e., bass), it means figures have not been added in the bass line. Where figures have been added, ‘bc’ is listed. Where a vocal line in bass clef appears (i.e., music in F4 clef with text underneath), it is indicated as a voice, e.g. ‘2v (C1 clef, F4 clef)’. The inventory has only copied texts for vocal music unique to Douai Ms 785.

Title of work (transcribed/modernized)	Composer (attributed/modernized)	Scoring	Text	Folio	Concordances/Notes
– / ‘A building once there stood’	– / Anonymus	1 ^v (C1 clef)	A building once there stood of solid brick and wood that was both fair and good. But now it lieth flatt and has in’t nere a ratt; oh what sad chance is that. The fire made so much hast and mounted up so fast that the [?] came down at last. And now the case is plain that it wid thus remain til ’tis built up again.	1 ^f	Quire A1. Date inscribed at the end, ‘May 3, 1685’. Start of quire marked A1. Rastrum used, 9 evenly spaced staves. Original foliation: 3 ^f .
– / ‘Six merry singers stood all in a row’	– / Anonymus	1 ^v (G2 clef)	Six merry singers stood all in a row: some sang high and some sang low; some were in tune, and some were basely out; and thus the lame ditty went about: and those that did not sing altogether as they should do, they sung as well as they could do.	1 ^v	‘April 10, 1685.’ copied at end of piece, ‘A. 3 Voc.’ and ‘cantus’ copied above staves. Rastrum used, 9 evenly spaced staves. Original foliation: 3 ^v .
– / ‘Allons marchons chargeons les flacon’	– / Anonymus	1 ^v (C1 clef)	Allons[,] marchons[,] chargeons les flacons c’est dans ce combat qu’on ne perd ni pied ni bras Quoy que l’on dise de la gloire acquise au mix de sang c’est une fottise: pour moy je ne ayme point le boiteux soldat[.] Baccus a aussi fer dragons qui par my les pots et les flacons remoignent leur courage on n’y voit point des corps percez, des pieds, ny des bras emportes; point de ce grand ravage. Voicy qu’il vient des bataillons chargé de verres, au lieu de mousquetons[.] Ah que les coup de Baccus cet gorogne de dieu nous font de bien. Mais que la coups de la guerre ne valent rien.	1 ^v –2 ^f	‘A 2 voc.’ copied in margin. Rastrum used, 9 evenly spaced staves. Original foliation: 3 ^v –4 ^f .

Title of work (transcribed/ modernized)	Composer (attributed/ modernized)	Scoring	Text	Folio	Concordances/Notes
Blank staves	–	–	–	2 ^v	Original foliation: 4 ^v . Rastrum used, 9 evenly spaced staves.
– / Selections from <i>Amadis</i>	– / Lully, Jean– Baptiste (1632–87)	1 ^v (C1 clef), bc	[omitted for space]	3 ^{f–v}	Airs and choruses from <i>Amadis</i> (1684), abridged and arranged for single voice and continuo. The first section (bars 1–36) feature Urgande’s vocal line from the first duet to the ‘Prologue’ (‘Ah, j’entends un bruit’) with basso continuo. The next section (bars 37–68) features Corisande’s vocal line from a duet with Floristan in Act 1 Scene 2 (‘O bienheureux moment’). At bar 69, a double bar and paraph have been cancelled via reiteration of C1 and bass clefs; the ensuing 9 bars (i.e., bars 69–77) featuring Corisande’s vocal line from the fifth duet of the ‘Prologue’ (‘Vous êtes le seul bien’). Original foliation: 5 ^f –6 ^v .
– / Selections from <i>Amadis</i>	– / Lully, Jean– Baptiste (1632–87)	1 ^v (C1 clef, C3 clef), bc	[omitted for space]	4 ^{f–v}	Airs and choruses from <i>Amadis</i> (1684), abridged and arranged for single voice and continuo. The first section (bars 1–24) features Urgande’s vocal part with basso continuo from the fifth and final duet between Urgande and Alquif in the ‘Prologue’ (‘valez, tendres amours’) and Urgande’s line from the fourth duet of the prologue (‘tout l’univers’). The next section (bars 25–41) features airs and choruses from Act 3 scene 1, with the vocal line copied with C3 clef. The first two airs are sung by ‘un des captifs’ and ‘un autre captif’ in <i>Amadis</i> (‘O mort!’), copied in manuscript bars 25–43, and ‘La mort toujours cruelle’, bars 44–57); the rest of this section features Corisande’s vocal line from her duet with Florestan that precedes these two airs in <i>Amadis</i> (‘Que devient ce bonheur’). Straightedge used, 12 staves, spaced consistently (but not precisely) as 2 staves per system; fol. 4 ^v has only 10 staves. Original foliation: 6 ^{f–v}

Title of work (transcribed/ modernized)	Composer (attributed/ modernized)	Scoring	Text	Folio	Concordances/Notes
‘Songs made by Joseph Redford, set by mee.’/ Methinks I see Hilarion Sweet	‘Songs made by Joseph Redford, set by mee’/ Anonymus	1 ^v (G2 clef), bc (inc.)	<p>Methinks I see Hilarion sweat, within his little gloriette, earlying with death approaching nigh; as if he were afraid to dy: Hark how the agonizing spirits groan; Hilarion dy, dy poor Hilarion.</p> <p>Ay me, what nois is yt I hear? Is some poor Hermit dying there? Hark how ye little Ecchoes breath Trembling at y approach of death. Hark how ye Agonizing &c. Ah what a job was yt, poor heart? Dost thou with such reluctance part? After so many winters past In pennance, prayer, e rigorous fast? Hark how &c.</p> <p>If death to Saints so dread full be, Sinner what will become of thee? Consider here yt ocean–brink, Where you must either swim or sink Ah wretched soul, Ah sinner now refrain Since Saints themselves so harsh a doom sustain!</p>	4 ^v –5 ^r	Staves copied freehand (no straightedge). Basso line uncopied (only clef and key signature provided). Verses 2–4 copied without musical notation beneath staves. Original foliation: 6 ^v –7 ^r .
– / Close to the Cross the Mother Stood	‘Songs made by Joseph Redford, set by mee’/ Anonymus	1 ^v (C1 clef), bc (inc.)	<p>Close to ye crosse ye mother stood, and saw her son in streams of blood cried in a crimson flood. At every sigh she felt a smart, His groans were like a piercing dart, And all his wounds were in her heart:</p> <p>Then how afflicted e opprest Was yt venerable breast The joy e comfort of ye blest? Shee mourned like a turtledove And as her heart consumed did prove The fragrant holocaust of love ://:</p>	5 ^r	Staves copied freehand (no straightedge). Musical notation only copied for treble (vocal) line, basso line blank (only clef and key signature copied). G2 clef cancelled at the start of the second and third system, C1 clef notated. Verses 2–3 copied beneath staves without musical notation. Original foliation: 7 ^r .

Title of work (transcribed/ modernized)	Composer (attributed/ modernized)	Scoring	Text	Folio	Concordances/Notes
			His sighs e sobs with sighs shee paid, So full of greif one would have said, Her heart of sighs e sobs was made. Let none here but an angel come, And with his pencil paint us down This unconceived martyrdome.		
– / What a folly, what a joy	'Songs made by Joseph Redford, set by mee'/ Anonymus	1 ^v (C1 clef, inc.), bc (inc.)	What a folly, what a joy? What a flattering decoy is vanity yt Idol here, and painted peacock of ye sphere: We chrystall bubbles, golden jove and guilded porcupines of love, that hill with an embrace approve. How often does ye sinner go 'Gainst his conscience to his woe, And court those shadows in his sphere, That shine a while, and disappear Such pleasures are a real smart, That with a tickling stab ye heart, And poyson with their joyes impart.	5 ^v	Staves copied freehand (no straightedge). No musical notation copied besides clef indications (C1 and bass clefs). Verse 2 copied without musical notation beneath staves. Original foliation: 7 ^v .
None given/ Unhappy Damon	'Songs made by Joseph Redford, set by mee'/ Anonymus	2 ^v (G2 clefs, inc.), b (inc.)	Unhappy Damon why so sad? All ye world is almost mad; onely thou poor damon sad: what will frowns e wrinkles give thee; How can sobs e fights relieve thee? A troubled melancholy head, Gorgon like, will strike thee dead. Poor damon in this comedy Where ye world is mad, you see, Who, think you, will pity thee? How can dream, so mack affright thee Sullen thoughts so much delight thee Away with fancies, dreams e care; Innocence is merry cheer.	5 ^v -6 ^r	Staves copied freehand (no straightedge). No musical notation copied besides clef indications (G2 and bass clef on fol. 5 ^v , two G2 clefs and a bass clef on fol. 6 ^r) Verse 2 ('Poor damon in this comedy') copied under staves on fol.5 ^v . Original foliation: 7 ^v -8 ^r .

Title of work (transcribed/ modernized)	Composer (attributed/ modernized)	Scoring	Text	Folio	Concordances/Notes
			<p>Chorus Come then wee a consort of musick impart: for musick wee know can sweeten ye heart: Our medicinal Phoebus shall scatter ye mist; For musick with sorrow can never consist.</p>		
<p>– / On an enamelled flowery bed</p>	<p>‘Songs made by Joseph Redford, set by mee’/ Anonymus</p>	<p>1^v (G2 clef), bc (inc.)</p>	<p>On an enamel’d flowry bed, by w[hi]ch he rowles his silver head with his neglected reed cast down, And crook upon the ground The melancholy Strephon lay, who yesterday, with pipe in hand made plowman e his oxen astonish’d stand: Whose notes ye sweet zephyrs did kindly resent, and about with their whispering musick they went, the whilest he saluted ye new budding day</p> <p>2. But now with armes a cross does sigh Whilst all his sheep stand listening by; O most ungrateful Pan, quoth he, When did I ere withhold The choice of all my kids from thee, Or all my fold: For this my pain What satisfaction did I ever gain You told mee my pipe should express such a charm Would ye best of my musicall rivals disarm And all other pipes pay a tribute to mee.</p> <p>When lo, Menaleas with a note That strait inspired his pipe of oak Let fly so many charmes, yt I Heard all ye woods to cry And eccho, eccho victory My very sheep Did from mee creep And round about ye boy Menaleas leap. And my reeds to wch of all my musick do ow With ye trees of ye forest did smilingly bow And all ye wood–syren saluted him too.</p>	<p>6^{f-v}</p>	<p>Staves copied freehand (no straightedge). Musical notation only copied for treble (vocal) line, basso line blank (only clef and key signature copied). Verses 2–4 copied underneath staves on fol. 6^v. Original foliation: 8^{f-v}.</p>

Title of work (transcribed/ modernized)	Composer (attributed/ modernized)	Scoring	Text	Folio	Concordances/Notes
			<p>What comfort to my wounded sight? What solace to so great despight Can ye great god of shepheards give Although he should obtain The pipe yt charmed Juno's swain T'want make me live And sing again[.] Vict'ry will hardly satisfy my shame. My poor silly sheep, e my honour ys gone From a musicall affascination so strong Tis Mercury's rod, not his pipe can reclaim.</p>		
'Made for Dame Ignatia Warner'/ Hail Basilinda	– / Anonymus	1 ^v (C1 clef), bc	Hail Basilinda whose auspicious reign the happy golden age restores again: whose powerfull voice makes flames and tempests cease Henceforth no creature shall disturb our peace. No lowing discord nor impetuous rage in endlesse warres, your subjects shall engage, and countries now shall Halcyon daies possesse, and to your influence ow heir happinesse.	7 ^{f-v}	'Jan. 27, 1686. Wattenis' copied at end of piece (fol. 7 ^v). Bottom of fol. 7 ^r reads 'Verte folium'. Rastrum used, 9 evenly spaced staves. Original foliation: 9 ^{f-v} .
Blank staves	–	–	–	8 ^{f-v}	Rastrum used, 9 evenly spaced staves.
– / Quell'istessa ch'io miro	– / Lucchese, Domenico (17th c.)? ¹	1 ^v (C1 clef), bc	[omitted for space]	9 ^{f-v}	New quire, labelled A2. Straightedge used, 10 staves on fol. 9 ^f , 12 staves on fol. 9 ^v . Original foliation: 11 ^{f-v} . Concordances: F–Pn Rés VmC Ms 77 F–Pn Vm7–4 US–NH Misc. Ms. 170, Filmer 27 GB–Ob MS. Mus. d.247 D–SWI Mus.4718b
– / Dormite pensieri	– / Savioni, Mario (1608–85)? ²	1 ^v (C1 clef), bc	[omitted for space]	9 ^v –10 ^r	Straightedge used, 12 staves spaced consistently as 2 staves per system. Original foliation: 11 ^v –12 ^r . Concordances: F–Pn Rés VmC Ms 77 US–CA MS Mus 106 Ob. Ms. Mus. d. 255 ³

Title of work (transcribed/modernized)	Composer (attributed/modernized)	Scoring	Text	Folio	Concordances/Notes
– / No, non si spera e morta	– / Rontani, Raffaello (d. 1622) ²⁴	1 ^v (C1 clef), bc	[omitted for space]	10 ^{r-v}	Straightedge used, 12 staves spaced consistently as 2 staves per system. Original foliation: 12 ^r –12 ^v . Concordances: F–Pn Rés VmC Ms 77 I–Nc 33.4.10@02 I–Rc Mss. 2226.22 Us–Ca MS Mus 106
– / Non e tempo di viver	– / Anonymus	1 ^v (C1 clef), bc	[omitted for space]	10 ^v –12 ^v	Straightedge used, 12 staves spaced consistently as 2 staves per system. Original foliation: 12 ^v –14 ^r . Concordances: F–Pn Rés VmC Ms 77
– / Speranza che dite	– / Rossi, Luigi (1597–1653)	1 ^v (C1 clef), bc	[omitted for space]	12 ^r –13 ^r	Straightedge used, 12 staves spaced consistently as 2 staves per system. Original foliation: 14 ^r –15 ^r . Concordances: F–Pn Rés VmC Ms 77
– / Siano pur tutte finite	– / Anonymus	1 ^v (C1 clef), bc	[omitted for space]	13 ^r –14 ^r	Straightedge used, inconsistent spacing between staves, 10 staves per page. Original foliation: 15 ^r –16 ^r . Concordances: F–Pn Rés VmC Ms 77 ⁵ I–Rc Baini Ms. 2226
– / Non dorme cuor mio	– / Anonymus	1 ^v (C1 clef), bc	[omitted for space]	14 ^r –15 ^r	Straightedge used, inconsistent spacing, 10 staves on fol. 14 ^r , 12 on 15 ^r . Original foliation: 16 ^r –17 ^r . Concordances: F–Pn Rés VmC Ms 77
– / Vittoria mio cuore	– / Carissimi, Giacomo (1605–74)	1 ^v (C1 clef), bc	[omitted for space]	15 ^r	Straightedge used, inconsistent spacing between staves between staves inconsistent, 12 staves on page. Only first verse copied, rest of piece appears on 20 ^r . Original foliation: 17 ^r . Published in England in published in <i>Select Musick All Ayres and dialogues</i> , book one (John Playford 1652, 1659), or <i>The Treasury of Musick</i> (William Godbid 1669).

Title of work (transcribed/ modernized)	Composer (attributed/ modernized)	Scoring	Text	Folio	Concordances/Notes
					Concordances: F–Pn Rés VmC Ms 77 B–Bc 586 F–Pn Rés VM7–59–101 S–Sk S 231 I–Nc 33.4.10 GB–Och Mus.17 GB–Och Mus.350 D–W Cod. Guelf. 11 Noviss. 2 (nr.8) GB–Lbl Add. 11608
– / Dextro speco ramito	– / Anonymus	1 ^v (C1 clef), bc	<p>Dextro speco ramito di penitenza albergo publicano conrito nembo micidial piovea sul tergo di filati supplici, e con ferrei cilici del cuor legava le ferite ascose Poi che i cilici sono a le piage del cuor fascie pietose[.]</p> <p>Quando rivolto al crucifisso nume e l'un e l'altro lume Da gl'archi della bocca questi'accenti divoti al aure scocca[.]</p> <p>Perdon signore perdon[,] perdono che degno è di perdon; chi poi, chi poi si pente[.] [‘Aria Adagio’ above stave] Nel tuo regno col presente d'argentate lagrimette Si rimette contumace delinquente La mercè mi fa sperar Sperar mi fa quel costato tutto'aperto, Che s'io sono senza merto, tu non sei senza pieta[.] Tu dei sanguè ://: lo piu mi lorde ://: Tu pur m'ami ://: lo nom m'accendo[,] lo non m'accendo Tu mi preghi ://: lo non m'arrendo ://: Tu mi chiami ://:</p>	15 ^v –17 ^v	Straightedge used, spacing inconsistent. On fols.15 ^v –16 ^r , 12 staves per page; fols.16 ^v –17 ^r , 14 staves per page; fol. 17 ^v , 12 staves. Original foliation: 17 ^v –19 ^v .

Title of work (transcribed/ modernized)	Composer (attributed/ modernized)	Scoring	Text	Folio	Concordances/Notes
			<p>Ed lo ://: Ed lo fo'il sorde[.]</p> <p>Mio sposo vezzoso, mio caro desio, Mio Dio; Mio dolce conforto, ch'a torto confitto, trafitto in croce lo ti miri[.] E'l occhio non pianga, e'l cuor non sospiri, e'l sen non si tranga[.]</p> <p>O piu d'aspride implacabile O di caucase piu frigido O d'incudine piu frigido O di scoglio piu indomabile Vendetta su su Armata mia destra Dell'anima alpestra ch'ha'offesa Jesu Vendetta su su[.]</p>		
– / Vittoria mio cuore	– / Carissimi, Giacomo (1605–74)	1 ^v (C1 clef), bc	[omitted for space]	18 ^r	<p>Straightedge used, 12 staves on page spaced consistently (but not precisely) as 2 staves per system. Original foliation: 20^r.</p> <p>Concordances: See row above previous.</p>
– / Se'il bel verde	– / Anonymus	1 ^v (C1 clef), bc	Se'il bel verde di mia speme la 'l fiorire si secco sospirando mar' di pene sfortunato moriro[.]		<p>Straightedge used, 12 staves on page spaced consistently as 2 staves per system. Original foliation: 20^r.</p>
Blank page	–	–	–	18 ^v	Original foliation: 20v.
– / Chi mi turba il riposo	'Signor Giuseppe Zamponi' / Zamponi, Giuseppe (1615–62)	1 ^v (C1 clef), bc	[omitted for space]	19 ^r –20 ^r	<p>New quire, labelled A3. Straightedge used, 12 staves on page spaced consistently (but not precisely) as 2 staves per system until fol. 20^r. Original foliation: 21^r–21^v.</p> <p>Concordances : F–Pn Rés VmC Ms 77</p>

Title of work (transcribed/modernized)	Composer (attributed/modernized)	Scoring	Text	Folio	Concordances/Notes
'A mottet composed for Dame Caecilia Tasbourgh at Gant, Sept: 4 1685.'/ Inter tumultuantis	'T:K' / Kingsley, Thomas (1650–95/6)?	1 ^v (C1 clef), i (G2 clef), bc	Inter tumultuantis saeculi procellas et tempestates, miserà jactata anima Quo verteret se nescia, dum forte lucidam maris stellam à longè conspiceret cum suspiriis et lachrymis in Res voces prorupit. Maria castorum, O mater amorum, Et spes afflictorum, suspiro ad te: Dignare languentem et igere mentem: Fac, natus moerentem laetificet me[.] Expellat timorem, Det gratia rorem, Et sanctum amorem ut militans spe[.] Hanc vitam de splendama noxi defendam et caelum conscendam, Quo vocor a te. Ad tartari fundam nil traha immundum: Quo docet eundum, me dirigat crux: Det, mores ut mater, Infundat virtutem, Et donet salutem vivifica Lux. [double bar] Sub vesperam vitae non fulminet fie; sed blanda venite me recreet vox: sit dies serena, Et gaudio plena Quam flebili scena non terminet nox.	20 ^r –21 ^f	Staves freehanded, consistently (but not precisely) spaced as 2 staves per system. Original foliation: 22 ^f –23 ^f .
Blank page	–	–	–	21 ^v –22 ^v	
–/ Su'l horrida scena	– / Anonymus	1 ^v (C1 clef), b	[omitted for space]	23 ^r	New quire, labelled A4. Rastrum used, 9 staves inconsistently spaced. Original foliation: 24 ^f . Concordances: F–Pn Rés VmC Ms 77
– / Pensieri d'amore partite da me	– / Anonymus	1 ^v (C1 clef), bc	[omitted for space]	23 ^v –24 ^f	Rastrum used, 9 staves inconsistently spaced. In margin 'un but.' inscribed. Original foliation: 24 ^v –25 ^f . Concordances: I–Nc Arie 75.68 V–CVbav Barb.Lat. 4201

Title of work (transcribed/modernized)	Composer (attributed/modernized)	Scoring	Text	Folio	Concordances/Notes
– / Son amante e non io come	– / Sartorio, Antonio (1630–80)	1 ^v (C1 clef), bc	[omitted for space]	24 ^{r-v}	Rastrum used, 9 staves inconsistently spaced. From <i>Antonino e Pompeiano</i> (1677) Act 2, Scene 11 sung by Perenio. Original foliation: 25 ^r –25 ^v . Concordances: I–Vqs MS Cl.VIII.4 (1430) CH–Zz Mscr. Q 902
– / Non ti diss'io, O filli amata	– / Anonymus	1 ^v (C1 clef), bc	[omitted for space]	25 ^r	Rastrum used, 9 staves inconsistently spaced. Original foliation: 26 ^r . Concordances: F–Pn Rés VmC Ms 77
– / Dove n'andro che non mi segua amor	– / Sances, Giovanni Felice (1600–79)? ⁶	1 ^v (C1 clef), bc	[omitted for space]	25 ^v	Rastrum used, 9 staves inconsistently spaced. Original foliation: 26 ^v . Concordances: F–Pn Rés VmC Ms 77
– / Chi segue amor fallace	– / Anonymus	2 ^v (C1 clef, F4 clef)	Chi segue amor fallace non spero fregua'ò pace ma sol tormenti e guai lo lo so che le provai [double bar] Mai creda al lusinghier che con suoi lampi accide Quando pia scherza'ò ride[.] E lo so	26 ^{r-v}	Rastrum used, 9 staves inconsistently spaced. Text copied under basso line in ways that do not suggest it is simply a second verse. End of final stave, music cuts off mid–line, 'E lo so' with <i>custos</i> at end of stave. Original foliation: 27 ^r –27 ^v .
– / O mater salvatori	–	–	O mater salvatori Asylum peccatoris ://: ://: ://: Sola tu, ://: tu spes Afflicti es ://: Qui virgo me salvabit Qui vitam [v]eo dabit ://: ://: ://: Praeter te :ll: Non est qui salvet me, qui ://: Tu vita perditis spe omni destitutis Tu anchora salutis Spes et refugium Christianorum Carta sales peccatorum	27 ^r	No musical notation, only text. Original foliation: 28 ^r .

Title of work (transcribed/ modernized)	Composer (attributed/ modernized)	Scoring	Text	Folio	Concordances/Notes
Blank page	–	–	–	27 ^v	Original foliation: 28 ^v .
– / Chi segue amor fallace [cont'd]	– / Anonymus	2 ^v (C1 clef, F4 clef)	Che chi vuol une d'amor pace non trova[.]	28 ^r	Rastrum used, 9 staves inconsistently spaced. Appears to be a continuation of previous piece, as it starts mid-word in the bass line lyrics of 'Chi segue amor fallace' and on the same note indicated by the <i>custos</i> on fol. 25 ^v (attributed foliation 27 ^v), similar musical material/textual material. Original foliation: 29 ^r .
– / O mia filli gradita	– / Anonymus	1 ^v (C1 clef), bc	[omitted for space]	28 ^v –29 ^r	Rastrum used, 9 staves inconsistently spaced. Original foliation: 29 ^v –30 ^r . Concordant versions feature another verse not copied in Douai Ms 785. Concordances: F–Pn Rés VmC Ms 77 ⁷ GB–Llp Ms 1041 (version for voice and theorbo)
– / Una cetra l'accoglie	– / Anonymus	1v (C1 clef), bc	[omitted for space]	29 ^v –30 ^r	Rastrum used, 9 staves inconsistently spaced. Original foliation: 30 ^v –31 ^r . Concordances: F–Pn Rés VmC Ms 77
Blank staves	–	–	–	30 ^v –31 ^v	Rastrum used, 9 staves inconsistently spaced. Original foliation: 31 ^v –32 ^v .
– / On a quitté les armes	– / Lully, Jean-Baptiste (1632–87)	1v (C1 clef), bc	[omitted for space]	32 ^r	New quire, labelled A5. Rastrum used, 9 staves inconsistently spaced. From <i>Prosperine</i> (1680), final part of Prologue, sung by La Paix. Original foliation: 33 ^r .
'Les Cyclopes' / L'amour ne veut pas qu'on differe	– / Lully, Jean-Baptiste (1632–87)	1v (G2 clef), bc (inc.)	[omitted for space]	32 ^v –33 ^r	Rastrum used, 9 staves inconsistently spaced. From Act 2 Scene 5 of <i>Psyche</i> (1678), second intermède, version copied in manuscript comprises second half of the first verse of two verses set in opera, sung by Vulcain. Bass line incomplete. Original foliation: 33 ^v –34 ^v .

Title of work (transcribed/modernized)	Composer (attributed/modernized)	Scoring	Text	Folio	Concordances/Notes
– / Ah! Que ce notre coeur	– / Lully, Jean-Baptiste (1632–87)	1v (G2 clef), bc	[omitted for space]	33 ^{r-v}	Rastrum used, 9 staves inconsistently spaced. From <i>Les Amants magnifiques</i> (1670), Prologue, scene 3, first air (sung by Calliste); only first verse copied in manuscript. Original foliation: 34 ^v –35 ^r .
– / Vaine fierte	– / Lully, Jean-Baptiste (1632–87)	1v (C1 clef), bc	[omitted for space]	34 ^{r-v}	Rastrum used, 9 staves inconsistently spaced. From Lully's <i>Proserpine</i> (1680), Act 1 Scene 4, sung by Arethuse. Original foliation: 35 ^r –35 ^v .
– / C'est le dieu des eaux'	– / Lully, Jean-Baptiste (1632–87)	1v (G2 clef), bc (inc.)	[omitted for space]	34 ^v –35 ^r	Rastrum used, 9 staves inconsistently spaced. From <i>Isis</i> (1677), Prologue, Scene 2, first piece. Original setting by Lully is a duet (for 'deux tritons'), upper line of duet notated in manuscript. Bass line incomplete. Original foliation: 35 ^v –36 ^r .
Blank staves	–	–	–	35 ^v –37 ^r	Rastrum used, 9 staves inconsistently spaced. Original foliation: 36 ^v –38 ^v .
'Collao I. De conciliis'	n/a	–	Divided into five different sections. The opening subsection concerns the basic structures of the Church and how they have developed historically. The next subsection is concerned with 'Concilia quadam Provincialia' ['Some Provincial Councils'], followed by a subsection regarding the Council of Nicea and Nicean patriarchs, a subsection regarding the relationship between Vicars and Popes in early Christianity ('Vicariorum Papae differentia'), and a subsection regarding Nicean canons ('Notae in canones Nicaenos').	38 ^r –46 ^v	New quire, labelled A6. Original foliation 38 ^r –46 ^r .
Blank pages	–	–	–	47 ^r –57 ^v	New quire A7. No original foliation.
'De disponsibus ad ordinem hierarchicum necessari'	n/a	–	Divided into 21 subsections: 'voca[b]o' ['callings'], 'Pia Educa[b]o' ['holy education'], 'Natales' [i.e., regarding familial backgrounds of monks and nuns], 'Corporis integrites' ['integrity of the body'], 'Aetas' ['age'], 'Modestia verecunda' ['moderated humility'], 'castimoniae 'ëcor' ['chaste ornaments'], 'Mores inculpati' ['blameless behaviour'], 'ordinata promotio' ['promotion within orders'], 'Doctrinae apparatus'	58 ^r –63 ^v	New quire, labelled A8. Inscribed in a later, different hand 'ad Bib Rec Ang'. Original foliation 47 ^r –57 ^v .

Title of work (transcribed/modernized)	Composer (attributed/modernized)	Scoring	Text	Folio	Concordances/Notes
			[‘doctrinal provision’], ‘De poetica[m]’ [‘On poetry’], ‘De Arte dicendi’ [‘On the art of diction/declamation’], ‘De Jure civili et canonica’ [‘On civil and canon law’], ‘De philosophia[m]’ [‘on Philosophy’], ‘De Mathesi’ [‘On mathematics’], ‘De Theosebia[m]’ [‘On mystical union with God’], ‘De Theologia[m]’ [‘on theology’], and ‘De Linguarum peritia[m]’ [‘on practical languages’]. Each page features along the top the words ‘Speculum Clericorum’.		
Blank pages	–	–	–	64 ^r –66 ^v	No original foliation.
‘De moribus veterum patriarcherum’	n/a	–	Divided into four subsections: an opening section, a section entitled ‘De moribus Israelitarum’, ‘De moribus veterum Christianorum’, and ‘pars posterior.’	67 ^r –76 ^f	New quire, labelled A9. Original foliation: 53 ^r –62 ^f .
Blank page	–	–	–	76 ^v	No original foliation.
‘Colla[tio]nes Historicae’	–	–	A short history documenting the rise and fall of empires, beginning with the fall of the Roman Empire and ending with the rise of the Ottoman Empire. No direct concordances found.	77 ^r –87 ^v	New quire, labelled A10. On fol. 85 ^f (original foliation 71 ^f), new quire, labelled A11. Original foliation: 63 ^r –73 ^v .
Blank pages	–	–	–	88 ^r –89 ^v	No original foliation.
‘Brevis Praxis Medica’	–	–	Divided into an introduction and six ensuing subsections, which feature symptoms and treatment for ‘cephalalgia ex calida[m]’, ‘cephalalgia ex frigida[m]’, ‘lethargia’, ‘Apoplexia[m]’, ‘varii alii morbi capitis [‘various other head ailments’]’, ‘Varii morbi pectoris’ ‘varia secreta’ (a section detailing useful cures). The structure of this section features some case studies, including discussions on the symptoms of a 40-year-old woman (faemina), a 30-year-old ‘matron’ or ‘wife’ (matronae), and a 40-year-old man (vir), and according treatment.	90 ^r –94 ^v	Original foliation: 74 ^r –77 ^v
Blank pages	–	–	–	95 ^r –96 ^v	No original foliation.

Title of work (transcribed/modernized)	Composer (attributed/modernized)	Scoring	Text	Folio	Concordances/Notes
'General notes of heraldry'		–	Notes regarding heraldic history and contemporaneous uses. Quotations and drawings from Menetrier's <i>Abrege methodique des principes heraldiques</i> (Lyon, 1661).	97 ^r –103 ^v	New quire, labelled A13 (A12 either missed out or cut off). On fol. 101 ^r [original foliation 82 ^r], there is a new quire labelled A[cut off, presumably A14]. Original foliation: 78 ^r –84 ^v .
'Titulorum honorariorum [:] origines.'	–	–	Regarding the origins of honorary titles.	104 ^r –107 ^r	Original foliation: 85 ^r –88 ^r .
Blank pages	–	–	–	107 ^v –113 ^r	No original foliation.
'Grammatica Hebraica'	–	–	A Hebrew grammar guide, likely Edward Slaughter's <i>Grammatica Hebraica Auctore</i> (1699) (as attributed on fol. 113 ^v).	113 ^v –127 ^r	New quire, labelled A15. Original foliation: 90 ^r –107 ^v
Blank pages	–	–	–	127 ^v –136 ^v	No original foliation.

¹Attribution based on concordances with F-Pn Vm7–4.

²The RISM entry for F-Pn VmC Ms 77 indicates the attribution of this piece to Savioni is based on a conjectural attribution in US-CA MS Mus 106.

³This manuscript was at some point owned by two (possibly three) nuns at the English Poor Clare convent in Gravelines in the late seventeenth century. Caroline Lesemann-Elliott, 'The Blount Music Collection Revisited: New Evidence for Exiled English Convent Schools and Early Modern Musical Transfer', *Viol da Gamba Society Journal*, 16a (2022), 36–62 (pp. 42–44).

⁴Entry for F-Pn VmC MS 77 notes composer attribution based on I-Rc Mss. 2226 no.22; however, this manuscript does not indicate attribution of this piece.

⁵F-Pn VmC Ms 77 has a slightly different opening text ('Siano pur tutte ferite').

⁶Composer conjecturally attributed in catalogue entry for F-Pn Rés VmC Ms 77.

⁷Catalogue entry for F-Pn Rés VmC Ms 77 identified piece in *Terzo giardino d'amorosi fiori a 1 e 2 voci* (Valvasensi Lazzaro, 1630).