

An Early Seventeenth-Century Library from Ulster: Books on Music in the Collection of Lord Edward Conway (1602-1655)

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The context of the Conway library

The early seventeenth century was a period of profound change in Ireland. As English conquest and plantation extended throughout the country, Gaelic society and culture began to decline. Lands formerly owned by the Irish lords were granted to 'New English' landowners; musical traditions which had previously been associated mainly with Dublin and other centres of English influence, increasingly began to make their presence felt. The early seventeenth century is thus an intriguing period not only of political and religious, but also of musical and cultural transformation.

The relative paucity of primary sources for the understanding of music in early-seventeenth-century Ireland has meant that the extent and nature of musical practices have remained substantially unmapped. What is clear, however, is that the native Irish and the imported musical traditions did not necessarily exist independently, but were often merged together. This is evidenced in an inventory from 1645 of Dunluce Castle, Co. Antrim, seat of the MacDonnells, the earls of Antrim: only two musical instruments are listed, an Irish harp and a bass viol, two instruments which appositely symbolise the two distinct but complementary cultures within which they lived. Although they were born and bred in the Gaelic tradition, the MacDonnells also maintained a mansion in London.¹

Further evidence of musical practice in Ireland is found in early seventeenth-century Munster. Richard Boyle, first Earl of Cork, was a notable musical patron and an exceptionally wealthy and influential 'New English' landowner in early seventeenth-century Munster.² He maintained a permanent band of up to six musicians in Youghal and at Lismore between about 1616 and 1642, the year of his death; he commissioned

¹ Hector MacDonnell, 'A seventeenth century inventory from Dunluce castle, co. Antrim', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 122 (1992), pp.109-127. The paucity of primary sources for the understanding of music is paralleled in other fields. MacDonnell comments that 'In the whole of Ireland there is only one piece of furniture, a table datable to about 1600, now surviving to represent the entire century before the Restoration' (Ibid, p.109), the item in question belonging to the O'Briens of Clare and now in Dromoland Castle. Randall MacDonnell, born in 1609 and created second earl of Antrim after his father's death in 1636, had been brought up at Dunluce in wholly unanglicised conditions with Irish as his first language. He later spent nine years in London at the court of Charles I where his residence, York House, was regarded as one of the finest palaces, and he also maintained a country house and estate in Hampshire (Ibid., p.117).

² Barra Boydell, 'The Earl of Cork's Musicians: A Study in the Patronage of Music in early seventeenth century Anglo-Irish Society', *Records of Early English Drama Newsletter* 18 no.2 (1993), pp.1-15. See also Alan F. Fletcher, *Drama, Performance, and Polity in Pre-Cromwellian Ireland* (Cork & Toronto, 2000), pp.228-34.

an organ for his private chapel and purchased a chest of viols; he also patronised Irish harpers, owned an Irish harp himself and, on at least one occasion, gave a harp as a gift, to the Lord Keeper of England.

Alan Fletcher's study of the patronage of drama and performance, including music, within the early modern period in Ireland provides a context for Boyle's activities.³ The extensive evidence for musical and other artistic practices within the Boyle household in Munster occurred within what was by that time a relatively peaceful and settled environment. However, one might not initially expect to find the same degree of musical activity in Ulster, given that the province had only recently been planted and that resistance against the English settlers there was strongest. And yet, as Alan Fletcher comments:

Unappealing as early-seventeenth-century Ulster may generally have seemed to prospective performers, its inhabitants were not so entirely preoccupied with their planting as to lose all sense of the value of drama and the performing arts. Indeed, perhaps it is to be expected that, precisely because the province was restless with plantation activity, the need to show off smart households, wherever possible, would have been even more urgent than in relatively quieter areas of the country.⁴

Fletcher also notes that the first recorded performance (or rather, aborted performance since it had to be called off at the last moment) of a Shakespeare play in Ireland, *Much Ado About Nothing*, took place not in Dublin, as might be expected, but in the recently-founded Ulster town of Coleraine in May 1628.⁵ Fletcher has also uncovered evidence that in 1633, Edward, second Lord Viscount Conway brought over four musicians from England who remained in Ulster when he returned for a period to England two years later.⁶ It is within this environment, perhaps culturally more active than one might at first imagine, that Lord Viscount Conway's library was located. The music books listed in a catalogue of its contents, dating from c.1640, constitute the primary focus of this paper.

Edward Conway, one of the major English landowners in early modern Ulster, was born in 1594. He inherited the lands of Killultagh, stretching from Lisburn to Lough Neagh, from his father who had been granted them by James I in 1609⁷ after they had been seized from a branch of the O'Neill family. Although he spent most of his active life in charge of the king's troops in parts of England and Ireland, Edward's real interests lay elsewhere: a contemporary commented that he reserved 'so much time for his books and study that he was well versed in all parts of leaning'.⁸ Described as

³ Fletcher, *Drama, Performance, and Polity*, especially pp.206-260.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p.240.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p.238.

⁶ Fletcher, *Drama, Performance, and Polity*, especially pp. 240-1.

⁷ Or possibly 1611. See J.F. Burns, 'Lisburn's castle and cathedral', *Lisburn Historical Society*, 5 (1984, accessed online, www.lisburn.com/books/historical_society/volume_5, 5 March 2003).

⁸ Edward Hyde, 1st earl of Clarendon, *History of the Rebellion*, ed. W.D. Macray (6 vols, Oxford, 1888), ii, § 83, cited after Ian Roy, 'The libraries of Edward, 2nd Viscount Conway and others: an inventory and valuation of 1643', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* (1968), pp 35-46 + table (p.44).

being of great personal charm and a noted epicure, he corresponded with leading intellectuals of his day and was one of the foremost book collectors of his age, whose agents were sent to Germany, France and Italy to seek out books for his library.⁹

A volume containing a catalogue of Lord Conway's library is held in the Public Library of Armagh, otherwise known as the Archbishop Robinson library.¹⁰ The presence in the catalogue of the signature of George Rawdon (who managed Conway's Ulster estates)¹¹ confirms that the library to which it refers was located in Ulster, most probably at Conway's principal residence in Lisnagarvey. Although it had clearly been compiled over a number of years, some volumes are dated as late as 1639. Since Conway's estate lay in ruins following the 1641 rebellion, during which his house at Lisnagarvey was at least partially ruined, completion of this catalogue must date from between 1639 and 1641.¹²

Conway's Armagh catalogue is divided into approximately eighty different subject-areas that cover the full gamut, ranging from theology, through the natural philosophies and mathematics, to literature (both classical and contemporary and in a number of European languages), history, biography and travel. The section devoted to music (ff. 141-144) comprises a significant collection of treatises and other musical volumes: in all forty-five books are listed on four folios. They are categorized by size (13 folio volumes, 15 *quarto*, 15 *octavo*, and one each of *duodecimo* and *sextodecimo*). Forty-one of the forty-five musical items on ff. 141-144 have been identified (see below *LIST A*, pp 39-40); four further items remain unidentified (see below *LIST B*, p. 40). Two further two music books are included at the end of the volume (f.532^r) under the heading of 'Rare and miscellaneous writings' (*Rare et incerte materiae scriptores*, see below *LIST C*, p. 40).

This is clearly a catalogue of a library belonging to an avid bibliophile whose collection of books contains as comprehensive a range of subjects as possible, rather than a collection devoted to a limited number of subject areas. Lord Conway's library provides interesting evidence for the dissemination of treatises on music that are representative both of established classics of Renaissance learning and of more recently-published authors including Marin Mersenne (d. 1648).¹³ It also emphasises the considerable extent to which the wealthy and educated landed classes in early

⁹ *The Conway Letters. The Correspondence of Anne, Viscountess Conway, Henry More, and their Friends, 1642-1684* (ed. Marjorie Hope Nicolson.; rev. ed, with an introduction and new material, ed. Sarah Hutton, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), pp.7-8; Fletcher, *Drama, Performance, and Polity*, p.241; .Roy, 'Libraries', p.44.

¹⁰ Uncatalogued. Catalogue cited hereunder as Armagh CC.

¹¹ Armagh CC, fol. 9r.

¹² The nature or extent of damage to Conway's estates is unclear: Richard Bagnell, *Ireland under the Stuarts* (1916), III, pp.309-10 (cited in *Conway Letters*, p. 172n) stated that the library 'had been burned by the rebels at Brookhill, which belonged to Sir George Rawdon'. Burns, 'Lisburn's castle and cathedral' states that 'the most valuable part of his [2nd Viscount Conway's] estate lay in ruins as a result of the 1641 rebellion'.

¹³ For the most recent comprehensive study of Western music theory, see Thomas Christensen, editor, *The Cambridge history of Western Music theory*, Cambridge University Press, 2002 and in particular the contributions of Cristle Collins Judd (p. 364), Gregory Barnett (p. 407), Peter Schubert (p. 503), and Albert Cohen (p. 534).

seventeenth-century Ireland were up-to-date with current European intellectual and cultural interests.

The music books

The focus of Conway's music collection is clearly not on editions of music: we find only three, or possibly, four volumes of vocal music:

- a collection of madrigals by Carlo Gesualdo, dated 1616 (Armagh CC, ¹⁴ f. 142, n^o 9; *LIST A* (below), n^o 18).¹⁵
- a collection of Lassus chansons published by Le Roy et Ballard in 1586 which constitutes the third, revised and extended edition of his *Meslanges*, first published in 1570 (Armagh CC, f. 142, n^o 6; *LIST A*, n^o 21).¹⁶
- An anonymous collection of love songs and 'airs de cour' entitled *La fleur ou eslite de toutes les Chansons amouresuses et airs de court*, Rouen, 1602 (Armagh CC, f. 144; *LIST B*, n^o 44)¹⁷
- and, finally, a collection featuring the *Canzonetta nuouva* by the poet Paolo Britti, (Armagh CC, f. 144; *LIST A*, n^o 4), published in Terne in 1631. This collection of canzonetta may not contain music since Britti was primarily a poet.¹⁸

Music also features in treatises relating specifically to tablatures. These include:

- a volume of *bicinia* on the psalms in organ and harpsichord tablature by H. Speuye, published in Dordrecht in 1620. (Armagh CC, f. 141, n^o 4; *LIST A*, n^o 36).¹⁹
- Thomas de Santa Maria's *Libro llamando*. This is a Spanish edition that shows how to improvise fantasias on vocal music for three parts or more. It contains tablature for vihuela and other instruments. (Armagh CC, f. 141, n^o 9; *LIST A*, n^o 35).²⁰
- Emanuel Hadrianus (Adriaenssen), *Novum pratum musicum* (1592). (Armagh CC, f. 141, n^o 13; *LIST A*, n^o 20). This is concerned with French lute tablature and features instructions printed in Latin on methods of intabulating polyphonic music. Adriaenssen was noted for his intabulation tables. He was a front rank teacher and the founder of the Antwerp lute school.²¹

¹⁴ See note 10 above.

¹⁵ *RISM Einzeldrucke vor 1800, A/I/3*, (1972), G1742; *Addenda corrigenda, A/I/12*, (1992), GG1742.

¹⁶ *RISM Einzeldrucke, A/I/5*, (1975), L967.

¹⁷ This anonymous volume is discussed in more detail below, p. 35 and note 33.

¹⁸ Cf. *Dizionario Enciclopedico della letteratura Italiana*, Rome, 1996, p.480. The *Catalogue of Seventeenth-century Italian Books in the British Library*, British Library, 1986, 2 vols, p.151, lists twelve editions of Britti's *Canzonetta nouva*, none of which is either dated 1631 or published in Terne.

¹⁹ Note the French title: *Les Pseaumes de David mis en Tableture* and the date, 1620. Alan Curtis, 'Speuye', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 2nd ed., 2001), vol. 24, p.177 (hereafter, *The New Grove* (2001)), only mentions the 1610 Dutch edition of this music and a French edition, now lost, entitled *Certains pseaumes de David* (1621).

²⁰ Thomas de Santa Maria. Cf. F. Lesure, *Répertoire International de Sources musicales Ecrites imprimés concernant la musique* (Munich, Duisburg, 1971), B/VI/1-2 (hereafter *RISM, Ecrites*), pp.752-753.

²¹ Cf. Godelieve Spiessens, 'Adriaenssen' *The New Grove* (2001), vol. 1, pp 167-168.

- Adrian Le Roy's instruction book on lute tablature in an English translation published in London by James Rowbothome in 1574 that claims to 'set all musicke of 8 divers tunes' (Armagh CC, f. 142, n^o 3; *LIST A*, n^o 22).²²

Conway's catalogue features theoretical treatises written in Latin, English, Italian, French and Spanish. These include:

- Latin: Henricus Glareanus, *Dodecachordon* (1547) (Armagh CC, f. 141, n^o 1; *LIST A* n^o 19).
- Italian: Gioseffo Zarlino, *Le Institutioni* (1558) and *De tutte l'opere* [...] (1589) (Armagh CC, f. 141, n^{os} 2 and 7; *LIST A*, n^{os} 40 and 41).
- Spanish: Pietro Cerone, *El Melopeo y Maestro* (1613) (Armagh CC, f. 141, n^o 10 *LIST A*, n^o 11). Although Cerone was an Italian theorist, he wrote in Spanish to curry favour with the Spanish nobility in Naples.²³
- French: [Adrian Le Roy], *Traicté de Musique* (1602) (Armagh CC, f. 142, n^o 4; *LIST A*, n^o 23).²⁴
- English: Thomas Campion, *A New Way of makinge foure partes in counterpoynt* [1613] (Armagh CC, f. 143, n^o 1; *LIST A*, n^o 7).²⁵

The catalogue also includes two Latin-German dictionaries: one by Melchior Vulpis (H. Fabri/Faber) and the other by L. Stiphelius, (Armagh CC, f. 143, n^{os} 7 and 2 respectively; *LIST A*, n^{os} 15 and 37). The range of important theorists represented is quite impressive: P. Cerone, G. Doni, L. Fogliano, H. Glareanus, V. Lusitano, M. Mersenne, A. Ornithoparcus, P. Pontio, S. Vanneus, L. Zacconi and G. Zarlino, are all included. Nonetheless, there are notable omissions: P. Aron, N. Vicentino, S. Heyden, F. Gaffurius and Thomas Morley to name but a few.

Treatises relating specifically to the art of singing include:

- John Dowland's English translation dated 1609 of Ornithoparcus' 1517 edition of the *Micrologus*. (Armagh CC, f. 141, n^o 12; *LIST A*, n^o 14).
- Andreas Ornithoparcus' *De arte cantandi [canendi]* (Armagh CC, f. 142, n^o 1; *LIST A*, n^o 30). This new title was given to the *Micrologus* when published in Cologne in 1533.²⁶
- William Barley's, *The pathway to Musicke [...] whereunto is annexed a treatise of Descant and certaine tables which doth teach how to remove*

²² Cf. *RISM, Ecripts*, p.500.

²³ Cf. Barton Hudson, 'Cerone' *The New Grove* (2001), vol. 5, p.380.

²⁴ Adrian Le Roy was responsible for the first edition of 1583. Cf. *Adrian Le Roy, Traicté de Musique, Facsimile Edition with Translation, Introduction and Notes by Máire Egan-Buffet* (Ottawa, Institute of Mediaeval Music, Musicological Studies, vol. LXVI, 1996). Le Roy's name does not feature in the three subsequent editions (1602, 1616 and 1617), in which no substantial modifications are found. Cf. *RISM, Ecripts*, p. 986.

²⁵ A modern edition of Campion's treatise has recently been published by Christopher R. Wilson in: *Music Theory in Britain, 1500-1700: Critical Editions*, (Aldershot: Ashgate 2003). See also: Rebecca Herissone, *Music Theory in Seventeenth-Century England*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

²⁶ Cf. Klaus Wolfgang Niemoller, 'Ornithoparchus', *The New Grove* (2001), vol. 18, pp. 726-747.

any song higher or lower from one key to another[...] (1596) (Armagh CC, f. 142, n° 13; LIST A, n° 1).²⁷

- Thomas Campion's *A new way of makinge foure partes in counterpoynnt [...] with a briefe method teaching to sing* [c.1613]. Note the shortened title in Conway's catalogue (Armagh CC, f. 143, n° 1; LIST A, n° 10).²⁸
- William Bathe's *A briefe introduction to the skil of songe* [c.1596] (Armagh CC, f. 143, n° 8; LIST A, n° 2).
- Juan Martinez' *Arte de Cante Llano* (1554) (Armagh CC, f. 143, n° 12; LIST A, n° 26); this Spanish treatise, first published in 1532, is an introduction to plainsong.²⁹

The Conway collection evinces a preference for secular music. We have seen this in the books relating to tablature and in the music books identified above. It is also evident in books pertaining to dance. Caesare Negri's *Nuove inventioni di Balli [...] Conueneuoli à tutti i cavalieri, et dame, per ogni sorte di ballo, balletto, et brando d'Italia, di Spagna et di Franca. Con figure bellissime in rame, et regole della musica, et intavolutara, quali si richieggono al suono, et al canto. [...]* (1604) (Armagh CC, f. 141, n° 6; LIST A, n° 29), describes dances from Italy, Spain and France and supplies music in tablature.³⁰ It was first published in 1602 as *Le Gratie d'amore*. Fabritio Caroso's two treatises, *Il ballarino [...] s'insegnano diverse sorti di balli et balletti si all'iso d'Italia, come à quello di Francia, et Spagna. Ornato di molte figure et con l'intavolatura di liuto, [...]* (1581), and *Raccolta di varii balli in occorrenze di nozze, et festini da nobili cavalieri e dame di diverse nationi. ...] con aggiunta del basso e soprano della musica e intavolatura di liuta à ciascun ballo* (1630), are directed at weddings and feasts of the nobility (Armagh CC, f. 142, n° 8 and 7 respectively; LIST A, n° 9 and 8, respectively).³¹ The more complete versions of their titles given above indicate that the treatises also contain lute tablatures.

Before proceeding to the anonymous items featured on LIST B below, a brief word on the one treatise with an Irish connection (Armagh CC, f. 143, n° 8; LIST A, n° 2). The author is William Bathe. He was born in Dublin in 1564, the son of a judge and the grandnephew of the Earl of Kildare. He studied in Oxford, was ordained a priest in Padua in 1599 and died in Madrid in 1614. His *Brief introduction*, published c.1586, was a revision of an earlier treatise of 1584, now lost. Bathe is credited with being the

²⁷ Although Barley is thought to have been an accomplished musician, he is not thought to have been the author of this treatise. Note that it is not attributed to Barley in Conway's catalogue. Cf. *RISM, Ecris*, p.118; see also Barry Cooper, 'Englische Musiktheorie im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert', in: *Geschichte der Musiktheorie, Band 9: Entstehung Nationaler Traditionen: Frankreich, England*. (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1986), p. 158; Miriam Miller/Jeremy L. Smith, 'William Barley', *The New Grove* (2001), vol. 2, p. 736; G.D. Johnson, 'William Barley, "Publisher and Seller of Bookes" 1591-1614', *The Library*, XI (1989), pp.10-49.

²⁸ Cf. *RISM, Ecris*, p. 200.

²⁹ F. J. Leon Tello, 'Martinez', *The New Grove* (2001), vol. 15, p. 918.

³⁰ Cf. *RISM, Ecris*, p. 611.

³¹ Cf. *RISM, Ecris*, p. 207.

first to propose the movable *doh* system as a substitute for the earlier solmisation system based on the three hexachords.³²

An author has yet to be identified for four of the forty-five music-related entries in Conway's catalogue (Armagh CC, ff. 141-144; *LIST B*, n^{os} 42-45). Only one of them, a collection of love songs and 'airs de cour' entitled *La fleur ou eslite de toutes les Chansons amouresuses et airs de court*, Rouen, 1602 (Armagh CC f. 144; *LIST B*, n^o 44) disregards music theory. A possible composer of this music might be P. Guédrón who was based in Normandy until he went to Paris in 1619. He published his first book of *Airs de court* for four and five parts in Paris in the same year, 1602.³³

There is an interesting comparison to be made between the catalogue entry for the 1529 book on tablature: *Livre pour apprendre a faire & ordonner toutes tablatures hors le discant* (Armagh CC, f. 142, n^o 11; *LIST B* n^o 42) and the complete title provided in *RISM* in the subsection entitled *Anonymes*:³⁴

Livre plaisant et tres utile pour apprendre a faire et ordonner toutes tabulatures hors le discant dont et par lesquelles l'on peut facilement et legierement aprendre a jouer sur les manichordion, luc et flutes. Antwerpen, G. Vosterman, 12 oct. 1529. In -4, 38f.

Many of the titles in the catalogue are similarly abbreviated. Although *RISM Ecrits* has identified Antwerp as the place of publication and G. Vosterman as the editor, the author remains anonymous.

There are two remaining anonymous manuals (Armagh CC, f. 142, n^{os} 2 and 10; *LIST B* n^{os} 43 and 45): one, an *Introduction to musicke how to learne to sing*, is probably from England; the other, *Instruction pour apprender a aisement chanter toute Musique* (1577) is from Caen. These bring to eight the total number of entries devoted to the art of singing in Conway's catalogue.³⁵

In conclusion, a brief word on three music-related items found elsewhere in the catalogue (see *LIST C: Rarae et incertae materiae scriptores*). Thoinot Arbeau's well-known *Orchesographie* (Armagh CC f. 532^r; *LIST C* n^o1) is an important addition to the other treatises in Conway's catalogue devoted to the dance. The only problem is the date 1597: modern bibliographical sources refer to a 1596 edition.³⁶ This may

³² Cf. *RISM, Ecrits*, p. 122; Peter Le Huray and Bernarr Rainbow, 'Bathe and his Introduction to Musicke', *Musical Times*, cxiii, (1982), pp. 243-247; modern edition by B. Rainbow (Kilkenny: Boethius Press, 1982).

³³ Cf. G. Durosoir, 'Guédrón', *The New Grove* (2001), vol. 10, pp. 496-497.

³⁴ *RISM, Ecrits*, p. 956. Cf. Howard Mayer Brown and Philippe Vendrix, 'Ut musica poesis: Music and Poetry in France', Appendix I, n^o 4, *Early Music History*, 13 (Cambridge University Press, 1994), p.50.

³⁵ Barry Cooper refers to Thomas Davidsons 'Introduction to Musick' (1662) in *Englische Musiktheorie im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, p. 169. There is no reference to the Caen publication by Lesure in *RISM*, by Wilhelm Seidel in 'Französische Musiktheorie im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert', *Geschichte der Musiktheorie, Band 9: Entstehung Nationaler Traditionen: Frankreich, England*. (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1986), nor by Brown and Vendrix in, 'Ut musica poesis: Music and poetry in France', Appendix I, n^o 4, p.50.

³⁶ Cf. Julia Sutton, 'Arbeau', *The New Grove* (2001), vol. 1, pp. 841-843. *RISM, Ecrits*, pp. 92-93.

simply have been a scribal error on the part of Conway's copyist. The anonymous *Instruction de bien danser* (1488) (Armagh CC, f. 532^r; LIST C n° 2) is probably a collection of melodies for the basse dance with instructions. Its date raises an interesting line of enquiry. Howard Mayer Brown and Philippe Vendrix identified this or a similar work from Paris as belonging to Michel de Toulouse.³⁷ The title they give, *L'art et l'instruction de bien danser*, appears to be an expanded version of that found in Conway's catalogue and the date they suggest is 1490, not 1488. Stanley Boorman postulates the date 1496, having noted that 1488 was added by hand on the extant copy of the book.³⁸ Could it be that Boorman had consulted the very book that was in Conway's collection? It would be worthwhile to consult this and extant copies of the other books in Conway's collection, especially those held in British libraries, to see if the marginalia can prove that they have survived.

Finally, for those contemplating a holiday in Italy, watch out for Christophoro da Messisbugo when in search for local restaurants offering traditional Italian recipes such as the Parmigiano reggiano. This recipe featured in one of Messisbugo's two cookery books first published in 1548-1549. Messisbugo died in 1548. The 1617 posthumous edition listed in Conway's catalogue (Armagh CC f. 534^r) is based on his 1549 publication: *Banchetti e composizioni di vivande*.³⁹

Lord Conway's London library

In addition to his library in Ulster, Lord Conway also possessed a substantial library in London. The relationship between the music contents of two libraries is examined here. A volume now in the Public Record Office in Kew contains an inventory and valuation of libraries that were seized by the Puritan parliament in London in 1643 from Royalist and Catholic households. Amongst these is 'An Inventory of the Books of the Lord Conway delinquent' listing the books sequestered from Conway's London residences at the Charterhouse and the Tower.⁴⁰ Conway's was outstandingly the largest library seized: out of a total of over 7300 titles listed in the inventory and belonging to twenty-six different collections, no less than 4,700, i.e. nearly two-thirds of the total and valued at over two hundred pounds, belonged to Conway. By contrast, the average library listed here contained 283 titles and was valued at about thirty-six pounds.⁴¹

Although the number of volumes in the Armagh catalogue broadly corresponds with that of Conway's London library, only a proportion of the music titles listed in Armagh can be positively identified in the London list. This is partially attributable to the fact that, while the Armagh catalogue usually lists books in detail by title, author, place and date of publication, the London inventory was clearly compiled in relative

³⁷ Brown and Vendrix: 'Ut musica poesis: Music and poetry in France', p. 50, Appendix I, n° 1. Cf. *RISM, Ecrits*, p. 918.

³⁸ Cf. Stanley Boorman, 'Michel de Toulouse' *The New Grove* (2001), vol. 16, pp. 595-596.

³⁹ Cf. <http://www.google.ie/search>, Messisbugo, Cristoforo di.

⁴⁰ ... a true Catalogue of all the Papists and delinquents Bookes seized by vertue of severall Ordinances of Parlement in An° 1643 by the Committee for Sequestracons setting at Cambden howse London, Public Record Office (hereafter PRO), S.P. 20/7, pp. 141-229. See also Roy, 'Libraries', pp. 35-46 + table.

⁴¹ Roy, 'Libraries', pp. 41, 43.

haste, each book being listed in a more abbreviated form, most often without the author's name. It is nevertheless evident that not all books listed in Ulster in c. 1639-41 reappear in the London catalogue of 1643, while, on the other hand, the London collection included music volumes not present in the Armagh list. On the evidence of the music books, therefore, Conway's Ulster (Lisnagarvey) and London libraries appear to have been substantially independent collections, although a portion of the former was either transferred to London between 1641 and 1643 or existed there in duplicate copies. A number of examples will serve to illustrate these relationships.

Like Armagh CC, the London inventory lists books by size. Subjects are not differentiated and books are listed in an apparently random order within each format. Armagh CC includes thirteen music titles of folio format, one of which (Zacconi's *Prattica de Musica*) is represented by two copies, the second being a later edition (Venice, 1622) signalled by a subsequent insertion in the catalogue.⁴² Only five of these thirteen folio music volumes can be identified in the London inventory: the two copies of Zacconi's treatise are listed separately, in each case simply as 'Prattica de Musica It[alian]';⁴³ Mersenne's *Harmonicorum libri* (catalogued in Armagh CC as 'F. Marini Mersenni Harmonicorum libri. Par[is] 1636') is listed as 'Mersenni harmon.';⁴⁴ Adriaenssen's *Novum Pratum Musicum* (catalogued in Armagh CC as 'Emanuel Hadrianius. Novum pratum musicum etc. Antuerp [sic] 1592') is listed as 'Novum Pratum Musicum It[alian]';⁴⁵ while Cerone's *El Melopeo* (catalogued in Armagh CC as 'El Melopeo y Maestro: tractado de Musica Theorica y Pratica. En Napoles 1613. per Pedro Cerone de Bergamo') can possibly be equated with the entry 'De la Musica Sp[anish]' in the London inventory.⁴⁶ Thus, eight of the thirteen folio music books listed in the Armagh catalogue are either absent or cannot be identified in the London list.

Under the quarto books an unattributed *Traicte de Musicque*,⁴⁷ a volume of Gesualdo's madrigals,⁴⁸ Pietro Pontio Parmegiano's *Ragionamento di Musica* (Parma 1588),⁴⁹ Giovanni Battista Doni's *Compendio del trattato de' generi e de' modi della Musica* (Rome 1635)⁵⁰ and possibly Luigi Dentice's *Duo dialoggi della Musica* (Rome 1553)⁵¹ are common to both collections; but Conway's London library also included music volumes not present in the Armagh catalogue. The following entries in the London list do not correspond with any of the remaining ten quarto titles listed in the Conway catalogue: 'Gnarth Quayts harmony',⁵² 'Bellum Musica',⁵³ and 'Mizaldi

⁴² Armagh CC, fol.141^r.

⁴³ PRO, S.P. 20/7, pp. 149, 154.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 153.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 145.

⁴⁷ Armagh CC, fol.142^r [no.4]: 'Traicte de Musicque contenant un theorique succincte pour methodiquement pratiquer la composition. par[is] 1602'; PRO, 20/7, p. 173.

⁴⁸ Armagh CC, fol.142^r [no.9]: 'Del Principe de Venosa Madrigali. Ven[ice] 1616'; PRO, 20/7, p.195: 'Del Principe di Venosa Madrigali'.

⁴⁹ Armagh CC, fol.142^r [n^o 14]; PRO, 20/7, p. 167.

⁵⁰ Armagh CC, fol.142^r [n^o 15]; PRO, 20/7, p. 177: 'Trattado della Musica'.

⁵¹ Armagh CC, fol.142^r [n^o 5]; PRO, 20/7, p. 172 (listed simply as 'Musica It[alian]').

⁵² PRO, SP20/7, p. 105.

⁵³ PRO, SP20/7, p. 186 (unless this refers to Dentice's *Duo dialoggi della Musica* noted above).

harmonia'.⁵⁴ The London inventory does however include an unspecific quarto entry 'Several treatises' which could possibly account for one or more of the outstanding Armagh titles.⁵⁵ Blanket entries such as this, and entries listing individual lots of 'bookes scarce worth valuing', recur under all book sizes in the London inventory. Calvisius's *Melopoeia sive melodiae condendae ratio*, which appears in Armagh CC in an edition dated 1602, may correspond to an entry 'Calvin harmonia Et in acta' in the London list of octavo books.⁵⁶ None of the other smaller format music books in the Armagh CC have yet been identified in the London catalogue.

The distinct yet partially overlapping contents of the two collections indicate that Lord Conway had at least two separate libraries, although some books probably accompanied him as he moved periodically between Ulster and England, and the possibility of duplication of titles between the two libraries cannot be ruled out. It was parliament's intention to sell the London library sequestered in 1643. However, this did not happen and Conway was able to purchase it back from the authorities some years later when his relationship with parliament improved.⁵⁷ The issues of what became of those books that may have remained in Ulster (if indeed they survived the rebellion of 1641), and of his reclaimed London library, lie beyond the present scope of this paper. They are not without interest given the possible survival of the anonymous *Instruction de bien danser* (1488) noted above.⁵⁸

Conclusion

Clearly, Conway possessed an impressive book collection in Ulster. Although it may never be recovered, the possibility must not be ruled out.⁵⁹ The Armagh catalogue provides a revealing insight into the cultural activities of those living in early seventeenth-century plantation Ulster, in particular of those of Conway's status and importance. Balls, banquets, and wedding feasts in Killultagh must have been magnificent affairs and the height of fashion in Europe in the early seventeenth century if we are to judge from the music-related contents of his library. Evidence for the musical interests of wealthy landowners in early seventeenth-century Ireland is scarce. However, our knowledge of the active musical patronage by Conway in Ulster and Boyle in Munster suggests that the presence of musical books in Conway's library may possibly represent more than just the magpie interests of a compulsive bibliophile. Indeed the presence, amongst the otherwise mainly theoretical treatises or books of musical instruction, of a handful of musical editions including Gesualdo madrigals and Lassus *chansons* does raise the possibility that his musicians just might have played some of this music. *Moro lasso* in 1630s Lisburn - who knows?

⁵⁴ PRO, SP20/7, p. 194.

⁵⁵ PRO, SP20/7, p. 158.

⁵⁶ Armagh CC, fol.143^f [n^o 3]; PRO, 20/7, p. 215.

⁵⁷ Roy, 'Libraries', p. 44.

⁵⁸ See above, p. 47.

⁵⁹ Other, even earlier, music collections have been successfully recovered: Cf. J. A. Bernstein, 'Buyers and collectors of music publications: two sixteenth-century music libraries recovered', *Music in Renaissance Cities and Courts: Studies in Honor of Lewis Lockwood* (ed. Jessie Ann Owens and Anthony Cummings, Michigan: Harmonie Park Press, 1977), pp. 21-34.

LIST A: Identified Entries

These are the items for which the author has been identified.⁶⁰ When the author's or editor's name is within square brackets (n^{os} 1, 4, 7, 10, 23 and 27), that name is missing or miss-spelt in the catalogue, but we have been able to identify it. For example, the final entry on Armagh CC, f. 143, item 15 (*LIST A*, n^o 27), has the title *questions harmoniques* and the date 1633 but not the author, Marin Mersenne. The French theorist's name accompanies his other treatise, *Harmonicorum libri* of 1636 (Armagh, CC f. 141, item 8; *LIST A*, n^o 28).

1. [Barley, W.], *The pathway to musicke* 1596
2. Bathe, W., *A briefe introduction to the Skil of Songe* [c.1596]
3. Beurhusius, F., *Erotemata Musicae lib: 2* 1591
4. [Britti, P.], *Canzonetta nuoua da Paolo Brizi*. 1631
5. Calvisius, S., *Melopoiiiae* 1602
6. Camaris, J., *De graecis latinisq[ue] numerar[is] notis* [deleted]
7. [Campion, T.], *A New Way of makinge foure partes in counterpoynt* [1613]
8. Caroso, F., *Il ballarino* 1581
9. Caroso, F., *Raccolta di varii balli* 1630
10. [Case, J.], *The praise of Musicke* 1586
11. Cerone, P., *El Melopeo y Maestro* 1613
12. Dentice, L., *duo dialoggi della musica* 1553
13. Doni, G. B., *Compendio del trattato de' generi [...] della Musica* 1635
14. Dowland, J., *Andreas Ornithoparcus his Micrologus* 1609
15. Fabri, H., *Musicae compendium latin-germanicum [...]* 1617
16. Fabri, H., *Henr. Fabri Compendium Musicae*, 1594
17. Fogliano, L., *Musica theorica* 1529
18. [Gesualdo, C.], *Principe di Venosa Madrigali*. 1616
19. [Glareanus, H.], *Dodecachordon* [1547]
20. Hadrianus, E., *Novum pratum musicum* 1592
21. Lassus, O., *Meslanges* 1586
22. Le Roy, A., *A briefe instruction* 1574
23. [Le Roy, A.], *Traicte de Musicque* 1602
24. Lusitano, V., *Introductione di Canto fermo* 1558
25. Magirus, J., *Ars Musica methodice legibus logicis informata* 1596
26. Martinez, J., *Arte de Cante Ilano* 1554
27. [Mersenne, M.], *Questions harmoniques* 1633
28. Mersenne, M., *Harmonicorum libri*. 1636
29. Negri, C., *Nuove inventioni di Balli* 1604
30. Ornithoparcus, A., *De arte cantandi micrologus* 1533
31. Pontio, P., *Ragionamento di Musica* 1588
32. Praetorius, C., *Erotemata Musicae practica authore* 1570
33. Puteani, E., *Errici Puteani Modulata Pallas* 1599
34. Reinhardo A., *Musica*, 1604
35. Santa Maria, T., *Libro llama[n]do arte de tanner Fantasia* 1565
36. Speuye, H., *Les Pseumes de David mis en Tableture* 1620
37. Stiphelius, L., *Compendium Musicum Latino-germanicum* 1614

⁶⁰ Many titles have been identified in *RISM, Ecrits*.

38. Vanneus, S. J., *Recanetum de Musica aurea* 1533
39. Zacconi, *Prattica di Musica* 1596 and 1622
40. Zarlino, G. *Le Institutioni*, 1558
41. Zarlino, G., *De tutte l'opere ...*, vol: 4. contenente l'institutioni 1589

LIST B: Anonymous entries not yet identified

42. Anon., *Livre pour apprendre a faire & ordonner toutes tablatures hors le discant* [Antwerp, G. Vosterman, 1529]
43. Anon., *an Introduction to musicke how to learne to sing*
44. Anon., *La fleur [...] de toutes les Chansons amouresuses et airs de court* Rouen, 1602
45. Anon., *Instruction pour apprendre a aisement chanter toute Musique* Caen, 1577

LIST C: 'Rarae et incertae materiae scriptores': music-related items found elsewhere in the catalogue

1. f. 532^r: Arbeau, T. *Orchesographie, Metode et Teorie &c pour apprendre a dancier, battre la Tambour &. A Langres. 1597.*
2. f. 532^r: [Michel de Toulouse?] *Instruction de bien dancier. a Par[is] 1488.*
3. f.534^r: Messisburgo, C. da., *Libro nuovo nel qual s'insegna' modo d'ordinar Banchetti &c per Christophoro di Messisbugo [sic] Ven. 1617.*

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