

The Printing and Publication of Sacred Music in England, 1603-1649

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Declaration of Authorship

I, James Ritzema, hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

Signed: James Ritzema

Date: 15/12/20

Abstract

This thesis investigates the role of musical print culture during the reigns of James I and Charles I, focusing on the sources of sacred music printed for liturgical performance and domestic devotion. Offering an account framed by the prevailing trends of economic and cultural decline, and by the financial and legal structures in which the publishing trade operated, this thesis considers the ways in which printed sources of sacred music illustrate the cultural networks centred on publishing, the efforts made to shape the reception of musical texts in the hands of readers, and the relationship between music publishing and the changing religious culture of the early seventeenth century. This thesis examines new and neglected evidence ranging from wills, printing privileges and book trade catalogues to close study of print-house corrections. Together, these are used to offer new insights into the existence of a Music Stock (a group of stationers specialising in music), the possible channels for importation of music from overseas, and the ‘afterlives’ of printed music books. Grounded in book history, sociology of texts and the history of reading alongside traditional musicological accounts of the sources, this thesis places music publishing in the context of larger arguments relating to the role of authority, commerce and religion in the seventeenth-century book trade.

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Abbreviations

Greer	David Greer, <i>Manuscript Inscriptions in Early English Printed Music</i> (Farnham: Ashgate, 2016).
GMO	Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online (Oxford: Oxford University Press), < www.oxfordmusiconline.com >.
Krummel	Donald Krummel, <i>English Music Printing 1553-1700</i> (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1975).
ODNB	Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, online edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press), < www.odnb.com >.
Smith	Jeremy Smith, <i>Thomas East and Music Publishing in Renaissance England</i> (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

Editorial Notes

Original spelling has been maintained in the quotation of primary source material, except for the use of ‘u’ and ‘v’, and ‘i’ and ‘j’, which has been modernised throughout.

Musical examples retain spelling from original sources, except for obvious errors which have been corrected. Original note values have been maintained throughout, although time signatures, ties and bar lines are editorial. Bass figures are copied as closely as is possible from sources, although their exact positioning and customised notational symbols have not been reproduced exactly.

Dates are presented in New Style throughout, although dates of publications are reproduced as they appear in the sources.

Introduction

Among the sixteen chapters of discourse on education and the arts in Henry Peacham's *The Compleat Gentleman* (1622) is a detailed appraisal of music, accompanied by various recommendations of the composers and musical repertoire that young Jacobean gentlemen might find most edifying. Having grounded music in Biblical origins and related the importance it was accorded by Greek philosophers, Peacham turned to recommendations on musical taste:¹

To deliver you my opinion, whom among other Authors you should imitate and allow for the best, there being so many equally good, is somewhat difficult; yet as in the rest herein you shall have my opinion.

For Motets, and Musicke of pietie and devotion, as well for the honour of our Nation, as the merit of the man, I preferre above all other our *Phoenix*, M. *William Byrd*, whom in that kind, I know not whether any may equall. I am sure, none excell, even by the judgement of *France* and *Italy*, who are very sparing in the commendation of strangers, in regard of that conceipt they hold of themselves. His *Cantiones Sacrae*, as also his *Gradualia*, are meere Angelicall and Divine; and being of himselfe naturally disposed to Gravitie and Pietie, his veine is not so much for light Madrigals or Canzonets, yet his *Virginella*, and some others in his first set, cannot be mended by the best *Italian* of them all.

For composition, I preferre next *Ludovico de Victoria*, a most judicious and a sweete Composer: after him *Orlando di Lasso*, a very rare and excellent Author, who lived some forty yeares since in the Court of the Duke of *Baveir*. He hath published as well in Latine as French many sets, his veine is grave and sweete: among his Latine Songs, his seven poenitentiall Psalmes are the best, and that French Set of his wherein is *Susanna un jour*. Upon which Dittie many others have since exercised their invention.

For delicious Aire and sweete Invention in Madrigals, *Luca Marenzio* excelleth all other whosoever, having published more Sets then any Authour else whosoever; and to say truth, hath not an ill Song, though sometime an over-sight (which might be the Printers fault) of two *eights*, or *fifts* escape him as betweene the *Tenor* and *Base* in the last close of *I must depart all haplesse...*

Peacham's recommendations demonstrate an impressive knowledge of English and continental repertoire. However, close examination of this passage reveals the salient truth that, of the identifiable compositions recommended here from across a wide range of genres and musical styles, all had appeared in print prior to the publication of *The Compleat Gentleman*.² Moreover, the two composers whose compositions were not named individually, Victoria and Marenzio, were among the most widely published composers of their day. Yet, while this passage might simply be taken to testify to the important role of publishing in circulating repertoire, it also demonstrates the way publishing could

¹ Henry Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman*, (London: Francis Constable, 1622), 100.

² The publications identifiable here are: William Byrd, *Gradualia, ac cantiones sacrae* (London: Thomas East, 1605) and William Byrd, *Gradualia: seu cantionum sacrarum* (London: Thomas East, 1607); William Byrd, *Psalmes, Sonets, & songs of sadnes and pietie* (London: Thomas East, 1588), which contains the madrigal 'La Virginella'; Orlande de Lassus, *Psalmi Davidis poenitentiales* (Munich: Adam Berg, 1584). The three candidates for the French set containing *Susanne un jour* are listed below.

influence musical understanding, and three such influences of print culture on Peacham's perceptions of music are shown here.

Most obviously, Peacham's evaluation of individual musical compositions is unfailingly in accordance with the larger printed collections to which they belong. In some cases this makes perfect sense: for example, Byrd's *Gradualia* is both a printed edition and a collection of interconnected musical repertoire unified by genre, language and liturgical function which can be appraised collectively. Moreover, Peacham cites *Gradualia* to support the claim that Byrd had a disposition to 'Gravitie and Pietie', which was essentially a commendation of his ability to compose in the motet genre, and this opinion is certifiable by citation of whole collections of such pieces.³ (It is noteworthy that Peacham overlooks the subversive connotations of this contentious Roman Catholic publication, which given his occupation as a schoolmaster were perhaps secondary to the potential didactic function of such a collection, whose Latin texts were associated with academic study and international exchange.) On the other hand, Peacham's appraisal of the 'French Set' containing 'Susanne un jour' as one of Lassus's best collections is evidently made on the back of this single piece, elevating the whole collection above the composer's others as if all pieces within it were of an equally higher standard. Ironically, it is unclear which collection Peacham was commending as this chanson was published in several collections which paired it with different repertoire, including three editions in 1560 alone.⁴

Second, Peacham seemingly equated the size of a composer's publishing output with compositional success or distinction. The approbation he accorded to Marenzio is clearly on account of the fact that he 'published more sets than any Author else'. In a subsequent list of English composers, Peacham noted the skill of Dowland, Morley, Ferrabosco, Wilbye, Kirbye, Weelkes, East, Bateson and Dering, all of whom had their music printed.⁵ Orlando Gibbons, noticeably absent from this list, perhaps went unmentioned because he published relatively little in the mainstream polyphonic genres discussed by Peacham. The omission of such a prolific and well-known musician is made all the more remarkable in the face of the inclusion of an exiled Catholic like Dering, whose compositions had been published exclusively in Antwerp, and might have been encountered by Peacham on his own travels to the Low Countries.⁶

³ On the motet or anthem being associated with solemnity and 'gravity', see Chapter 3.

⁴ Tielman Susato (ed.), *Le quatorsiesme livre a quatre parties* (Antwerp: Tielman Susato, 1560). (RISM 1560⁴). Orlande de Lassus, *Tiers livre des chansons a quatre, cinq et six parties* (Pierre Phalèse: Louvain, 1560). (RISM L 764). Adrian Le Roy and Robert Ballard (eds.), *Livres des meslanges contenant six-vingtz chansons*, (Paris: Adrian Le Roy and Robert Ballard, 1560). (Not in RISM).

⁵ Peacham, *Compleat Gentleman*, 103.

⁶ Ibid. David Smith, 'Henry Peacham', GMO.

Third, although Peacham described the contents of printed collections as if they were one musical unit, he also recognised repertoire as distinct from the contents of printed books. Aware of problems of accuracy which emanated from the press, he acknowledged the danger of corrupting compositions during the publishing process and suggested that some consecutive consonances in Marenzio's madrigals might have arisen as misprints. Peacham's use of the English title of Marenzio's 'Io partirò' suggests he knew this piece from Nicholas Yonge's *Musica transalpina*, an observation David Smith made on account of the fact that the consecutive fifths appear only in Yonge's edition.⁷ The consecutive fifths were introduced in *Musica transalpina* when the closing rhythm of the bassus part was altered to be consistent with the other voices, and this may well have been a mistaken attempt at correction which sought to standardise the duration of the final note in each part, to which a fermata was also added (Figure 0.1).⁸

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Luca Marenzio, *Il secondo libro de madrigali a cinque voci*, (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1581). Nicholas Yonge, *Musica Transalpina*, (London: Thomas East, 1588).

Figure 0.1: Conclusion of ‘Io partirò’ (second part of ‘Deggio dunque partire’) as it appears in (a) Marenzio’s *Secondo libro de madrigali a cinque voci* and (b) Nicholas Yonge’s *Musica transalpina*.

(a)

Figure 0.1(a) shows the conclusion of the madrigal 'Io partirò' by Marenzio, a five-part setting. The score is written for five voices: Canto, Quinto, Alto, Tenore, and Basso. The lyrics are: di vi - ta spen - to spen - to. The music is in a key with one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature. The Canto part begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The Quinto part begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The Alto part begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The Tenore part begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The Basso part begins with a bass clef and a key signature of one flat. The lyrics are: di vi - ta spen - to spen - to.

(b)

Figure 0.1(b) shows the conclusion of the madrigal 'Io partirò' by Nicholas Yonge, a five-part setting. The score is written for five voices: Cantus, Quintus, Altus, Tenor, and Bassus. The lyrics are: my lyfe will fayle mee will fayle mee. The music is in a key with one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature. The Cantus part begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The Quintus part begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The Altus part begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The Tenor part begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The Bassus part begins with a bass clef and a key signature of one flat. The lyrics are: my lyfe will fayle mee will fayle mee.

While Peacham’s example demonstrates the sway printed music books could hold over the way readers understood music, it also testifies to the ability of music publishing to reach large and distant audiences. Alongside the work of English composers, Peacham described composers and their printed oeuvres from Spain, the Low Countries and Italy, who were active in these and other countries and were published even further abroad; whether he knew these repertoires from his own travels to continental Europe in the 1610s or from printed editions (as was clearly the case with Marenzio) is uncertain.⁹ Peacham certainly implied that his knowledge came from continental travels, particularly to Italy: he suggested a personal relationship with Orazio Vecchi when referring to him as ‘mine owne Master’ and

⁹ Smith, ‘Henry Peacham’.

described Giovanni Croce's employment at St Mark's in Venice.¹⁰ However, Vecchi died long before Peacham's first documented travels to the continent and Peacham's account is based on Vecchi's printed collections (he knew the Canzonets only from an edition printed in Nuremburg);¹¹ indeed, Susan Hankey questions whether Peacham ever went to Italy at all, and many of the Italian editions he cites were reprinted in the Low Countries.¹² Again, for all Peacham's praise of Croce's style and description of his career, he cited only his 'Poenitentiall Psalmes', which were available in England as *Musica sacra* (1608). Nonetheless, it seems unsurprising that Peacham should have encountered these composers via their printed oeuvres at a time when European music publishing had, at least in the early modern era, come to its peak, with the vigour of continental publishing surpassing the more limited efforts in London.¹³ Nor is it unusual that *The Compleat Gentleman* recommended printed collections, as most music mentioned is likely to have been readily available for Peacham's genteel readers to purchase, circumventing the need for personal expertise or services of a professional musician to source and transcribe music accurately.

Peacham's knowledge of the musical editions he recommends to the readers of *The Compleat Gentleman* demonstrates the way that the printed music book had become an accessory to a gentlemanly pursuit. In this regard, Peacham offers evidence to complement the opening of Thomas Morley's *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke*, another source attesting to social capital given to music-making in the households of the gentry. In Morley's opening dialogue, the aspiring student recalls a banquet attended by 'excellent schollers (both gentlemen and others)' where music books are customarily brought to the table after the meal and, having admitted that he cannot sing or read music, leaves the other guests marvelling at the incompleteness of his education.¹⁴ While Morley's anecdote testifies to the importance accorded to the performance of music in polite society, Peacham's recommendations on musical taste demonstrate the way that access to the works of these different composers and knowledge of a broad range of repertoire made members of the gentry into musical connoisseurs, helping them acquire social and cultural capital.

To Peacham, gentlemanly pursuit of musical connoisseurship meant encounters with sacred as well as secular repertoire. His separation of 'motets, and musicke of pietie and devotion' from madrigals acknowledges an inherent divide in repertoire whereby music in a different style might be set apart for specific purposes, but his inclusion of such collections in a secular book which instructs gentlemanly recreation illustrates the underlying indeterminacy of such a divide. Peacham's blanket characterisation

¹⁰ Peacham, *Compleat Gentleman*, 103.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 102.

¹² Susan Hankey, 'The Compleat Gentleman's Music', *Music and Letters* 62 (1981): 147.

¹³ Stephen Rose, Sandra Tuppen and Loukia Drosopoulou, 'Writing a Big Data history of music', *Early Music* 43 (2015): 652.

¹⁴ Thomas Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke*, (London: Peter Short, 1597), 1.

of sacred collections like Byrd's motets as 'grave' and secular anthologies of Marenzio and Lassus as being 'light' or 'sweet', terms similarly used by Thomas Morley, suggests that his observation of a divide between sacred and profane music was as much about establishing expectations among his readers about the musical style as it was about directing them towards music with religious or secular texts.¹⁵

Close examination of *The Compleat Gentleman* thus demonstrates Peacham's pronouncements on taste and his own musical understanding to be strongly underpinned by music publishing, even though his discourse rarely mentions printing explicitly. As scholars are faced with only a scattering of surviving printed music from seventeenth-century England, understood to be but a fraction of the original print runs, sources such as Peacham's *Compleat Gentleman* become particularly useful when it comes to answering wider questions about the way printed music featured in early modern life. In this instance, the influence of print culture on Peacham's recommendations challenges the commonly held perceptions of England as being less affected by musical print culture than continental Europe.¹⁶

Investigating the role of musical print culture in early modern England is the aim of this thesis. With an emphasis on the publication of sacred repertoire, this thesis examines the polyphony that was printed for liturgical performance and domestic devotion in the period 1603-1649, as well as the way that it was appropriated by readers or performers similar to Peacham for gentlemanly recreation. This thesis begins by situating music publishing amidst the commercial and organisational trends seen in the wider book trade, and in so doing interrogates the extent to which the trends seen across the whole trade were visible in music publishing. Yet it also raises questions regarding the relationship between music and publishing: foremost among them, how did music books shape the actions of the reader (or performer), most notably through their paratextual dedications and prefaces? Similarly, how did composers, stationers and other agents in music publishing expect the printed book to be used? Did music books observe or propagate a distinction between sacred and secular repertoires, and was this separation equally indistinct in the seventeenth century as it had been in the sixteenth century? Indeed, how did music publishing respond to the seventeenth century's greater trends of the rise of commerce, absolutism and confessionalisation? This thesis therefore expands upon the history of publishing to include the history of music books and their readers in an attempt to gauge the success of attempts to control how printed music was used. Perspectives offered by scholarship on the wider book trade are necessary to understand how music printing can be related to these broader trends.

¹⁵ For Morley's use of these terms: *Ibid.*, 179.

¹⁶ Jonathan Wainwright, for example, describes an 'English reluctance to embrace print culture' and claims that 'England lagged behind the Continent' in respect of its publishing culture. Jonathan P. Wainwright, 'England, 1603-1642', in *European Music 1520-1640*, ed. James Haar (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2006), 521.

Scholarly contexts: book history, cultural history.

The study of music publishing in seventeenth-century England, being indebted to ideas of print culture, of the book trade, and of books and their readers, is therefore heavily reliant on the methods and arguments of book history and historical bibliography. Book history has traditionally been grounded in descriptive bibliography, where the scholarly intention is to classify and record the physical features of a book, or in analytical bibliography where the physical features of the book are interrogated to infer information about its production. In the 1940s and 1950s, analytical bibliography was given significant prominence by literary scholars studying the works of Shakespeare, whose objective was to retrieve the original intentions of the author or to identify an 'ideal' copy-text.¹⁷ These forms of analytical bibliography might involve comparison of different copies of Shakespeare folios to detect textual variants or studying the watermarks in paper to establish a chronology of the different gatherings of a book. A classic example is that of W. W. Greg, who used evidence of a woodblock which is damaged in some parts of Jaggard's First Folio but not others to assert that the printing of the edition was 'interrupted', and that Jaggard printed other works in between these two sections.¹⁸ Jerome McGann and Jeffrey Masten are among the scholars who question the ability of analytical bibliography to infer authorial intent.¹⁹ Yet, even sceptics of the search for authorial intent like D. F. Mackenzie have defended the usefulness of analytical bibliography in understanding working practices of printers: in 'Printers of the Mind' he questions standards of proof in 'scientific' studies of books, but argues in favour of a 'hypothetico-deductive' method by which possibilities are discounted in support of a theory derived from incomplete evidence.²⁰

Studies of English music publishing have shared these methods of descriptive and analytical bibliography. The seminal histories of Robert Steele and Donald Krummel used descriptive bibliography to account for the evolution of different genres of music books, as well as informing the practices and conditions of the first music printers.²¹ Krummel remains a common starting point for much continued bibliographical study, although the extent of his subject and time frame dictated his

¹⁷ Charlton Hinman described his 'intensive bibliographical scrutiny' as something that 'will ultimately bring us a little closer to the truth about what Shakespeare actually wrote.' Charlton Hinman, *The Printing and Proof-Reading of the First Folio of Shakespeare*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963), i.

¹⁸ W. W. Greg, *The Shakespeare First Folio: Its Textual and Bibliographic History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), 440.

¹⁹ Jerome McGann, 'The Monks and the Giants: Textual and Bibliographical Studies in the Interpretation of Literary Works' in *Textual Criticism and Literary Interpretation*, ed. Jerome McGann (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 180-199. Jeffrey Masten, 'Pressing Subjects, or the secret lives of Shakespeare's composers' in *Language Machines: Technologies of Literary and Cultural Production*, ed. Jeffrey Masten, Peter Stallybrass and Nancy Vickers (New York: Routledge, 1997), 75-107.

²⁰ D. F. Mckenzie, 'Printers of the Mind: Some Notes on Bibliographical Theories and Printing-House Practices', *Studies in Bibliography* 22 (1969): 1-75.

²¹ Robert Steele, *The Earliest English Music Printing: A Description and Bibliography* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1903). Donald Krummel, *English Music Printing 1553-1700* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1975).

self-limitation to typographical evidence, and for similar reasons he evaluated sources at edition level rather than considering individual copies.²² Jeremy Smith's more recent examination of Thomas East stands as a testament to the benefits of copy-level study and methods of analytical bibliography, his forensic combination of typographical and paper-based evidence exposing details of East's publishing activities and illuminating the career of a stationer at the turn of the seventeenth century.²³ Similar but more limited analysis of the physical details of Thomas Morley's editions was used by Tessa Murray to speculate about the profitability of his publishing business, although this study has been criticised by Jeremy Smith and John Milsom for its use of standardised figures of print runs and book prices to calculate unrealistically high profits.²⁴ The forensic methods of analytical bibliography have been applied to the production of single editions as well as individual printers: John Milsom's close study of every surviving copy of Tallis and Byrd's *Cantiones ... sacrae* (1575) exposed numerous small variants and shed light on the likely practices of proof-reading and correction in the printshop.²⁵

Press regulation has formed a significant focus of book history, particularly where opportunities appear to trace practices of censorship and the arguably anachronistic concept of copyright. However, this is also no doubt because the most detailed archival source material attesting to the history of England's publishing industry, regarding both the workforce that produced these printed copies and to the history of the copies themselves, originated in the Stationers' Company, itself a regulatory body.²⁶ Bibliographical study of music books has drawn similarly on these archives alongside the string of music printing privileges granted from 1575 onwards, although the principal document, the Stationers' Company Register, is more often used for dating and chronology than study of press regulation. Jeremy Smith's study of Thomas East is one of few to draw on the Register to understand questions of press control in music publishing, and his examination of the way in which this document was used to uphold copying rights to individual editions and to transfer them from one stationer to another demonstrates the profitability of such research.²⁷ The Stationers' Company had strong interests in some music, particularly in the production of the more profitable psalm books and similar publications with musical components; however, their indifference to other genres of music publishing and new printing

²² Krummel, 5.

²³ Jeremy Smith, *Thomas East and Music Publishing in Renaissance England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

²⁴ Tessa Murray, *Thomas Morley, Elizabethan Music Publisher* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2014). Jeremy Smith, 'Morley's Turn', *Early Music* 43 (2015): 324-326. John Milsom, 'Morley and the Book Trade', *The Viola da Gamba Society Journal* 8 (2014): 128-135.

²⁵ John Milsom, 'Tallis, Byrd and the "Incorrected" Copy: Some Cautionary Notes for Editors of Early Music Printed from Movable Type', *Music & Letters* 77 (1996): 348-67.

²⁶ D. F. McKenzie, 'Printing and publishing 1557-1700: constraints on the London book trade', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, Vol. 4, ed. John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 554.

²⁷ Smith, 82, 100.

technologies such as music engraving enables some understanding of the social status of the printed music book and the reading cultures which surrounded it.

Music printing privileges, by contrast, have received considerable attention. Krummel's history of music printing is but one to organise a narrative by the eras of control associated with the different incarnations of the music patent.²⁸ The 1575 music privilege granted to Tallis and Byrd has long been well known to scholars on account of the fact that it was reproduced in full in the proprietors' flagship volume, *Cantiones ... sacrae* (1575), and because the subsequent adornment of contemporary musical editions with the words '*cum privilegio*' has allowed music historians to relate different early editions to this so-called monopoly on music printing.²⁹ Yet, the Tallis and Byrd privilege gave its holders multiple rights besides the printing of music, including the import of foreign music books and the manufacture of ruled paper, and John Milsom has shown that these elements of patent might have been of equal significance to its operators. With Iain Fenlon, Milsom co-authored the significant study of the patent's control over the production and sale of manuscript paper with printed staves, resulting in a much greater understanding of the patent's operation.³⁰ Furthermore, Milsom's more recent work has focussed on the privilege's possible role in importing music from overseas, and this aspect of the music patent's regulation is examined in this thesis in conjunction with any continued effect of the printing monopoly.³¹

The sale and distribution of books in the first half of the seventeenth century have been more thoroughly explored in book history at large than in scholarship of music publishing. James Raven has spearheaded recent study of bookselling and has examined the different trading methods used by booksellers and the establishment of different provincial centres of the book trade over the course of the seventeenth century.³² He has also reflected on the role of the bookseller throughout the printing and publishing process, rather than the point of sale alone, suggesting that markets, consumers and networks of book distribution had greater influence over the whole publishing process than has traditionally been claimed.³³

²⁸ Krummel, 10-33.

²⁹ William Byrd and Thomas Tallis, *Cantiones, quae ab argumento sacrae vocantur* (London: Thomas Vautrollier, 1575).

³⁰ John Milsom and Iain Fenlon, "'Ruled Paper Imprinted': Music Paper and Patents in Sixteenth-Century England", *The Journal of the American Musicological Society* 37 (1984): 139-163.

³¹ John Milsom, introduction to *Thomas Tallis and William Byrd, Cantiones Sacrae, 1575*, Early English Church Music 56 (London: Stainer and Bell, for the British Academy, 2014), xxviii.

³² James Raven, 'The Economic Context' in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, Vol. 4, ed. John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 568-582.

³³ James Raven, *The Business of Books: Booksellers and the English Book Trade 1450-1850* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 4.

Organised distribution of printed music is difficult to trace before the publication of John Playford's first sale catalogue of 1653.³⁴ The places where printed music books were sold are typically listed on the front cover of the edition, suggesting the usual place of sale was the stationer's own printing house or shop; however, there is some evidence of the circulation of these books across the country, with John Barnard and Maureen Bell's research into the bookseller John Foster demonstrating that the book trade allowed printed music to be sold in provincial cities such as York.³⁵ Import of music books from abroad was supposed to be controlled by the holder of the music publishing privileges, but such restrictions have been shown not to have been adhered to and continental editions were sold in England. The most well-known source attesting to the importation of foreign music in this period is a series of catalogues produced by the London bookseller Robert Martin, who Donald Krummel has shown to have offered to supply a large range of music from Venice.³⁶ Subsequently, Jonathan Wainwright has shown that Christopher Hatton's collection of Italian music books (now preserved at Christ Church, Oxford) was purchased from Martin.³⁷ This thesis draws on scholarship of the larger book trade, as well as presenting an unnoticed set of booksellers' catalogues (English reprints of the Frankfurt book fair catalogue, commissioned by the Latin Stock) as a complement to Robert Martin's, to suggest how printed music might have been marketed, and to reconsider the role of catalogues in achieving this.

Printing, publishing and the book trade were undoubtedly affected by the changing economic backdrop of early modern Europe: despite the decidedly unstable financial climate, the seventeenth century saw a transformation of England's economy and the book trade is mostly regarded as being a major beneficiary of the era's mercantilist growth.³⁸ The financial context of the book at this time is further characterised by the waning influence of patronage on publishing in the early decades of the century, perhaps attributable to an economic culture moving towards market-based transactions.³⁹ However, music publishing seems to have been somewhat anomalous in this sense, with the music trade's financial difficulties giving the market lesser influence than in mainstream book production. This thesis argues that, somewhat paradoxically, because the more widespread growth of the book trade and decline of patronage led to a realisation of the lesser profitability of music, the stagnation of commercial music publishing actually resulted in a continued, or even more prominent role of the patron in the era of

³⁴ John Playford, *A Catalogue of all the Musick Bookes Printed in England* (London: John Playford, 1653). For the history of this and other catalogues, see Chapter 2.

³⁵ John Barnard and Maureen Bell, *The Early Seventeenth-Century York Book Trade and John Foster's Inventory of 1616* (Leeds: Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1994).

³⁶ Donald Krummel, 'Venetian Baroque Music in a London Bookshop', in *Music and Bibliography: Essays in honour of Alec Hyatt King*, ed. Oliver Neighbour (New York: Clive Bingley, 1980) 1-27.

³⁷ Jonathan P. Wainwright, *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England: Christopher, First Baron Hatton (1605-1670)* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1997), 28.

³⁸ Raven, 'The Economic Context', 569.

³⁹ For the decline of patronage: Graham Parry, 'Patronage and the printing of learned works of the author' in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, Vol. 4, ed. John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 182.

James I and Charles I. Seventeenth-century patrons have been suggested to have underwritten the cost of printing some of the least marketable music books of the period, most notably with Sir John Petre and Byrd's *Gradualia*.⁴⁰ In these cases, it is likely that the publishing process was sponsored for projects which attracted significant prestige for the patron, or a cause in which the patron has a cultural, political or religious investment.

Analytical and descriptive bibliography remain relevant in informing these studies of the printing process, the regulation of book production, the sale and distribution of books and the role of patronage in driving the publishing process; indeed, the application of bibliographical techniques to establish the wider significance of printed sources is undoubtedly part of a greater trend in book history, with a move from finding the *Urtext* to understanding the book's role in cultural history. Yet, book history itself has undergone something of a transformation since the 1980s: now running in parallel to descriptive and analytical bibliography is a third strand which demonstrates a greater attention to the study of the social dimension of texts, with the 'interaction of text and society' alone being interpreted as evidence of the book's role in cultural history.⁴¹

The relationship between text and society is bound together with the culture of reading, and as Roger Chartier asserts: 'reading is not simply submission to textual machinery ... reading is a creative practice, which invents singular meanings and significations that are not reducible to the intentions of authors of texts or of books'.⁴² This strand of bibliography, according to Chartier, therefore examines the reception of texts in their recorded forms and the supposed act of 'creative appropriation' that occurs when they are detached from the physical object of the book by their readers. However, the examination of the roles of all parties involved in the publishing process, rather than printers and authors alone, led Robert Darnton to consider the role of the bookseller and the reader as forming a 'communications circuit'.⁴³ Darnton's theory of a circuit is reliant on the notion that the reader influences the author before and after the creation of the text, as well as the status that authors themselves have as readers and the fact that they address readers in their work; in a sense this challenges Chartier's theory of reading as an act of appropriation because Darnton is suggesting that the reader and the author both contribute to the creation of the text in its printed form.

⁴⁰ David Mateer, 'William Byrd, John Petre and Oxford Bodleian MS Mus. Sch. E. 423', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 29 (1996): 29.

⁴¹ D. F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts (The Panizzi Lectures, 1985)* (London: The British Library, 1986), x.

⁴² Roger Chartier, 'Texts, Printing, Readings' in *The New Cultural History*, ed. Lynn Hunt (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 156.

⁴³ Robert Darnton, 'What is the History of Books', *Daedalus* 111 (Summer, 1982): 67.

The role of readership in the bibliographical study of the music book is perhaps complicated by the added dimension of performance as the social context in which the compositional text is most commonly received. In her early writings Kate van Orden has authoritatively asserted that musical performances from scores or music books result in undeniable appropriations of an author's text, as such performances give rise to individual responses to the notation and different performances create 'variant readings'.⁴⁴ Similarly, Richard Wistreich has argued that music books are inherently different from other books because of their struggle with their own materiality: he suggests that, in terms of their 'textuality', music books are inherently less stable than their counterparts because the encoding of the musical work in musical notation by the author preserves it in an inherently provisional state, waiting to be realised in performance.⁴⁵ Van Orden's discussion of the way musical performances see texts 'read' twice, by both the performers and the audience, with performers making a specialist text more broadly available through their expert literacy, is not without problems:⁴⁶ for example, partbooks cannot adequately be read by one individual, a fact she has subsequently considered in relation to questions of reading, and necessarily collaborative 'readings' from partbooks by musicians blur the divide between reader and listener because such readers in a collaborative performance also become listeners to the subjective readings of their fellow performers.⁴⁷

Study of the cultures of reading surrounding the music book, therefore, perhaps requires closer examination in relation to early printed editions. Understanding of the social context of early printed music could also be expanded beyond that of Chartier and Van Orden to incorporate more explicit acts of appropriation than reading, such as physical alteration of the book's text, which would doubtlessly have given rise to alternative 'readings' of the new text, and manuscript alterations to music had the capacity to be much greater than in other books. One example of this publicised by David Greer can be seen in a British Library copy of Thomas Morley's *Madrigalls to Foure Voyces*, where an early owner of the music has altered the text of the madrigal 'Say gentle Nymphs' to read 'Say glorious Saintes'.⁴⁸ Here, by providing a madrigal with an entirely new text of a sacred rather than secular nature, the owner or performer has exercised total control over the text's meaning. While manuscript annotations are common in the surviving copies of most forms of early modern book, typically analytical comments relating to the text, major revisions of the author's text do not occur in literary or theological books. Therefore, the introduction by the music book's 'consumer' of alternative words or musical elaboration demonstrates that owners of early printed music had a different idea of their rights to ownership of the musical text from that of a literary work or academic discourse, and certainly from that of a prayer book

⁴⁴ Kate van Orden, *Music and the Cultures of Print* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 2000), xi.

⁴⁵ Richard Wistreich, 'Musical Materials and Cultural Spaces', *Renaissance Studies* 26 (2012): 1.

⁴⁶ Van Orden, *Music and Cultures of Print*, xi.

⁴⁷ Kate van Orden, *Materialities: Books, Readers and the Chanson in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 4.

⁴⁸ Thomas Morley, *Madrigalls to Foure Voyces* (London: Thomas East, 1594). British Library K.3.i.13.

or bible, and the catalogue of manuscript annotations in early English printed music painstakingly compiled by David Greer demonstrates that such appropriations were not uncommon.⁴⁹

This thesis therefore draws on a combination of the bibliographic methods represented above to describe some of the features of early Stuart editions of sacred music which have yet to be recorded, to analyse elements of the sources which provide insight into the conditions of their creation, and to elucidate the social contexts of these musical texts. Rather than attempting to provide a comprehensive inventory of the printed sacred music from the period, it applies methods of book history to sources which have largely been investigated using the more conventional methods of historical musicology alone.

Scope and synopsis

This thesis focusses on music books which contain polyphonic settings of sacred texts. Its scope thus encompasses all printed collections which include at least one polyphonic piece where the text has some religious element, but broadly excludes psalm books and other metrical settings. (A full list of the source material on which this thesis is based is given as Appendix 1.) Because this definition of ‘sacred’ is in terms of text alone, the polyphonic pieces considered here could have been performed in a variety of contexts and settings, including domestic devotion, domestic recreation, and more rarely in the church. While the scope undoubtedly omits some more influential sources for liturgical worship, a focus on editions of polyphonic music instead recognises the commercial and legal structures of the book trade: psalm books were printed *en masse* by the Stationers’ Company, whereas polyphony constituted a smaller sector, operated by individuals, and reliant on different privileges, equipment and readers. Exclusion of metrical psalms leads to the uncomfortable omission of some important sources akin to psalm books, most notably George Wither’s *Hymnes and Songes*, containing tunes by Orlando Gibbons, and the edition of George Sandys’s *Paraphrase on the Divine Poems* with tunes by Henry Lawes.⁵⁰ While these melody and bass settings lie marginally beyond this study’s scope, they are nonetheless discussed in passing in several places.

It should further be acknowledged from the outset that any focus on ‘sacred’ music is not without complication. While the descriptions of musical styles by Peacham and Morley reinforce the idea of a polarisation of divine and worldly music, there is an inherent falsehood in applying the more absolute

⁴⁹ David Greer, *Manuscript Inscriptions in Early English Printed Music* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2016).

⁵⁰ George Wither, *Hymnes and Songes of the Church* (London: Assignees of George Wither, 1623). George Sandys, *A paraphrase upon the Psalms of David by George Sandys; set to new tunes for private devotion* (London: John Legatt, 1638).

modern dichotomy of sacred and secular repertoire in the study of an era where religion infiltrated every aspect of people's lives. Indeed, this thesis exposes some flaws of such blanket classifications of sacred and secular repertoire or publications, while also illustrating the lack of consensus over such divisions among readers at the time. Nevertheless, the focus here on 'sacred' polyphony, defined in the loose sense described above, allows this thesis to recognise trends in the ways different repertoires were printed, distributed and comprehended by readers; in particular, this allows for consideration of religious, as well as financial, motivations behind parts of the publishing trade.

The scope of this study has been confined to the reigns of James I (1603-1625) and Charles I (1625-1649), providing a window of almost half a century in which to track the changing print culture that surrounded the publication of sacred music. The time frame is therefore determined by the two political milestones it falls between: the accession of James I (marking the beginning of the house of Stuart's tenure on the English throne) and the beheading of Charles I and the beginning of the English Commonwealth. While the use of political events might seem an arbitrary basis for determining the parameters of a cultural study, these changes of political regime had a significant impact on the relationship between government and the press and on England's economic policy. Furthermore, in an age where religious politics were partly governed according to a principle of *cuius regio, eius religio*, changes of monarch could have a significant impact on England's religious orientation, with different theological or ecclesiastical factions of the Church of England falling in and out of royal favour.

This clearly defined political era coincides with events involving the main protagonists of English music publishing. The accession of James I in March 1603 coincided closely with the death of Thomas Morley in October 1602, while the death of Charles I in 1649 was soon followed by the first publishing activities of John Playford in 1651. While the publishing activities of Morley and Playford marked pinnacles of commercial success, music printing in the intervening period was characterised by decline, and the likelihood that music publishing at this time was often unprofitable suggests a greater role of other motivations behind some editions of the period.⁵¹

The more active periods of music printing in the Elizabethan, Commonwealth and Restoration eras have received significant scholarly attention in recent years, with Jeremy Smith's monograph on Thomas East shedding light on print culture at the end of the sixteenth century and the opening years of the seventeenth, and Stephanie Carter's doctoral thesis 'Music Publishing and Compositional Activity in England 1650-1700' offering a detailed survey of the relationship between music and print in the

⁵¹ On decline, see Krummel, 32.

Playford era.⁵² This thesis therefore offers an historical analysis of musical print culture to bridge the gap between two more intensively studied periods.

This targeted study of music printing in a politically-defined period allows not only for an exploration of the relationship between the sources and the economic and religious policies of individual monarchs, but also avoids re-inscribing a periodisation of music history that involves the ‘breakthrough’ of Baroque styles in Italy around 1600. Historical narratives of music in England have distanced themselves in recent years from any clear divide between musical periods at the turn of the seventeenth century: while Roger Bray keenly acknowledges a ‘cultural watershed’ at the death of Elizabeth I in 1603, he describes the music of Gibbons in the following years as the ‘apotheosis’ of the Elizabethan style;⁵³ Jonathan Wainwright also reflects on the inadequacy of standard musical-stylistic periodisation in the context of English music history, and while he reflects on the conservative nature of music in this period and notes the general use of the term ‘Baroque’ in relation to music after the Restoration only, he criticises the notion that musical cultures which did not adopt ‘progressive’ Italianate mannerisms were in some way backward or peripheral.⁵⁴ By contrast, Tim Carter queries whether the terms Renaissance and Baroque can be applied outside of Italy at all.⁵⁵ This study of musical print culture under the early Stuarts helps nuance transitions between musical periods and styles; indeed, print culture problematises some sources which are considered to be representative of one period or style, as repertoire emulating the *stile nuovo* was often transmitted in the physical formats which looked back to the Elizabethan tradition and practices.

Chapter 1 of this thesis focuses on aspects of the production of printed music, analysing the different roles undertaken by stationers and the activity of the main publishing houses which were active under the early Stuarts. Inspired by the methods of analytical bibliography described above, scrutiny of some key sources helps chart printing methods across this era: this is partly to inform the conditions in which editions of sacred music were produced, and partly to demonstrate the relationship between emerging printing technology and changing musical styles. Bringing together evidence of technological and commercial stagnation, this chapter establishes the reasons for the decline in output and quality of editions being printed.

⁵² Stephanie Carter, ‘Music Publishing and Compositional Activity in England 1650-1700’ (PhD diss., University of Manchester, 2010).

⁵³ Roger Bray, ‘England: 1485-1600’, in *European Music 1520-1640*, ed. James Haar (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2006), 508.

⁵⁴ Wainwright, ‘England: 1603-1642’, 509.

⁵⁵ Tim Carter, ‘Renaissance, Mannerism, Baroque’, in *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music*, ed. Tim Carter and John Butt, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 7, 17.

Chapter 2 examines the ways that music publishing was controlled, regulated and protected. It explores the far-reaching role of the Stationers' Company as a regulatory body, accounts for the history and terms of printing privileges and clarifies the extent of any censorship of printed music. In examining models of financial cooperation between stationers it argues that three members of that company, Thomas Snodham, Matthew Lownes and John Browne, established a 'Music Stock'; this is suggested to have been modelled on similar shareholding ventures in other sectors of the book trade, and used to pool capital and resources to control music publishing in this period. Analysis of English reprints of Frankfurt book fair catalogues, hitherto unnoticed by musicologists, offers new light on the role of the catalogue in making music available through networks of booksellers, rather than listing stock in one specific location.

Drawing on the extensive prefatory or paratextual material of printed music books, Chapter 3 considers the relationship between composer, stationer and reader. While letters of dedication may imply uncomplicated servitude of the composer to the patron, the rhetoric of these paratextual addresses is dissected in tandem with the smaller number of letters to the reader to demonstrate these epistles' ulterior motives in influencing the reception of the collections among wider audiences. Other extra-textual elements of the music book, including ordering of contents and illustrations, demonstrate the range of devices used to bring purchasers to intended 'readings' of the musical text.

Chapter 4 follows up on these intended readings by exploring the 'afterlives' of printed music books and the way readers engaged with them. Drawing on a range of manuscript inscriptions, historical provenance and archival documents, this chapter accounts for the ways in which printed music was corrected, the patterns of its ownership, and its use as a source for the copying of sacred music for liturgical or recreational use. This chapter presents close analysis of various surviving copies of Henry and William Lawes's *Choice Psalmes* (1648) to show how the systematic manuscript correction of this edition differed from earlier practices of correction. It also examines the priorities of owners such as Sir Charles Somerset as they organised their printed music into composite volumes in their personalised collections, as well as identifying the ways in which the contents of printed books were copied into manuscripts like the Caroline set of Peterhouse Partbooks. Complementing the impression given in the first two chapters that the production and distribution of printed music was localised, these strands of books' afterlives show that they reached wide audiences spread over a large geographic area, as well as crossing divides of professional expertise, gender, religion and social status.

Chapter 5 examines the relationship between music printing and the religious upheaval of the early Stuart era. Historians' theories of confessionalisation are used as a lens for investigating the ways in which printed books encouraged performances true to the devotional purpose of their sacred compositions and guided readers towards intended devotional outcomes. This chapter considers the way

publishing tapped into the cultural exclusivity of continental musical styles to inspire devotion in socially elite circles. New observations are made on the way that William Braithwaite made considerable textual alterations in his edition of *Siren coelestis* to effect a confessional realignment from its Jesuit origins, illustrating the perils of lifting music directly from continental publications. Thereafter this chapter considers the possibility that music printing was used to advance the aspirations of the 'Laudian' or High Church party, both in relation to the reform of church ceremonies and buildings, and to the creation of a centralised and united church which worked in conjunction with a centralised and absolute monarchy.

Chapter 1 – Printers, stationers and the production of the music book

Of the archival material which informs the study of music publishing in early Stuart England, the overwhelming majority relates to regulation and organisation of the printing trade, and precious little gives any indication of what occurred within the printing house. In many cases, there is no evidence for the production of an edition besides the surviving copy itself. Despite its shortcomings (discussed in the Introduction), the method of analytical bibliography has allowed scholars to uncover some close details of printing activities: a case in point was Jeremy Smith's use of the deterioration of woodblocks and watermarks in paper to establish a chronology of East's printing activity, uncover the practice of producing hidden editions and relate the processes of production to East's wider publishing strategy.¹ Inspired by the analytical method, this chapter presents a small amount of close bibliographic analysis of aspects of the use of founts and specialist symbols across key sources to pinpoint some details of the methods of production. This is presented in conjunction with other information inferred from the editions' imprints, such as the places of publication and the naming of separate printers and publishers on title pages which reveal some of the transactions which underpinned the printing process. Archival sources, particularly wills, also inform this chapter's understanding of the main printers operating in this period and confirm some matters relating to the scope and operation of businesses.

In early Stuart England, the printer and publisher were not necessarily the same person. The well-documented and oft-cited court case surrounding Dowland's *Second Booke of Songs* saw an independent publisher, George Eastland, employ the stationer Thomas East to print copies of the book.² East's status as a trade printer (to use a well-established term coined by Ronald B. McKerrow) meant that he was employed to print the edition, but did not pay for the costs of production and therefore bore none of the risk of the edition's financial success or failure.³ Printers who also bore the cost of publication are known as printer-publishers (also McKerrow's term): East's adoptive son Thomas Snodham can clearly be seen to have taken this role in the publication of Robert Tailour's *Sacred Hymns* because he personally petitioned and paid the Company of Stationers for the right to publish the edition, which he printed himself.⁴ Terms such as trade printer and printer-publisher are, of course, entirely anachronistic. No such distinction was observed at the time, nor did printers fall consistently into one or other of these categories: Smith has shown that East fulfilled either role in different business ventures

¹ Smith, 38-54.

² Kirsten Gibson, 'How Hard an Enterprise It Is: Authorial Self-Fashioning in John Dowland's Printed Books', *Early Music History* 26 (2007): 47.

³ Ronald B. McKerrow 'Edward Allde as a Typical Trade Printer', *The Library*, 4th Series, 10 (1929): 121-162.

⁴ Robert Tailour, *Sacred Hymns* (London: Thomas Snodham, 1615). The record of Snodham's payment to the Stationers' Company is preserved in the Stationers' Company Court Book: William A. Jackson, *Records of the Court of the Stationers' Company, 1602-1640* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1957), 456.

and the same is true of Snodham.⁵ Like many of their associates they referred to themselves as stationers.

The term ‘stationer’ is problematic to the modern reader because members of the Stationers’ Company undertook a wide range of activities, and not all printers and publishers were members of the Company. When first founded, the Stationers’ Company brought together textwriters, limners and bookbinders, and took its name from the Latin word *statio*, which indicated no more than the fixed location of booksellers.⁶ By the seventeenth century the term stationer was increasingly being defined by the stationers’ role in selling paper, to the extent that the term began to be used to distinguish from booksellers who sold only printed books, and not blank paper.⁷ In her study of English music publishing in the second half of the seventeenth century, Stephanie Carter advocated use of the word stationer to describe those who ‘predominantly made a living publishing and selling music books’, but to a degree this nullifies the clearly defined legal status of members of the Stationers’ Company.⁸ Women like Lucretia East, widow of Thomas East, were able to continue operating their deceased husbands’ publishing houses but were ineligible for membership of the Company on account of their gender.⁹ The engravers William Hole and James Reave produced music books by a method which was not regulated by the Company, and neither was a member. Nor were most booksellers living outside London.

While it is certainly useful to retain the term used by East and Snodham in the restrictive legal sense to denote membership of the Stationers’ Company, particularly when discussing elements of the publishing trade where their membership gave them advantage or opportunity, exclusion of the terms ‘printer’ and ‘publisher’ negates the important distinctions which can be drawn between these two roles. Indeed, when the stationer acted as the printer, publisher and even bookseller, many other parties might be involved in the extended series of transactions which resulted in the publication of music: type founders, paper makers and merchants, book binders, engravers or woodblock carvers who produced illustrations, patrons and financiers, and in many cases the composer, who might act as proofreader. Over the course of this chapter, therefore, the relevant parties are referred to variously as stationer (when actual members of the Company), printer-publisher and trade printer, as well as simply publisher in the small number of cases where the costs of production were met by someone who was not a member of the Company.

⁵ Smith, 17.

⁶ Peter W. M. Blayney, *The Stationers’ Company and the Printers of London, 1501-1557* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 4, 8.

⁷ Ibid., 12.

⁸ Stephanie Carter, ‘Music Publishing and Compositional Activity in England, 1650-1700’ (PhD diss., University of Manchester, 2011), 67.

⁹ Smith, 122.

This chapter examines the lives, businesses and printing methods of the trade printers and printer-publishers who were active in music printing in the aforementioned gap between Thomas East and John Playford. Just as the initial studies of literary publishing, and the application of analytical bibliography especially, focussed heavily on publishers and books pertinent to the study of Shakespeare, so too has attention fallen on music publishers who issued critically-acclaimed musical compositions, notably Thomas East and the Playford family as publishers of the music of Byrd and Purcell respectively.¹⁰ This trend is seen even in scholarship of music publishers of the early Stuart era as considered in this thesis: for example, John Morehen's close study of Thomas Snodham is deliberately conducted with overwhelming focus on his production of Byrd's *Psalmes Songs and Sonnets* (1611).¹¹ This and his similar work on John Amner's *Sacred Hymns* (1615) both use more intensive methods of analytical bibliography than are found in this thesis, and such methods are often applied with the traditional aim of uncovering the composer's supposed 'intentions', or a (hypothetical) copy text.¹² By contrast, this chapter's account of music printers and their businesses does not solely consider the editions of preeminent composers and instead prioritises sources which best testify to the conditions of the publishing industry and market.

Archival documents are key to this chapter's explanation of the early Stuart printing houses, wills being foremost among them. Wills have yielded significant details about the familial relationships between stationers and the location of their businesses in recent years: Miriam Miller's discovery of Thomas East's will and use of this document to demonstrate that Snodham was his adoptive son-in-law rather than nephew is a case in point, which beyond biographical details also allowed Jeremy Smith to understand the transactions which took place between Snodham and Lucretia East after her husband's death.¹³ Perhaps more importantly, stationers' wills offer the opportunity to assess their relative wealth at the time of their deaths, providing some insight into the size of their businesses and the relationship between printing costs and their own assets. Wills, together with evidence from title pages of printed music, are the basis for the identification of key stationers as printer-publishers or trade printers and brief description of their printing activities which form the opening section of this chapter.

Thereafter, attention turns to printing methods and the development of printing technologies. The passage of type from one printer to another is related to the wills encountered in the first section, and

¹⁰ Richard Lockett, 'The Playfords and the Purcells', in *Music and the Book Trade: From the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century*, ed. Robin Myers, Michael Harris, and Giles Mandelbrote, (London: British Library, 2008) 45–67. Rebecca Herissone, 'Playford, Purcell, and the Functions of Music Publishing in Restoration England', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 63 (2010): 243–290.

¹¹ John Morehen, 'Thomas Snodham and the Printing of William Byrd's "Psalmes, Songs and Sonnets" (1611)', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 12 (2001): 91–131.

¹² For example, Morehen questions whether inked corrections to *Sacred Hymns* truly represented the composer's intentions: John Morehen, 'A Neglected East Anglian Madrigalian Collection of the Jacobean Period', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 11 (1998): 297.

¹³ Smith, 9, 122.

reinforces the impression of dependency on personal and familial ties which underpinned the commerce of music publishing. The complex relationship between technology and new musical styles is also a unifying theme to this survey of printing methods and practices. While technological developments fall easily into teleological narratives of progress, this section's examination of printing methods shows that, as printers sought solutions to the challenges of new repertoire, technology often fell short of what it hoped to achieve. Thus, some stationers' unwillingness or lack of financial incentive to move away from traditional printing practices and equipment possibly restricted the repertoire published, perhaps giving some printed music an inherently conservative outlook.

Study of paper offers useful insights alongside the typographical evidence which has formed the backbone of much descriptive and analytical bibliography in music, and on which Krummel's landmark survey is self-admittedly dependent.¹⁴ Indeed, Smith cited paper as his primary bibliographic evidence in his study of Thomas East, and this was the starting point for many of the conclusions he later reached with additional typographical evidence.¹⁵ A third section therefore incorporates some of the economic perspectives offered by historians of the paper trade, and while this section by no means provides a comprehensive account of the types of paper found in printed music as some other scholarship has done, it observes some trends in paper which are pertinent to the economic climate of music printing and presents evidence from examination of watermarks which helps ground music publishing in the international networks of trade.¹⁶

A final section draws some conclusions regarding the commercial trends of music publishing in the seventeenth century, and the way these trends related to the printing of sacred repertoire. In the early seventeenth century, a decline of the music publishing industry has been observed by scholars to have taken place across Europe and in London specifically.¹⁷ The possible reasons for this decline in publishing activities are examined here, including the limitations of printing methods and technology discussed earlier in the chapter.

¹⁴ Krummel, 171.

¹⁵ Smith, 43.

¹⁶ Smith's catalogue of East's editions lists types of paper found in different editions. Ibid, 138. Daniel Bamford also records paper in all surviving copies of Barnard's *First Book*: Daniel Bamford, 'John Barnard's *First Book of Selected Church Musick*: Genesis, Production and Influence' (PhD diss., University of York, 2009), 136.

¹⁷ On Europe: Lorenzo Bianconi, *Music in the Seventeenth Century*, trans. David Bryant (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 73. Stephen Rose, 'Music in the Market-Place', in *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music*, ed. Tim Carter and John Butt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 67. Stephen Rose, Sandra Tuppen and Loukia Drosopoulou, 'Writing a Big Data history of music', *Early Music* 43 (2015): 651. On London: Krummel, 32. Jonathan Wainwright, 'England, 1603-1642', in *European Music 1520-1640*, ed. James Haar (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2006), 521.

Printer-publishers and trade printers

Having defined the roles of stationers as trade printers and printer-publishers, this chapter begins by charting the activities of the principal music printers and explaining their work within the scheme of these two categories. Jeremy Smith's study of Thomas East demonstrated that he more often worked as a trade printer (most notably in the Dowland *Second Booke* fiasco), but he also acted as printer-publisher and his situation is complicated slightly by his production of 'hidden editions' (editions with a false imprint which purport to be an earlier existing publication) for which he undoubtedly was the sole publisher.¹⁸ The following section demonstrates that, like East, most early Stuart printers were active as both trade printer and printer-publisher, although a majority of the overall number of editions were printed for independent publishers or involved some shared element of financial responsibility. This succession of printers emerging from the period of East's dominance of the market includes his rival John Windet, his wife Lucretia, his adoptive son Thomas Snodham, and thereafter Edward Allde and William Stansby. Stationers' wills, often a neglected source, supplement this account with additional factual evidence, as well as illustrating the networks that sustained the book trade, networks often interwoven by marriage and inheritance.

John Windet (d.1611) was a contemporary of Thomas East who is perhaps best known for printing Dowland's *Lachrimae* in 1604.¹⁹ While Windet's career in music printing during the Elizabethan period had solely involved trade printing psalm books for John Wolfe, an inspection of the polyphonic music which he printed in the early years of the Stuart era shows that he mostly produced secular music and worked with a greater degree of autonomy.²⁰ Table 1.1 offers a transcription of the imprints of Windet's polyphonic editions, confirming which publications are listed as being sold by independent booksellers and which appear to have been Windet's own publishing enterprise. Judging from the references to Windet's house as the point of sale or the absence of the name of an independent bookseller, it can be inferred that Windet probably acted as publisher in six of the thirteen editions he printed, or approximately half.

¹⁸ Smith, 9.

¹⁹ Peter Holman, *Dowland: Lachrimae (1604)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 5.

²⁰ Krummel, 19.

Table 1.1: Editions of polyphonic music printed by of John Windet as trade printer or printer-publisher

Composer	Title	Year	TP/PP	Imprint
John Dowland	<i>Lachrimae</i>	1604	TP	‘Printed by John Windet, dwelling at the signe of the Crosse Keyes at Powles Wharfe, and are to be solde at the Authors house in Fetter-lane neare Fleet-street’ ²¹
Thomas Greaves	<i>Songes of sundrie kindes</i>	1604	PP	‘Imprinted by John Windet dwelling at Powles wharfe, at the signe of the Crosse Keyes, and are there to be solde’
Tobias Hume	<i>First part of ayres</i>	1605	PP	‘Printed by John Windet, dwelling at the Signe of the Crosse Keyes at Powles Wharfe’
Robert Jones	<i>Ultimum Vale</i>	1605	TP	‘Printed at London by John Windet, and are to be sold by Simon Waterson, in Powles Churchyard, at the signe of the Crowne’
Richard Alison	<i>Howres Recreation</i>	1606	PP	‘Printed by John Windet the Assigne of William Barley, and are to be sold at the Golden Anchore in Pater Noster Row’
John Bartlet	<i>A Book of Ayres</i>	1606	TP	‘Printed by John Windet for John Browne and are to bee solde at his shoppe in Saint Dunstones Churchyard in Fleet street’
Michael East	<i>Second Set of Madrigals</i>	1606	PP	‘Printed by John Windet the assigne of William Barley’
John Coperario	<i>Funeral Teares</i>	1606	TP	‘Printed by John Windet the assigne of William Barley, for John Browne and are to be sold at his shop in S. Dunstons Churchyard in Fleet street’
Tobias Hume	<i>Poeticall Musicke</i>	1607	PP	‘Printed by John Windet’
Thomas Ford	<i>Musicke of sundrie kindes</i>	1607	TP	‘Imprinted by John Windet at [sic?] the Assignes of William Barley and are to be sold by John Browne in Saint Dunstones churchyard in Fleet street.
Robert Jones	<i>First set of Madrigales</i>	1607	PP	‘Imprinted by John Windet’
Campion/ Lupo/ Giles	<i>Description of a Maske</i>	1607	TP	Imprinted by John Windet for John Browne and are to be solde at his shop in S. Dunstones Churchyard in Fleetstreet’
Robert Jones	<i>A musicall dreame</i>	1609	TP	‘Printed at London by John Windet, and are to be sold by Simon Waterson, in Powles Church-yard, at the signe of :he [sic] Crowne’

Contrary to Windet’s music printing career before 1604, where he worked only as a trade printer for John Wolfe, Table 1.1 shows that after this date he operated equally as trade printer and printer-publisher, focussing on the production of single-author editions. The trend towards increased activity as a printer-publisher of music in later years of a career is apparent with other stationers: John Morehen’s list of the imprints of East’s heir, Thomas Snodham (d.1625), demonstrates a similar pattern, with fewer editions in his early years having been issued as Snodham’s own enterprise.²² Of approximately forty musical editions Snodham printed between 1609 and 1624, only eight of these appear without listing the name of a separate bookseller or stationer in the imprint, and for which he can be identified as the printer-publisher (although for reasons presented in Chapter 2 it is fairly certain that he held some stake in the editions he released with Matthew Lownes and John Browne after 1613).²³

²¹ *Lachrimae* was first registered by Thomas Adams, but Holman surmises that Dowland eventually decided to publish it himself: Holman, *Lachrimae*, 6.

²² Morehen, ‘Thomas Snodham’, 127. Contrary to the date of 1624 given by Miller and repeated by Morehen, Snodham’s will is dated 16 October 1625: National Archives PROB11/147/114. Miriam Miller (Revised Jeremy Smith), ‘Thomas Snodham’, GMO.

²³ These are: William Byrd, *Psalmes Songs and Sonnets*, 1611; Orlando Gibbons, *The First Set of Madrigals and Mottets of 5. Parts*, 1612; John Ward, *The First Set of English Madrigals*, 1613; Robert Tailour, *Sacred Hymns* 1615; Thomas Campion, *The Third and Fourth Booke of Ayres*, 1617; George Mason and John Earsdon,

Snodham's caution in the number of editions he published is perhaps also matched by a caution exercised in the musical genres for which he chose to bear financial responsibility: his first enterprise as a printer-publisher, Byrd's *Psalmes, Songs and Sonnets* (1611), drew on the works of an established composer and the edition deliberately invokes the title of the earlier *Psalmes, Sonets and Songs* (1588), which had already been reprinted on multiple occasions.²⁴ Robert Tailour's *Sacred Hymns* (1615) clearly imitated the popular psalm book tradition in its appearance and content, which had been a lucrative mainstay of the English Stock's publishing enterprise from its acquisition of Richard Day's psalm book patent in 1604.²⁵ Likewise, Snodham perhaps chose to publish Thomas Campion's *The Third and Fourth Book of Ayres* (1617) because he had already printed the *Two Bookes of Ayres* in 1613 in conjunction with the booksellers Matthew Lownes and John Browne, presumably releasing the latter publication in the knowledge that it was easy to print and that the first had not altogether been a financial failure.

Snodham's decision to act as printer-publisher in the later stages of his career is probably a reflection of the fact that he had acquired the necessary capital to pay the substantial costs of publication up front, and this relationship between stationers' accumulation of capital and increased activity as printer-publishers of music appears not to have been considered by scholars previously. Snodham's will (dated 16 October 1625) shows that he had accumulated significant wealth by the time of his death and he left behind a large estate including individual monetary gifts of over £750, freehold land in Fulham and copyhold (a manorial tenancy) in Walthamstow, and all this besides making his wife the principal beneficiary of his will with the remainder of the estate.²⁶

The last of the three main music printers of this period who worked in the years after Thomas East was William Stansby (d.1638), who had worked as John Windet's apprentice; his activities as a music printer were described in an erroneous and now outdated article by Cecil Hill.²⁷ A transcription of imprints made by Hill similar to those above demonstrates that he printed only eight music books despite the relative lack of competition from other printers after 1625.²⁸ Judging by the imprint of each of these editions, Stansby acted as a trade printer in only two of these cases, printing William Corkine's *Ayres*

The Ayres that were Sung and Played at Brougham Castle, 1618; Martin Peerson, *Private Musicke*, 1620; John Attey, *The First Booke of Ayres*, 1622.

²⁴ Smith, 150.

²⁵ For this edition's relationship with the psalm book tradition, see Chapter 5. Krummel, 27.

²⁶ Snodham left £250 to each of his daughters, Anne and Elizabeth, as well as stipulating that a similar sum and the land would be available to any unborn male child of his; this is besides the presumed significant financial provision for his wife, also called Elizabeth, who was set to receive the remainder of the estate, including his business and his shares in the English Stock: National Archives PROB11/147/114.

²⁷ Cecil Hill, 'William Stansby and Music Printing', *Fontes Artes Musicae* 19 (1972): 7.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 11.

(1610) for John Browne and Thomas Ravenscroft's *Melismata* for Thomas Adams (1611);²⁹ thereafter he appears to have acted as printer-publisher alone in four further editions and published two in conjunction with Richard Hawkins and George Latham (his partnership with these stationers is also discussed in Chapter 2). Stansby's greater propensity to act as printer-publisher in his musical output is unusual, and James Bracken's observation that in his early career Stansby acted as printer-publisher in only a quarter of cases shows this to be inconsistent with his other activities.³⁰

Cecil Hill has shown that Stansby was apprenticed to John Windet on 12 January 1590/91, being made a freeman of the Stationers' Company on 7 January 1596/7;³¹ thereafter he continued to work with Windet at Paul's Wharf and maintained his own publishing house on the same site after Windet's death (contrary to Hill's erroneous assertion that Windet moved from this site).³² The relationship between Windet and Stansby has, however, been misunderstood in the past, with Cecil Hill speculating that Stansby worked as a foreman for Windet, 'probably not enjoying any sort of partnership'.³³ In fact, Windet's will (which has received some attention from bibliographers, but has seemingly gone unnoticed by musicologists) shows that this was far from the case, demonstrating that the two had struck a deal to describe their relationship using the exact term 'co-partner'; and while Hill suggested Windet left his business to Stansby because he was his favourite apprentice, it would appear that he stipulated in his will that his share of the business was to be sold to Stansby at full price for the benefit of his sisters.³⁴

Item I quit & bequeath to my saide sisters all my part or portion of my printinge stuffe or instruments for printinge now in my tenure or in the tenure or occupation of William Stansby Cittizen and Stacioner of London, whoe is now Copertner with me in printing as by certaine Covennante made between us both touchinge the same at large appeareth, All with saide printinge stuffe or Instruments for printinge, as presses, letters, cases, chases borders, cast or cutt letters, limits markes composing stickes, flowers, gallies paperbordes or other thinge or things necessarie or necessities whatsoever now used occupied or ymploid or hereafter to be used occupied or imployed by what name or names the same shalbe of or shalbe called in or about the said printinge house or other rooms belonging to the same.

All with saide goodes debtes and chattells whatsoever my will and minde is that they shalbe in this three daies after my death equallie divided between the said William Stansby and my Executor to the use of my said sisters except the saide William Stansby will buye the same at fair[h] price or prices as by the discreton of Mr Thomas Samson and Mr Adam Islyp shalbe thought fit and meete to be given for the same, and if the said William Stansbye doe refuse to buye or take the same at such rate or price as the saide Mr Samson and Mr Islyppe shall thinke fitt to agree upon, Then my will and minde is that the same equall parte or portion belonging or apperteyninge to my

²⁹ William Corkine, *Ayres to Sing and Play to the Lute* (London: William Stansby for John Browne, 1610); Thomas Ravenscroft, *Melismata* (London: William Stansby for Thomas Adams, 1611).

³⁰ James K. Bracken, 'William Stansby's Early Career', in *Studies in Bibliography* 38 (1985): 216.

³¹ Hill, 'William Stansby', 7.

³² Stansby's will described him as a parishioner of St Peter's Paul's Wharf: National Archives PROB 11/177/699. Hill's erroneous suggestion that Windet moved to a new shop at St Dunstan-in-the-West is derived from the address of John Browne, for whom Windet acted as trade printer: Hill, 'William Stansby', 8.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Hill suggested that Stansby inherited Windet's copies through the register of the Stationers' Company for this reason. Ibid. Parts of the will were transcribed by James K. Bracken, who used them to correct the misconception that Windet lived until 1615: Bracken, 'Stansby's Early Career', 214.

saide sisters shalbe solde to the Companie of Stationers or printers nott in the Cittie of London. And if the said Companie shall refuse to buye the same then then my will and minde is that the same shalbe solde or sold or disposed of to the most benefitt and advantage of my saide Sisters at the discretion of my executor.³⁵

Besides Windet and Stansby, few other printers acted as music publishers. Edward Allde, held up as an example by Ronald B. McKerrow to define the term ‘trade printer’, ironically acted as printer-publisher in the only set of partbooks he printed, John Amner’s *Sacred Hymns* (1615);³⁶ however, Allde also printed Ravenscroft’s *A Brieffe Discourse* (1614) for Thomas Adams and Campion’s *The description of a Maske* (1614) for Laurence Lilse, both containing music in parts. Allde printed these music books under a royal privilege (described in Chapter 2) which was unknown to Morehen when he conducted his bibliographical study of Amner’s *Sacred Hymns*.³⁷

Also acting as a printer-publisher on one isolated occasion was Lucretia East, wife of Thomas East. Lucretia, and not their adopted son Thomas Snodham, stood as the principal beneficiary of Thomas East’s will;³⁸ although it was clearly Thomas East’s intention that Snodham would assume control of his business, Lucretia inherited the £160 share in the English Stock, Thomas East’s two houses and, crucially, East’s business, which Snodham was required to pay a £200 bond to operate.³⁹ Lucretia is believed to have been actively involved in printing music in East’s publishing house, so it is unsurprising that the business continued to operate under her control until Snodham raised the £200 bond.⁴⁰ Lucretia herself produced a new edition of Byrd’s *Songes of sundry natures* in 1610, with the imprint suggesting that she was responsible for the production of the book and also acted as its publisher.⁴¹ Unlike Allde, Lucretia East would no doubt have been aware of the financial risk associated with acting as printer-publisher for musical projects, and her decision to pursue this project gives substantial credence to Smith’s suggestion that she had built up the required expertise working in Thomas East’s printing house while he was still alive.⁴²

³⁵ National Archives PROB 11/117/12.

³⁶ McKerrow, ‘Edward Allde as a Typical Trade Printer’, 121-162.

³⁷ Morehen, ‘Madrigalian Collection’, 288.

³⁸ Smith, 122.

³⁹ Ibid., 123.

⁴⁰ Lucretia’s evidence, including the warning to Eastland to ‘tell the sheets’ brought to East for the printing of Dowland’s *Second Booke*, shows considerable knowledge of the detailed workings in East’s printing house. Jeremy Smith, ‘The hidden editions of Thomas East’, *Notes*, Second Series, 53 (1997): 1079. Jackson, *Records of the Court*, 20.

⁴¹ ‘Imprinted at London by Lucretia East, the assigne of William Barley, and are to be sold at the house of the sayd L. East, being in Aldersgate streete neere the gate’. William Byrd, *Songes of Sundrie Natures* (London: Lucretia East, 1610). This publication is listed as RISM B5214 and B5215, although there appear to be no differences to support the idea that these are separate editions.

⁴² Smith, 122.

Obvious parallels can be drawn between Lucretia East and other female printers or publishers who inherited existing printing businesses. Emma Short, widow of Peter Short, was responsible for the third edition of Dowland's *First Booke* in 1603;⁴³ this edition was printed for Thomas Adams as an independent bookseller, but its introduction of the words 'newly corrected' to the title page suggests that she could have been responsible for implementing textual revisions. Beyond England, Lucretia East and Emma Short had counterparts in the more industrious Katherina Gerlach in Nuremberg, as well as Madeleine and Marie Phalèse in Antwerp.⁴⁴ The Phalèse sisters were able to register with Antwerp's guild of St Luke in 1629, as their father Pierre Phalèse had done upon moving to the city, thereafter releasing over 180 musical editions over the following forty-five years.⁴⁵ Lucretia East's ineligibility to join the Stationers' Company prevented a similarly extensive career: although the Stationers' Company allowed her to maintain rights to her husband's publications, she would have been unable to register new titles for publication, and thus transferred these rights to Snodham (see Chapter 2).

The role of composers and the editors of anthologies in working with these printers remains broadly uncertain, both in terms of any possible commercial stake in publication and their possible supervision of the printing process. The range of possibilities of composers' own financial investment can be demonstrated with two examples from Dowland: his *Lachrimae* (1604) is one of the more widely-accepted examples of a composer publishing their own compositions with a trade printer, in this case John Windet, whose imprint lists Dowland's own house as the point of sale (Table 1.1 above).⁴⁶ In opposition to this example is the case of his *Second Booke*, where the composer's involvement in the book's production seemingly ceased entirely upon the sale to the publisher George Eastland of a manuscript copy of the collection by Dowland's wife (described further in Chapter 3).⁴⁷ The equally disparate involvement of composers in seeing their music through the press is examined further in Chapter 4.

Towards the middle of the century, and as the market for printed music is supposed to have worsened, these instances of publication by music printers became increasingly rare. After the death of William Stansby in 1638, a string of trade printers tried their hands at printing music for independent publishers, typically with limited accuracy. John Norton, James Reave, Edward Griffin and James Young each printed one musical edition in the latter part of the reign of Charles I.⁴⁸ Each of these cases was highly

⁴³ Gibson, 'Authorial Self-Fashioning', 49. John Dowland, *The First Booke of Songes* (London: Emma Short for Thomas Adams, 1603). RISM D3840.

⁴⁴ Susan Jackson, 'Who is Katherine? The Women of the Berg & Neuber - Gerlach - Kaufmann Printing Dynasty', *Yearbook of the Alamire Foundation* 2 (1995): 451–463.

⁴⁵ Susan Bain and Henri Vanhulst, 'Phalèse family', GMO.

⁴⁶ Holman, *Lachrimae*, 6.

⁴⁷ Margaret Dowling, 'The Printing of John Dowland's *Second Booke of Songs or Ayres*', *The Library*, 4th Series, 12 (1932): 366.

⁴⁸ William Braithwaite (ed.), *Siren coelestis centum harmonium, duarum, trium & quatuor vocum* (London: John Norton for William Braithwaite, 1638). William Child, *The First Set of Psalmes of III Voyces* (London:

atypical and conveyed considerable political or religious undertones (examined in Chapter 5), the first three being sponsored and published by the author or editor and involving some novel method or equipment for printing which are hereafter examined in this chapter. They therefore stand in distinction to the earlier tradition of music released for the mainstream market by printer-publishers or traditional commercial booksellers who employed a trade printer.

James Reave, 1639); John Barnard (ed.), *The First Book of Selected Church Musick* (London: Edward Griffin, 1641); Henry Lawes, William Lawes et al., *Choice Psalmes put into Musick* (London: James Young for Humphrey Mosley, 1648).

Methods of music printing

As was the case across much of Europe, music in England in the early seventeenth century had reached a point of stylistic tension. English sacred music around 1600 is typically characterised as reactionary, often with good reason: in summarising liturgical and devotional music of this period, Jonathan Wainwright has described the contemporary repertoire as being ‘extremely conservative’, both in the continued performance of music from the previous century and the style of new music being composed, despite some atypical uses of ‘modern’ Italian mannerisms.⁴⁹ These Italianate styles and forms, which emanated from English composers such as Walter Porter, William Child and George Jeffreys, as well as in the manuscript sources of the period containing *stile nuovo* sacred music from the continent, such as British Library Add. MSS 31434, 31479 and Evelyn MS 189^a, demonstrate that sacred music-making in England was by no means unaffected by musical developments across the Channel.⁵⁰ For, besides the traditional ‘Elizabethan’ repertoire that had reached its zenith in the early years of the seventeenth century, England became home to native and foreign music which reflected the new Italian idiom:⁵¹ monody, recitative, the *stile concertato* and more liberal handling of dissonance are all found in English manuscript and printed sources of the period.⁵²

New styles of music, uncommon as they may have been in the sacred repertoire, had significant implications for printing. Such styles encouraged, both by commercial necessity and opportunity, the development of new printing methods to overcome musical challenges. Some elements of traditional book production were ill-equipped to cope with the new styles: the smaller note values were challenging to represent and read using moveable type, which could not incorporate the necessary beaming or ornaments; likewise, scores had significant advantages over partbooks, a format with substantial shortcomings when the amount of content attributed to each part ceased to be evenly balanced and when an accompanist required a score to follow heavily decorated vocal lines.⁵³ Tim Carter notes that many early Italian editions of music in the *stile nuovo* pushed the printing methods of the time to their limits to create extravagant scores in upright folio, with the luxury of the edition matching the high cultural

⁴⁹ Wainwright, ‘England, 1603-1642’, 520.

⁵⁰ For a thorough description of these manuscripts’ contents: Jonathan Wainwright, *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England: Christopher, First Baron Hatton (1605-1670)* (Aldershot: Scolar, 1997), 242, 254, 285.

⁵¹ For the supposed ‘apotheosis’ of the Elizabethan style at the time of Gibbons: Roger Bray, ‘England, 1485-1600’, in *European Music 1520-1640*, ed. James Haar (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2006) 508.

⁵² Jonathan Wainwright traces the advent of different features of the *stile nuovo* in England, accompanying this with strong criticism of traditional historiographic emphasis on the presence of Italianate mannerisms as a sign of ‘progressive’ music. Wainwright, ‘England 1603-1642’, 523.

⁵³ Stephen Rose comments on the unsuitability of moveable type to represent florid solo parts and keyboard music, as well as highlighting the inadequacies of partbooks for music of more varied textures. Rose, ‘Music in the Market-Place’, 68.

value of the self-proclaimed new music.⁵⁴ However, the financial and technological burden the new musical styles placed on printers, who might need to acquire new materials or equipment, or adopt new techniques to print novel repertoire (including engraving), may have made the new musical styles financially unattractive to the stationers printing music in London.

For, while new printing technologies like engraving or the specialist type needed for figured bass would supposedly have given stationers an advantage over their competitors who were unable to reproduce certain types of repertoire, such an advantage might have proved entirely unnecessary in an uncompetitive, or indeed, monopolised market. Some of these new technologies were undoubtedly expensive, leaving stationers with strong incentives to print music with existing equipment and according to traditional methods where possible, giving rise to a kind of commercial inertia. Indeed, this might even be taken to signify a financial disincentive towards the printing of newer styles of music which could not be replicated with existing equipment; thus, characterisations of music in England as being old-fashioned might reflect the economic realities of the market for printed music at the time as much as musical taste.

The reign of James I, and to a lesser degree that of Charles I, was a period with little sustained use of new technologies of music printing and in which there was also little publication of sacred works in the *stile nuovo* that might benefit from them. This section traces the technology of music printing in the early Stuart era, linking it to ideas about the way that printing practices might have influenced musical taste. While the inheritance of founts like Windet's resulted in a tendency among stationers to print similar repertoire to their predecessors, new methods and equipment flourished among the interlopers to this otherwise closed market: specialist founts were cast, the first music was engraved, and attempts were made even to replace traditional musical notation.

Donald Krummel's typographical study showed that, in 1603, London printers were using four purpose-designed music founts for partbooks (founts which measured approximately 10mm in height).⁵⁵ Besides these, a number of smaller founts designed for psalm books were employed, some occasionally in attempts to print polyphony. With one such partbook fount owned by East, Windet and Peter Short respectively, and a fourth likely in the hands of Thomas Morley's widow, the distribution of type among a small number of stationers in London differed substantially from continental publishing centres: in Venice, the firms of Scotto and Gardano had each owned and employed three or four such founts

⁵⁴ Tim Carter, 'Printing the "New Music"', in *Music and the Cultures of Print*, ed. Kate van Orden (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 2000), 5.

⁵⁵ Krummel, 175.

concurrently;⁵⁶ in Leipzig, music type was owned by a high proportion of the city's printers.⁵⁷ Unusual also was the longevity of London's music founts: the 'Haultin' fount (to use Krummel's term), which had originated in La Rochelle and had been first used in England by Thomas Vautrollier in 1570, was still being used over a hundred years later after the death of John Playford.⁵⁸

The wills described above show it was common for both the property and businesses of stationers to pass to their heirs upon death. Both Krummel and Morehen observed the transfer of the Haultin type from East to Snodham, with Morehen connecting this to the mention of 'printinge stuffe' in an account of Lucretia East's sale of her husband's business to her son Snodham in 1608 in the Stationers' Company Court Book.⁵⁹ Such mentions in archival documents of transfers of type are exceptionally rare, but study of typefaces in printed books has long been used by scholars like Krummel to identify chronologies of the limited number of founts which were used in the first century and a half of English music printing. Krummel authoritatively identified the continued use of typefaces by measuring their height in millimetres, with his identification of each fount going unquestioned for decades.⁶⁰ His findings have come under scrutiny in recent years by scholars such as Laurent Guillo, who argued that it was necessary to take multiple measurements, as well as accusing Krummel and others of inaccuracy.⁶¹

In spite of such criticisms, some music founts can be proven to have passed between printers. In addition to measuring typefaces according to the more stringent methods insisted upon by Laurent Guillo, it is possible to identify distinctive examples of worn or defective pieces of type which appear in the works of successive printers.⁶² This kind of analysis can be applied to show that the printing materials described in Windet's will were acquired by William Stansby.⁶³ Figure 1.1 shows the continued presence of a damaged C1 clef from the 'Windet' fount which appears in Windet's edition of John Coperario's *Funeral Teares* and Stansby's edition of William Leighton's *Teares or Lamentacions of a*

⁵⁶ Jane A. Bernstein, *Music Printing in Renaissance Venice: The Scotto Press (1539-1572)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 96. Jane A. Bernstein, *Print Culture and Music in Sixteenth-Century Venice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 62.

⁵⁷ Stephen Rose, 'Music Printing in Leipzig During the Thirty Years' War', *Notes*, Second Series, 61 (2004): 331.

⁵⁸ Krummel, 127, 175.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 90. Morehen, *Thomas Snodham*, 93. Jackson, *Records of the Court*, 36.

⁶⁰ He appends a tabular summary of typographical chronology: Krummel, 175.

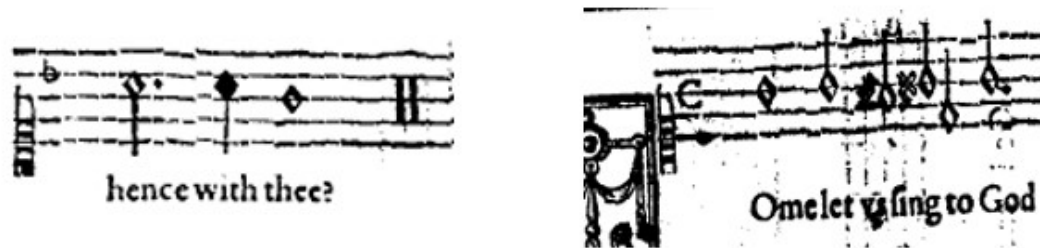
⁶¹ Laurent Guillo, "'Made in Germany'". The dissemination of mensural German music types outside the German-speaking area (and vice versa), up to 1650', in *Early Music Printing in German-Speaking Lands*, eds. Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl, Elisabeth Giselsbrecht and Grantley McDonald, (London: Routledge, 2018), 67-83.

⁶² Guillo in turn recommends the Vervliet-Heartz method, which relies on three measurements and sometimes a description. Guillo, 'German music types', 67.

⁶³ Windet's widow transferred the rights to a significant proportion of his printed titles to William Stansby in September 1611: Edmund Arber, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1660 A.D.* (London: privately printed [the author], 1876), iii, 466. Cecil Hill speculates that this was because Stansby had been Windet's 'most successful and perhaps favourite apprentice': Cecil Hill, 'William Stansby', 8.

Sorrowfull Soule, confirming that this transaction suggested by Windet's will did take place after his death.

Figure 1.1: Defective C1 clef used by Windet and Stansby. Left: John Coprario, *Funeral Teares* (London: John Windet, 1606), Sig. D₂^v, British Library K.2.g.7. Right: William Leighton, *Teares or Lamentacions* (London: William Stansby, 1614), Sig. c₁^r, British Library K.1.i.9.



The longevity of these founts, such as the Haultin or Windet typefaces, is telling: equipment developed in France to print music of the 1570s was likely to fall short in producing some of the repertoire which was in demand in England fifty years later. One of the more striking instances of an old typeface being used to print sacred music in the newer styles can be seen in William Stansby's edition of Walter Porter's *Madrigales and Ayres* (1632), which opens with the extraordinarily flamboyant 'O Praise the Lord'.⁶⁴ This five-part verse anthem, which appears at the beginning of an otherwise secular collection, combines sections of highly decorative Italianate monody with choruses of traditional English polyphony. Figure 1.2 offers a representative example of the typically sharp juxtaposition of these two styles, with the first characterised by unprepared dissonances and Italian vocal mannerisms, such as the *trillo*, and the second being more typical of polyphonic styles of the sixteenth century.


⁶⁴ Walter Porter, *Madrigales and Ayres* (London: William Stansby, 1632).

Figure 1.2: Conclusion of opening section and beginning of first chorus in Walter Porter's 'O Praise the Lord'

Besides the reproduction of Porter's music in partbooks using unbeamed moveable type, which no doubt made performance of these works considerably more difficult than if they were presented in score, the composer also appears to have come into difficulty in communicating some of the new musical techniques used in the volume. Porter described the *trillo* technique in the letter to the practitioner as being represented by no more than a series of notes to one syllable, for which he gives an example in the body of his text (Figure 1.3).

Figure 1.3: Porter's example of the *trillo* ornament in his letter 'To the Practitioner'. Walter Porter, *Madrigales and Ayres* (London: William Stansby, 1632), Cantus Sig. [A₃], Folger Shakespeare Library, STC 20124.5.

not to sing but where there are words or this signe :: of Repetition; in the Songs which are set forth with Diuision, where you find many Notes in a place after this manner



inrule or space, they are set to expresse the *Trillo*: I haue made vse of these *Italian* words, because they shall not mistake, and sing them, if they were expressed in English, being mixed amongst the other wordes, *Tace* which is, that the Voyces or Instruments, are to be silent, or hold their peace, till such or such things be performed, also the word *forte*, which is strong or loud, I haue set before most

However, it is possible the composer found this unsatisfactory when faced with the finished edition, as many of the *trillos* in the sole complete set of surviving partbooks have been amended to include handwritten slurs to indicate the presence of this Italianate ornament (Figure 1.4).⁶⁵ Jonathan Wainwright, in preparing his collected edition of Porter's works, has noted the many manuscript additions in these partbooks and suggests that they are collectively likely to be the work of the composer in revising and correcting the edition.⁶⁶ Stansby clearly made some effort to include similar markings in his printing of the edition, presumably at the direction of the composer: this is exemplified by the numerous attempts, such as that at the end of the second solo section in the Cantus part (Sig. B₁^v), to reproduce ties by printing a fermata below the stave (Figure 1.5).

⁶⁵ Porter, *Madrigales and Ayres*. British Library Copy K.8.f.20. RISM P5218.

⁶⁶ Jonathan P. Wainwright, Introduction to *Walter Porter: Collected Works*, ed. Jonathan Wainwright (Middleton, Wisconsin: A-R Editions, 2017), xv.

Figure 1.4: Annotations in Porter's *Madrigales*, with manuscript tie to d' in the first line and manuscript slurs in third, fourth, fifth and sixth lines. Walter Porter, *Madrigales and Ayres* (London: William Stansby, 1632), Cantus Sig. B₁^r. British Library K.8.f.20. #

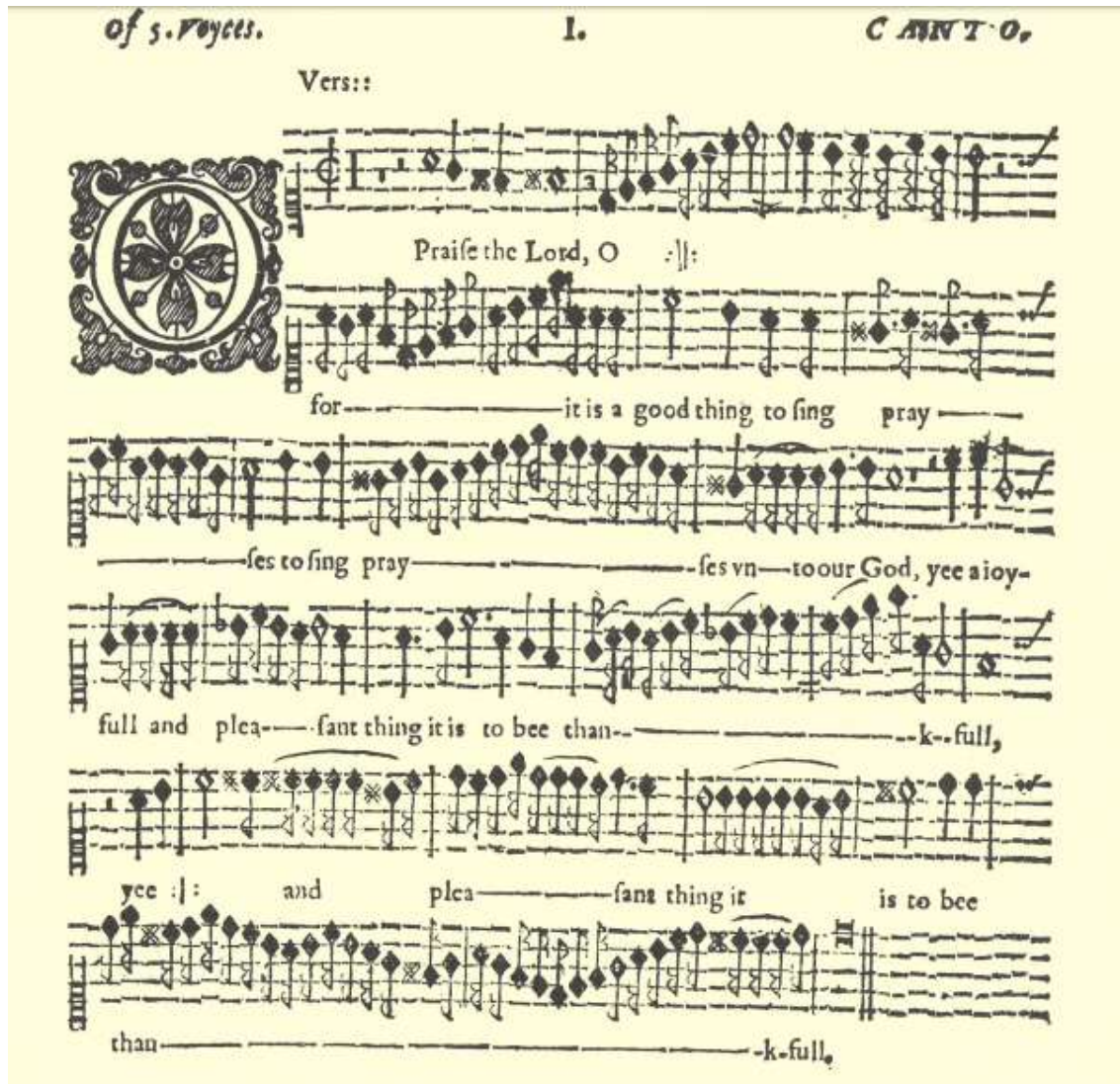
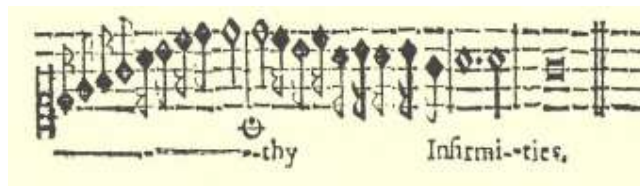


Figure 1.5: Stansby's use of a fermata as a tie across a bar line. Walter Porter, *Madrigales and Ayres* (London: William Stansby, 1632), Cantus Sig. B₁^r, British Library K.8.f.20.



Nonetheless, in spite of the shortcomings of the prescribed partbook layout and the printing materials at Stansby's disposal, he seems to have made attempts to adapt the presentation of the music in the edition to be more suitable to the style. Stansby made use of some improvised bar lines, originally cast as part of the Windet fount so that the compositor could line up a vocal line melody with lute tablature, in Porter's verse sections to aid the singer in the subdivision of larger note values into runs of semiquavers;⁶⁷ while Stansby had used them before on rare occasions in some printed consort songs, the rhythmic complexity of Porter's music seem to have prompted the first occasion where the printer opted for discretionary use of bar lines in music in multiple partbooks for the purpose of making a single vocal line easier to read.⁶⁸ While some vertical lines had appeared in psalm books as early as the 1590s, this was not the case in printed partbooks, in which the practice of using lines to divide music into roughly units of equal measure was extremely uncommon before 1650.⁶⁹

In reproducing Porter's compositions in print, Stansby was also required to overcome the challenge of printing a separate *basso continuo* partbook with figured bass. Porter's 'O Praise the Lord' was not necessarily the first sacred work to be printed in England with figured bass, as Stansby also attempted to print figures in an edition of Martin Peerson's *Mottects or Grave Chamber Musique* (1630) two years earlier, which responded entirely differently to the challenges of printing keyboard accompaniment.⁷⁰ Peerson's collection is contentious in its designation as a sacred work;⁷¹ nonetheless, it is worthy of mention in conjunction with Porter's *Madrigales*, as these two collections are the two first printed examples of figured bass in England, albeit produced with greatly differing methods.

The edition of Peerson's *Mottects* has a continuo part printed on two staves, in a manner similar to contemporary manuscript organ books, with figures printed between treble and bass staves to assist the player in realising inner voices between the two outer parts (Figure 1.6). This is typical of the more prescriptive accompaniments given for organ accompaniment, as opposed to those for harpsichord, which might be presented with figures alone; as Roger North would explain later in the century, such notated accompaniments were supplied because the continuous sound produced by an organ was more

⁶⁷ Stansby used bar lines in Corkine's *Ayres*, which was no doubt a technique he became familiar with as an apprentice to John Windet, who frequently employed lines in this way. Snodham employed bar lines in this way in the four books of Campion's *Ayres*.

⁶⁸ Stansby twice used bar lines to join cantus and the lute (but not at even intervals) and replicated these bar lines in the other parts: Edward Filmer (ed.), *French Court-Ayres, With their Ditties Englished* (London: William Stansby, 1629); William Leighton, *Teares or Lamentacions*, sigs. b₁^v-A₂^r.

⁶⁹ Krummel, 75.

⁷⁰ Martin Peerson, *Mottects or Grave Chamber Musique* (London: William Stansby, 1630).

⁷¹ While Le Huray included Peerson's *Mottects* in his list of devotional music and Graham Parry described it as a collection of sacred madrigals intended for acts of communal devotion, Richard Rastall described it as 'Greville's [the author of the text] treatise on human love'. Peter le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England (1549-1660)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 405. Graham Parry, *Glory, Laud and Honour: The Arts of the Anglican Counter-Reformation* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2006), 164. Richard Rastall, Introduction to *Martin Peerson, Complete Works IV: Mottects or Grave Chamber Musique (1630)* (Moretonhampstead: Antico Edition, 2011), v.

likely to disrupt the other parts if played incorrectly.⁷² Stansby's edition of Peerson's *Mottects* also retains the highly idiosyncratic practice of marking the accidentals relating to inner voices on the staff line of the affected note, as can be seen in Figure 1.6 with the marking of E flats in the second and third bars of the lower stave. Stansby resorted to an entirely different method of notating a continuo part for Porter's collection, preferring a single stave with figures notated above (Figure 1.7). As in Peerson's collection, there is a preoccupation with being able to notate the inner harmonies unambiguously and Wainwright has noted that the method differs from modern figuring practice in that accidentals are used to modify the figures to give the exact interval above the bass, rather than express the tonality of the chord.⁷³ Figure 1.7 demonstrates this practice at the first figure, where b6 above an F sharp signifies an interval of a minor sixth to D natural.

Figure 1.6: Stansby's combination of organ score, figured bass and stave accidentals. Martin Peerson, *Mottects or Grave Chamber Musique*, (London: William Stansby, 1630), Organ Part, Sig. C2^v. Huntington Library 14225.



Figure 1.7: Walter Porter, *Madrigales and Ayres* (London: William Stansby, 1632), Bassus [2], Sig. B1^r, British Library K.8.f.20. Continuo part with figures alone, with accidentals to denote the major or minor interval from the bass.



⁷² Peter Holman, 'Evenly, Softly, and Sweetly According to All': The Organ Accompaniment of English Consort Music', in *John Jenkins and his Time: Studies in English Consort Music*, ed. Andrew Ashbee and Peter Holman (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 354.

⁷³ Wainwright, 'Walter Porter, Collected Works', xiii.

While stationers such as William Stansby continued to rely on the old music founts which were passed down to them, several more minor printers, often attempting to print music for the first time, had new founts cast. After the ‘Windet’ fount used by Stansby had first appeared in 1604, the next new set of type used for partbooks in England did not materialise until 1621, when the so-called ‘Nightingale’ fount (to use Krummel’s name) was first used in Ravenscroft’s psalm book.⁷⁴ Judging by its height of approximately 5mm, at a time when most partbooks were printed using type which was about double this size, it is apparent that the Nightingale was cast with the intention of printing psalm books and not polyphonic music;⁷⁵ however, it is notable for being the only fount cast in the years between the beginning of James’s reign and the end of the 1630s, and for being adapted for occasional use in the printing of polyphonic music in otherwise non-musical books, such as ‘The Bees’ Madrigal’ in Charles Butler’s *The Femenine Monarchie*.⁷⁶

While the trend towards adaptation of existing equipment to meet new publishing needs was popular, some resorted to the casting of new founts where they had specific presentational requirements. A principal objective in the printing of John Barnard’s *First Book of Selected Church Musick* (c.1641), a compendium of established Anglican choral repertory, was to imbue the collection with the presence and authority of the contemporary cathedral manuscripts it sought to standardise and replace by imitating their distinctive format and appearance (see Chapter 5). Barnard was a minor canon of St Paul’s rather than a stationer, who would have owned no printing materials, but he showed no desire to ‘make do’ by employing a trade printer with ordinary type;⁷⁷ thus, a new fount was cast for his publishing project which was suitable to the requirements of the book in that it was almost double the size of other founts of the period and that it had distinctive ‘diamond’ note heads which gave it the appearance of a formal cathedral-style manuscript, as well as a new fount for the text underlay to imitate a contemporary scribal hand (Figure 1.8).⁷⁸ Krummel noted the use of Barnard’s music type again for John Wilson’s *Psalterium carolinum* (1657), although the abandoning of the accompanying type for the underlay in this publication suggests that the printers were not attempting the same imitation of cathedral manuscripts.⁷⁹ More specific still were the requirements of William Braithwaite, whose so-called ‘Siren’ fount (Krummel’s name also) was cast in the late 1630s for the printing of *Siren coelestis* (1638); for this project an entirely new fount was needed to reproduce Braithwaite’s new system of notation based on Arabic numerals, which functions as a system of vocal tablature (Figure 1.9).

⁷⁴ Krummel, 69.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 175.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 68. Charles Butler, *The Femenine Monarchie* (London: John Haviland for Roger Jackson, 1623), Sig. L₁^v.

⁷⁷ Barnard’s printer Edward Griffin not only did not own music type, but had never printed music in parts before: Bamford, ‘Barnard’s *First Book*’, 133.

⁷⁸ The fount is described at: Ibid., 168.

⁷⁹ Krummel, 96.

Figure 1.8: Specialist type used in Barnard's *First Book* designed to imitate cathedral manuscripts. John Barnard (ed), *The First Book of Selected Church Musick* (London: Edward Griffin, 1641), Medius, 120^v.

Lib. 1. Full Anthems. Medius Decani

Hofanna to the Sonne of David.

These words are taken out of the 9. verse of the 21. Chapter of the Gospell,
written by the Evangelist Saint Matthew.

6. parts.

OSANNA To the Sonne
of David the Sonne of David Hosanna
to the Sonne of David, blessed be hee blessed be hee
that cometh blessed be hee that cometh in the name
of the Lord blessed be the King the King blessed be the

Figure 1.9: Specialist type used for Braithwaite's system of notation. William Braithwaite (ed.), *Siren coelestis* (London: John Norton, 1638), Sig. A1^v. Cambridge University Library Dd*.2.4(D).

2. Cant. vel Ten. III. Lycii Vrsini.

S 7 6 5 4 3 2 2 a 1 7 a 1 2 3 4 3 2 3 4 3 4 2 1 2 3 3 4 1 2
Pi ritus alme De- i qui custos es me- i, me tibi comissum;
5 6 7 7 1 5 3 4 5 5 6 3 3 4 5 5 6 4 4 3 2 6 7 6 5
me tibi comissum, ij me tibi comissum, comissum pi e ta te
3 4 5 6 7 1 7 6 5 4 5 6 5 4 5 3 2 1 2 3 2 1 7 1 7 3 4 3 1 2 2 a 1 2.
super- na, pie tate super- na, hodie illumina il-

Although Barnard and Braithwaite employed the trade printers Edward Griffin and John Norton to produce their editions, there is every reason to believe that in both cases they, and not the printers, owned the specialist type required to produce the edition. Daniel Bamford assumes that Barnard incurred the substantial cost of the fount, arguing that its absence from any subsequent publications by Griffin indicates that it was retained by Barnard, while the royal privilege granted to William Braithwaite (discussed in the following chapter) made it illegal for anyone else to own the ‘Musicall-Arithmetical figures, Punchions, Matrices ... and other such tools and instruments’.⁸⁰ Thus, the only investment in new music type for printing partbooks in the years between the accession of James and the end of the English Civil War came from individuals outside the book trade who had no experience as printers but acted as publisher for isolated ventures.⁸¹

The greatest single development in music printing techniques of the period is undoubtedly the arrival of engraving to England, and as was the case with the casting of new type, investment in this new technology came from without the Stationers’ Company. The earliest engraved editions, the anthology of keyboard music by Bull, Byrd and Gibbons titled *Parthenia* and Angelo Notari’s *Prime Musiche Nuove*, both date from around 1612;⁸² these were followed by *Parthenia In-Violata* and Orlando Gibbons’s *Fantazies of III. Parts*, believed to have been issued around 1620.⁸³ The difficulty of printing keyboard scores from moveable type was undoubtedly a factor in the decision to produce *Parthenia* and *Parthenia In-Violata* with this method.⁸⁴ Likewise, the decision to engrave Angelo Notari’s *Prime Musiche Nuove*, the first full collection of *stile nuovo* works to be printed in England, is entirely in line with the precedent described by Tim Carter for continental music in this style to be reproduced as such, perhaps even emulating the Italian prints; indeed, the presentational developments facilitated by engraving, namely score and beaming, make the highly florid vocal lines and basso continuo far easier to read.

The fact that it is these secular anthologies which carry the musical ‘innovations’ of the time, which require technological adaption or experimentation, might be interpreted as another reason to believe that sacred music of the period was stylistically conservative and did not need to make use of these newer methods. Yet, in light of the established theories that *Parthenia* and *Prime Musiche Nuove* were

⁸⁰ Daniel Bamford assumes that Barnard incurred the substantial cost of the fount, arguing that its absence from any subsequent publications by Griffin indicates that it was retained by Barnard. Bamford, ‘Barnard’s *First Book*’, 173. For Braithwaite’s privilege, see Chapter 2.

⁸¹ The Windet fount was first used in 1604, so its casting was roughly contemporaneous with the accession. Krummel, 175.

⁸² Thurston Dart, ‘The Printed Fantasies of Orlando Gibbons’, *Music & Letters* 37 (1956): 343.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 344.

⁸⁴ Mary Chan suggests that this is why *Parthenia* was engraved, also suggesting that engraved music was ‘seen as luxurious, with a status close to that of presentation manuscripts’. Mary Chan, ‘Music Books’, in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, ed. John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 130.

significant symbolic enterprises, it might instead be taken as an indication of the deflated cultural currency of sacred works;⁸⁵ that is to say that, whereas a grandiose collection of Latin motets had been the obvious choice of a first publication with which Tallis and Byrd were to honour Elizabeth I after the granting of the privilege, early Stuart composers or publishers seem to have turned to secular genres for the prestigious musical gifts or first fruits of pioneering technological advancements.

Ultimately, only one collection of sacred music would be engraved before the English Civil Wars: William Child's *The First Set of Psalmes of III Voyces* (1639). This collection's title page describes these works as being 'composed after the Italian way' (a reference to the scoring for two treble voices and bass/basso continuo), which might give reason to suspect that it was, like Angelo Notari's *Prime Musiche Nuove*, engraved because of the opportunities this technique offered for presenting complicated musical textures; however, any such connection between the Italian style and engraving, or indeed any supposed value offered by engraving, is likely to have been mostly aesthetic as the collection is not presented in score and the predominantly syllabic word setting results in very little beaming (Figure 1.10). Instead it is printed in small oblong octavo partbooks without bar lines, with the principal notational benefit of engraving appearing to be the occasional appearance of ties and slurs.

Figure 1.10: William Child, *The First Set of Psalmes of III Voyces* (London: James Reave, 1639) f.4^r. Glasgow University Library, Sp Coll R.c.19.



The methods and technology for music printing therefore had a close but complex relationship with the changing musical styles of the early seventeenth century, and while most printers of the period encountered some challenges in the printing of newer styles of music, they applied greatly differing

⁸⁵ Chan echoes the suggestions of others that *Parthenia* was intended for presentation to the dedicatees, Princess Elizabeth and Frederick V, Elector Palatine, at the time of their wedding. Ibid. See also: Krummel, 144.

solutions to these problems. Crucially, there seems to have been a disinclination among stationers to invest in new printing equipment and technology, while publishers who were not members of the Company were seemingly more open to new methods. This was perhaps because music not printed according to traditional methods or equipment was sometimes exempt from certain mechanisms of control which are examined in Chapter 2; but the reluctance of stationers to print music which required such new methods raises significant questions about the factors which influenced the selection of repertoire for publication, and whether the supposed conservative taste of the English market stemmed from purchasers or from printers.

Paper and production costs

Supply of paper was the single greatest commercial variable in the printing trade. The major commercial undertaking of importing costly paper, invariably from overseas, held great sway over the book trade in England; indeed, such was the financial outlay of this commodity that the stationer who met the cost of this key resource is considered by scholars like Jeremy Smith to have had a role synonymous with that of the modern publisher.⁸⁶ While many elements of the publishing trade discussed thus far were characterised by the familial or personal ties which bound together the commercial network of book production, the supply of printing paper appears not to have rested on such alliances. This is perhaps unsurprising given that the relationship between printers and paper suppliers rested solely on financial transactions rather than a skill or craft that might be shared between members of a family. This section thus demonstrates how music publishers grappled with high paper costs and were heavily exposed to fluctuating prices and aggressive taxation. Rather than being based on a comprehensive account of paper types, this section instead draws on original sources relating to taxation, broader scholarship among book historians and a small number of watermarks in the sources which embed music printing in international networks of trade.

Costs of the paper for most printed music in this period remain elusive, but its value among stationers is clear from the way that disputes arose over its use; indeed, there are many acknowledgements of the worth of this commodity beside the well-documented debate over the large quantity of paper at the heart of the aforementioned East vs. Eastland dispute, often taken as the starting point for discussions regarding paper in music publishing. When reprimanded by the court of the Stationers' Company in September 1635 for poor workmanship in the printing of the psalter for the English Stock, William Stansby was forced to 'beare the losse of his ill workmanship and the [English] stocke the losse of the pap(er)',⁸⁷ besides this, Stansby lost the licence to print the Middleburg Psalms (metrical psalms, with prose psalms in the margin), with the settlement for the whole court case being conditional on Stansby's safe return of the unspoilt paper he had been given to produce the latter publication.⁸⁸ Similarly, in 1612 five printers were given the sole right to print ballads by the Stationers' Company Court on the condition that they were not to print on paper costing less than 2s 8d a ream;⁸⁹ this surely reflects the expense of paper at the time, with publishers vying to use cheaper sub-standard alternatives because the outlay of this resource was so great.

⁸⁶ Smith, 44.

⁸⁷ Jackson, *Records of the Court*, 271.

⁸⁸ Ibid. For the identification of the Middleburg Psalms: Nicholas Temperley, 'Middleburg Psalms', *Studies in Bibliography* 30 (1977): 162-170.

⁸⁹ Edward Allde, George Elde, William White, Simon Stafford and Ralph Blower. Jackson, *Records of the Court*, 54.

Mainstream bibliographical scholarship has determined paper to have comprised the majority of a publisher's costs. David McKitterick argues that poorer channels of supply to England would have made paper costlier still to English publishers than their continental counterparts, for whom paper comprised more than half of production costs.⁹⁰ James Raven estimates higher still, suggesting between two-thirds and three-quarters.⁹¹ Musicologists have been somewhat more reticent in offering such estimates. Tessa Murray emphasises the cost of paper, remarking upon a general parity with the costs of labour, which she claims it sometimes exceeded.⁹² The principal evidence for paper costs in Murray's study of Morley's business is the testimony given by East in his dispute with Eastland, in which the paper for Dowland's *Second Booke of Songes* cost £7 16s 6d while East charged Eastland £10 for labour.⁹³ Such instances of trade printing for an independent publisher perhaps had greater labour costs, diminishing the proportion of overall spending accounted for by paper, and indeed the relative paper costs were proportionate to the number of copies printed, as fixed costs like the labour of typesetting would have constituted a greater relative cost in cases of smaller print runs. Musicological literature is perhaps wise to avoid specific estimates, as the relative cost of paper in publishing projects depended on a range of factors besides the price of the paper itself: typesetting costs might well have been greater for more complicated musical works, while print runs and markets for printed music were perhaps smaller on average than those for other printed books.

The paper available in seventeenth-century England, both to printers and to the wider public for manuscript use, came in different sizes and degrees of quality. Watermarks were sometimes added by papermakers to align their grades of paper with a particular size, type or to identify the place of origin, but this practice was highly erratic and far from being standardised or regulated. For example, 'foolscap' might indicate a size of sheet, its quality, a description of a watermark (taking its name from a jester's headgear), or most likely a rough combination of all three. Occasionally an exact match can be made between a type of paper found in a printed book and a specific paper mill (see the example of Heusler described below), but the overwhelming majority of paper 'identification' involves haphazard and approximate matching of watermarks associated with particular paper sizes and regions and measurements of sheets in books; the use of measurements is particularly prone to error with printed music because almost all extant copies have been trimmed in some way in the binding process, some extensively. Tessa Murray's study of Thomas Morley's printing business drew confidently on watermarks as an indication of the types of paper used in music publishing: where a 'pot' watermark

⁹⁰ David McKitterick, *A History of Cambridge University Press 1450-1850*, Volume I (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 285.

⁹¹ James Raven, *The Business of Books: Booksellers and the English Book Trade 1450-1850* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007): 50.

⁹² Tessa Murray, *Thomas Morley, Elizabethan Music Publisher* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2014), 119.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 119. Transcription of figures given at 101. The economics of this particular transaction are skewed by the large payment made to the wife of John Dowland for the manuscript, which would have been an exceptional expense.

was observed, it was identified as pot-sized paper.⁹⁴ Her identification of ‘crown’ paper as the type of paper most often used for music printing is not unreasonable, but the surety with which conjectural prices for this and other sorts of paper are used in calculations of the profitability of music printing do not perhaps reflect the uncertainty of the evidence or the changing prices of paper.

John Bidwell’s account of the paper trade (on which Murray draws) gives some approximate sizes of paper in the seventeenth century which are reproduced here (table 1.2):⁹⁵

Table 1.2: Estimates of sheet sizes given by John Bidwell.

Name	Approximate size of sheet
Pot	12 ½ by 16 ins.
Foolscap	13 by 17 ins.
Crown	13 ¾ by 18 ins.
Demy	15 by 19 ½ ins.
Royal	18 by 23 ½ ins.

A source with considerable potential to elucidate the paper sizes used in music books, and which has gone unnoticed by musicologists for this purpose, is the British Library copy of Byrd’s *Songs of Sundrie Natures* which was reissued by Lucretia East in 1610 (British Library K.2.f.9.). This set of partbooks is highly unusual in that it remains totally untrimmed by binders, to the extent where most gatherings still have the rough, uneven edges from the paper mould. The quarto partbooks measure approximately 10 ½ by 7 ½ inches, and doubling each of these measurements (to account for a fold each way in the original sheet to produce a quarto gathering) aligns them most closely with Bidwell’s estimated measurements for demy.

The high-quality white paper required for printing in England, including music printing, was imported. At the beginning of the seventeenth century the great majority of this came directly from France, with a small quantity from elsewhere in Europe which was mostly shipped to England through Holland.⁹⁶ But while scholars invariably stress that paper was imported, little thought is given to such reliance on foreign trade at a time of major political and economic instability. In spite of James I’s attempts to pursue a policy of peace, the 1620s saw major deterioration in diplomatic relations with France, culminating in several years of open warfare in the Anglo-French War (1626-29), as well as a growing rivalry over the course of the century with the Netherlands.⁹⁷ Besides England’s own poor international relations and domestic economy, the economic situation across Europe in the wake of the Thirty Years’ War remained bleak.⁹⁸

⁹⁴ Murray, *Thomas Morley*, 196.

⁹⁵ John Bidwell, ‘French Paper in English Books’, in D. F. McKenzie and John Barnard (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Volume IV 1557-1695*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 590.

⁹⁶ Bidwell, ‘French paper’, 583.

⁹⁷ Conrad Russell, *Parliaments and English Politics, 1621-1629* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), 209.

⁹⁸ Peter H. Wilson, *Europe’s Tragedy: A History of the Thirty Years War* (London: Allen Lane, 2009), 795.

The stability of imported paper prices is disputed: David McKitterick suggested that prices remained constant, rising by only seven per cent between 1583 and 1652 (a judgement replicated and unchallenged by James Raven), while John Bidwell claims entirely the opposite, that printers often had to contend with surging prices and unreliable exchange rates.⁹⁹ One source raised by Bidwell for an indication of pricing of paper is *The Rates of Marchandizes*, an official pamphlet assigning nominal prices for goods for tax purposes.¹⁰⁰ Imports, including paper, were taxed according to a system called ‘poundage’, whereby five per cent of these nominal values of goods was to be paid to the crown (known as the subsidy).¹⁰¹ *The Rates of Marchandizes* creates the impression of a stable market, adjusting prices only when a long term change in a commodity’s value had taken place and not reflecting minor fluctuations in the market.

From the beginning of James I’s reign to 1635 the nominal values of reams of paper for poundage were kept constant (Table 1.3). However, the Stuart state’s attempts to rectify its poor financial situation at the beginning of the seventeenth century led to the introduction from 1608 of an extra five per cent tax called the ‘imposition’;¹⁰² this duty, which targeted certain lucrative trades, was applied to paper from the outset. Confusingly, *The Rates of Marchandizes* provided a second nominal value of paper for the assessment of this extra five per cent tax, which often differed from the first value given for poundage (Figure 1.11). Table 1.3 shows how this second value for calculating the imposition was sometimes subject to change, and that its valuation of most types of paper was reassessed in 1635: this likely gives a more accurate reflection of the gradually changing prices over this period than the stable value used for calculating poundage. Prices assigned to the higher grades of paper which would have been used for music publishing seem to have risen substantially: the imposition value for foolscap, described as being used in an engraved edition below, and demy, a possible match for Lucretia East’s paper, are both recorded as having doubled in price between 1608 and 1635. The real, as opposed to nominal, value of these types of paper had quite likely been climbing over the years.

⁹⁹ McKitterick, *History of Cambridge University Press*, 285. James Raven, *Business of Books*, 55. John Bidwell, ‘French Paper’, 584.

¹⁰⁰ Also known as the Book of Rates. Ibid., 591.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Linda S. Popofsky, ‘The Crisis over Tonnage and Poundage in Parliament in 1629’, *Past & Present* 26 (1990): 47.

Table 1.3: Nominal paper prices for ‘subsidy’ and ‘imposition’ in *The Rates of Marchandizes*, 1604-1642.

STC no.	Year	Copy and printing paper (subsidy)	Copy and printing paper (imposition)	‘Cap-paper’ (subsidy)	‘Cap-paper’ (imposition)	Demy paper (subsidy)	Demy paper (imposition)
7690.7	1604	2s 6d		2s 6d		4s	
7691	1608	2s 6d	2s 6d	2s 6d	2s 6d	4s	4s
	1610	2s 6d	12d	2s 6d	2s 6d	4s	4s
7691.2	1612	2s 6d	12d	2s 6d	2s 6d	4s	4s
	1620	2s 6d	12d	2s 6d	2s 6d	4s	4s
7694	1623	2s 6d	12d	2s 6d	2s 6d	4s	4s
7694.3	1625	2s 6d	12d	2s 6d	2s 6d	4s	4s
7694.5	1631	2s 6d	12d	2s 6d	2s 6d	4s	4s
7695	1635	2s 6d	2s	2s 6d	5s	4s	8s
(Wing E920)	1642	4s 6d		7s 6d		12s	

Figure 1.11: Different paper prices for calculating subsidies and impositions. *The Rates of Marchandizes* 1635, Sig. [E4].

	<i>Rates Inwards.</i>	<i>Subsidie.</i>	<i>Impost.</i>
	blew paper the Reame—	iiij.s.—	vj.s.
	browne paper the hun-	xij.d.—	ij.s.
	dle —		
	cap-paper the Reame—	ij.s.vj.d.—	v.s.
	demi-paper the Reame—	iiij.s.—	viiij.s.
	ordinary printing and		
	copie paper the	ij.s.vj.d.—	ij.s.
	Reame —		
	painte paper the Ream—	vj.s.viiij.d.—	iiij.s.iiij.d.
	prelling paper the 100	vj.s.viiij.d.—	vj.s.viiij.d.
	leaves —		
	Rochel paper as large		
	as demi-paper the	iiij.s.—	vj.s.
	Reame —		
	Royall paper the Reame—	vj.s.viiij.d.—	xiiij.s.iiij.d.
	Paste of Iene the pound—	ij.s.vj.d.—	v.s.
	Peares or Apples dried the	iiij.s.iiij.d.—	vj.s.viiij.d.
	barrell —		

Setting the competing nominal values set down in *The Rates of Marchandizes* aside, the introduction of the imposition in 1608 effectively doubled the duties on paper from five to ten per cent. If the above estimates of paper alone comprising between half and three quarters of production costs are correct, these increases in taxes together with rising paper prices would have eaten into the publisher’s profits substantially. The subsidy and imposition were, of course, only the duties paid in England, and similar taxes and market fluctuations arose in the countries of origin, no doubt influencing the price for which they were sold abroad: Bidwell describes how paper exports in France were subjected to large increases in excise duties in the 1630s as Cardinal Richelieu looked for new ways to fund France’s military

endeavours.¹⁰³ Likewise, the Book of Rates shows no separate duties for ‘Rochel’ paper in the years before 1635: the city of La Rochelle had historically exported some of the finest quality and most expensive white paper, but the blockade and siege of the city in the late 1620s, which also resulted in the death of a majority of its population, clearly stifled exports of this luxury commodity.¹⁰⁴

The finest papers to be used in music printing were for the secular editions produced using engraving in the 1610s. This might have been because a thick, high-quality material was required to resist the heavy pressure of the copper plate and avoid show-through, a possibility corroborated by the fact that early engraved editions were often printed on only one side of the page, thus making it a highly expensive method of printing music. Alternatively, the finest paper was perhaps procured for these collections, such as Notari’s *Prime Musiche* and *Parthenia*, because these editions were of an atypically high quality, intended for a far smaller and more exclusive market.

For all that scholars have stressed the prominence of French exports, the watermarks in the very fine paper used in these first engraved editions show that it originated in Basel. The British Library copy of Notari’s *Prime Musiche* features an easily identifiable watermark throughout (Figure 1.12):¹⁰⁵ in addition to the Basel crosier depicted at the centre of the shield, the watermark is further defined by the letters NCH dropping down from the shield and the ‘M6’ motif at the very bottom. This is a near exact match for marks Tschudin identified as originating in the workshop of Niklaus Heusler I, who operated the Zunziger Mill in the St. Albantal quarter of Basel, and the presence of these initials offers compelling evidence that this is the mill where the paper originated.¹⁰⁶ Only one other watermark is present in the edition: this depiction of a dragon in front of a building with the Basel crosier depicted above is also similar to Heusler marks identified by Tschudin.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰³ Bidwell, ‘French Paper’, 590.

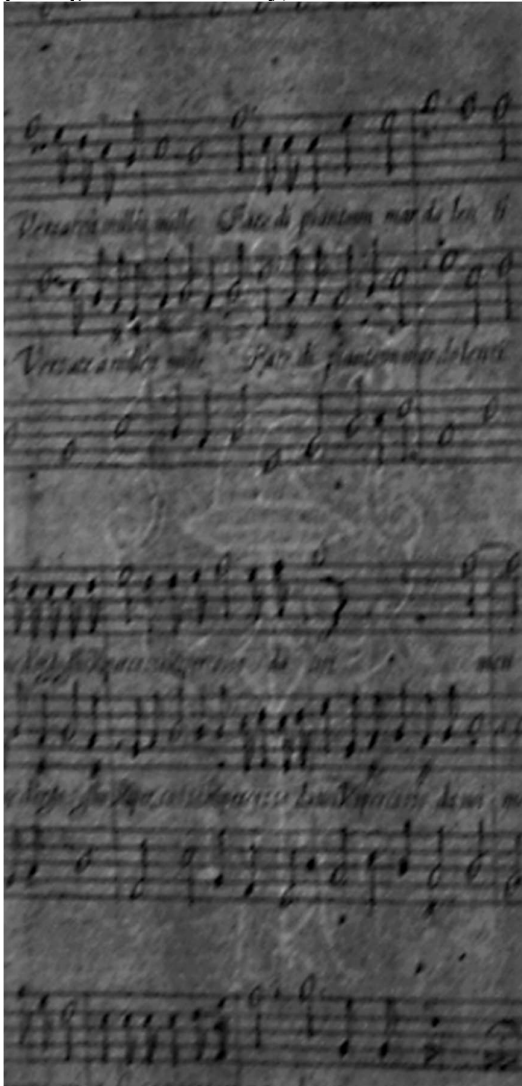
¹⁰⁴ For quality of Rochelle paper: Ibid., 583

¹⁰⁵ British Library K.1.i.10. This copy is surrounded by a contemporary wrapper which displays the arms of Amsterdam, with the countermark ‘ERO’: such combinations of Dutch watermarks and a French-style countermarks are typical of paper produced in the French mills, mostly in the Angoumois region, which were financed with capital from the Netherlands. W. A. Churchill, *Watermarks in Paper* (Amsterdam: Menno Hertzberger, 1935), 6.

¹⁰⁶ Tschudin marks 224 and 225. W. Fr. Tschudin, *The Ancient Paper-Mills of Basle and their Marks*, vol. 8 in *Monumenta chartae papyraceae historiam illustrantia*, series ed. E. J. Labarre (Hilversum, Holland: The Paper Publications Society, 1958), 39, 158.

¹⁰⁷ The watermark appears on p.7 of *Prime Musiche Nuove*. See Tschudin marks 291 and 292.

Figure 1.12: Watermark in Angelo Notari, *Prime Musiche Nuove* (London: William Hole, [1613]). British Library, K.1.i.10.



Luxury paper, also likely from Basel, was used in the title page of a copy of the second edition of *Parthenia*.¹⁰⁸ here a large *Reichsadler* (imperial eagle) bears the Basel crossier on its breast, while the remainder of the copy is printed on paper with a large foolscap watermark. Another copy of this edition was printed almost entirely on paper whose watermark shows the same eagle with Basel crossier, with only the final sheet bearing a different eagle with the letters 'BF'.¹⁰⁹ Scholars have described the passage of fine paper from Basel to England (down the Rhine and then shipped from Holland) for such sumptuous folio editions.¹¹⁰ Bidwell asserts that luxury paper was procured from the Low Countries for

¹⁰⁸ RISM 1615/23. British Library K.1.i.6.

¹⁰⁹ British Library R.M.15.i.15.

¹¹⁰ Tschudin, *Ancient Paper-Mills of Basle*, 19. See also Robert Thompson, 'Paper in English Music Manuscripts', in *William Lawes (1602-1645): Essays on his Life, Times and Work*, (ed.)Andrew Ashbee (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 145.

particularly large or fine copies which might be presented to an author's friends or patrons.¹¹¹ These higher grades of paper are exactly those that would have been subjected to the higher additional impositions levied in the years after 1608, and their continued use testifies to the considerable worth publishers placed on them.

Lower grades of paper, which mostly appear to have originated in France, were used for the majority of commercial music publishing in England: although this white paper surpassed the quality of anything that could be produced in England, many of these French papers used for printing music would have likely been subjected to the lower tariffs for 'ordinary printing and copy paper'. Unlike the paper made by the Heusler family described above, which had both a large mark and the initials of the maker to display its distinguished provenance, the majority of French papers appearing in these books are identified by smaller and less distinctive marks without initials. As Daniel Bamford has noted, watermarks are difficult to identify with individual paper makers before the compulsory introduction of countermarks or identifying initials in France in the 1630s, after which time paper makers were obliged to include a set of initials in either the mark or countermark by which they could be identified.¹¹²

Some styles of watermarks are relatively common, appearing in several editions over a period of time. Rather than suggesting that paper for music printing was used slowly from large stocks, which would require large numbers of marks which were identical in measurement and detail, this would more likely suggest that merchants continued to source paper from established suppliers or regions. For example, variations on simple forms of the arms of the Hapsburgs feature heavily in editions of sacred music, across the work of several printers, between 1608 and 1624:¹¹³ these are characterised by quartered shields topped by a crown, with panels depicting lions, towers and eagles, and the distinctive shape of a golden fleece hanging down from the bottom of the shield.¹¹⁴ This is largely in agreement with Jeremy Smith's assertions regarding the use of paper by music printers and publishers, who he claims would have predominantly used up individual stocks of paper shortly after purchase.¹¹⁵

¹¹¹ Bidwell, 'French Paper', 583.

¹¹² Daniel Bamford, 'Barnard's *First Book*', 139

¹¹³ Examples of this watermark can be seen in the British Library copies of Croce's *Music Sacra* and Amner's *Sacred Hymns* (K.3.h.9. and K.3.h.2.).

¹¹⁴ Paper bearing similar marks was used in contemporary music manuscripts: Andrew Ashbee, Robert Thompson and Jonathan Wainwright, *The Viola da Gamba Society Index of Manuscripts Containing Consort Music*, vol. 1 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 295.

¹¹⁵ Smith's work relies heavily on the idea that paper was not stockpiled, but used shortly after use. This idea is shown in his study of the editions of Thomas East but is derived from the work of Allan H. Stevenson. Smith, 44. Stevenson's work has been questioned by Curt F. Bühler, who lists cases where this cannot have been the case: Curt F. Bühler, 'Last Words on Watermarks', *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 67 (1973): 7.

Likewise, watermarks are unlikely to indicate the exact date of production. Marks depicting a crowned shield with lions bearing the date '1610' underneath appear frequently in copies of sacred music printed with imprints between 1612 and 1624.¹¹⁶ Jeremy Smith used one such '1610' watermark as evidence to identify an edition of Wilbye's *First Set of English Madrigals* as being secretly produced by Thomas Snodham, for which he provides a revised date of 1610-11.¹¹⁷ Yet, it seems highly improbable that dated paper from this year should be used for well over a decade, when no marks with dates other than '1610' appear in this period: indeed, Allan H. Stevenson has previously suggested that this particular date denotes the year that Louis XIII assumed the French throne, rather than an indication of when the paper was made.¹¹⁸ This understanding of the 1610 date, and the fact that it appears in several different marks in the years to 1624, corroborates the theory that paper acquired for music printing was typically used shortly after the point of purchase.

The logistical and financial challenges associated with the procurement of paper therefore show that printing was, as much as any element of English commerce and industry, affected by the widespread economic instability of the early seventeenth century. The theories that paper was used immediately after purchase and that the paper trade relied heavily on suppliers in France, a nation with which England had poor relations and which faced its own significant financial challenges, give the impression that the paper trade was exposed to significant destabilisation. At a time when music printing and publishing faced significant technological challenges and was entering a sustained period of decline, the introduction of new duties and changing rates of taxation to an already unstable paper trade were no doubt of significant concern to stationers engaged in as precarious a publishing sector as music.

¹¹⁶ Its use as late as 1624 can be seen in the tenor part of a copy of: Francis Pilkington, *The Second Set of Madrigals and Pastorals* (London: Thomas Snodham, 1624), British Library K.2.d.11.

¹¹⁷ Smith, 45. For the date of 1610-1611: Ibid. 164.

¹¹⁸ Allan H. Stevenson, 'Watermarks Are Twins', in *Studies in Bibliography* 4 (1951/52): 74. Other watermarks bear the date 1610 besides this watermark referred to by Stevenson and Smith as 'Shield FM'. An example of another mark with different letters on the left panel is given by Heawood (fig. 8): Edward Heawood, 'Papers used in England after 1600. I. The Seventeenth Century to c. 1680', *The Library*, 4th Series, 11 (1930): 294.

The declining output of polyphonic printed music, 1603-1649

The substantial trend of decline in the European music trade in the early seventeenth century has been ascribed to a number of factors, many of which have been associated with narratives of widespread deterioration of social order in the face of the so-called ‘general crisis’ of the seventeenth century, to use Hugh Trevor-Roper’s term.¹¹⁹ Lorenzo Bianconi suggests that the collapse of European music publishing was not only a result of economic downturn, but was also a reflection of a wider social and political crisis, and even symbolised a rejection of the musical imitations of social harmony espoused by the madrigal.¹²⁰ John Butt argues that the decline in printing activity across Europe led to musical transmission becoming more ‘local’ and ‘fragmentary’, with any sense of universality imbued by print resulting from the Roman Catholic Church’s tightening grip over liturgy rather than universal humanistic networks.¹²¹ In the English arena, the ‘general crisis’ is chiefly understood to have been marked by a degeneration of royal authority and culminating in the Civil Wars, but which also had wide ranging societal and financial implications which influenced vulnerable trades like music publishing. This section thus assesses the scale of decline in music publishing activities in England, first considering the extent to which economic pressures and threats might have led to the trade’s collapse, and subsequently interpreting the decline of music publishing against deeper trends of a deterioration of public confidence.

The economic decline of music publishing, both in England and across Europe, has been attested to by quantitative assessment of the number of surviving printed editions to have been produced in each year. Analysis of RISM data by Stephen Rose, Sandra Tuppen and Loukia Drosopoulou has showed, as far as can be inferred from the number of extant individual editions alone, that the output of European music publishing reached its peak in the 1610s, before entering a dramatic decline in the 1620s and 1630s.¹²² These results were used to show how European music publishing was affected by relatively local changes of circumstances, such as Venetian plagues or wars with the Turks (which were particularly significant given Venice’s dominance of the market), but also how longer-term trends of decline might be explained by the inadequacy of letterpress and moveable type in the seventeenth century to represent more virtuosic repertoire, which might have resulted in a contemporary prevalence of manuscript.¹²³ Music publishing in London was consistent with the trends of the European market, with the onset of decline perhaps originating even earlier than in other publishing centres, but at some points in time it can be seen to be linked to rates of non-musical publication in England also (Figure 1.13).

¹¹⁹ H. R. Trevor-Roper, ‘The General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century’, *Past and Present* 16 (1959): 31-64.

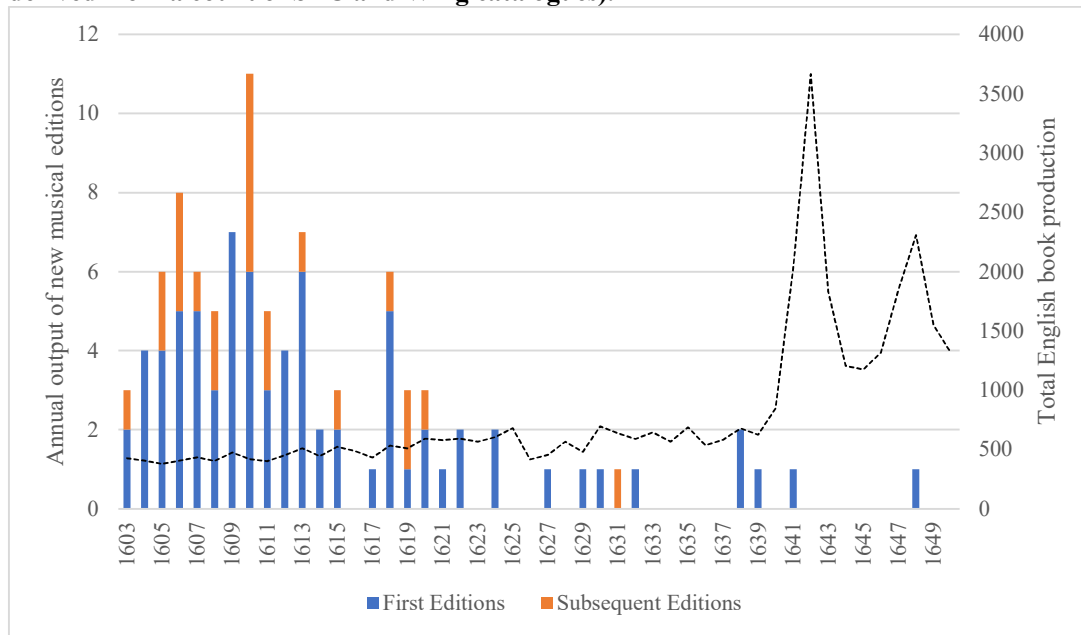
¹²⁰ Bianconi, *Music in the Seventeenth Century*, 28.

¹²¹ Butt, ‘Musical Work’, 36.

¹²² Rose, Tuppen and Drosopoulou, ‘Big Data history for music’, 651.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 652.

Figure 1.13: Number of extant musical editions published in London, 1603-1649. (General book production is based on Appendix 1 of the Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, and is derived from a count of STC and Wing catalogues).¹²⁴



The prevailing scholarly view that the early Stuart era was a period of consistent economic expansion in the English book trade was most assuredly asserted by Cyprian Blagden, whose history of the Stationers' Company contained a chapter entitled 'Growth, 1603 to 1641'.¹²⁵ This trend is borne out statistically by Figure 1.13, where total book production is measured by John Barnard and Maureen Bell's count of the number of titles appearing in each year, showing a notable fall in 1625 against a pattern of steady growth. The enormous increases in printing activity in 1641 and 1642 reflect the deregulation of printing after the abolition of Star Chamber (as described in Chapter 2), together with the large number of political pamphlets which were published before the onset of the Civil Wars. Such fluctuations highlight the problems of using counts of titles as an indication of publishing activity, as pamphlets have equal weighting with more substantial publications. While the dwindling numbers of new editions of printed music show a declining trade which ran contrary to trends in the wider publishing industry, title counts might be seen as a similarly limited indication of overall trends in music production because the small numbers of new editions were likely to have been heavily affected by individual printers' activities.

The study of Rose, Tuppen and Drosopoulou, which attributed dramatic falls in Venetian music printing to individual plagues, has strong contenders for comparison in England. Plague presented an ongoing

¹²⁴ John Barnard and Maureen Bell, 'Appendix 1: Statistical Tables', in *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, ed. John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002): 782.

¹²⁵ Cyprian Blagden, *The Stationers' Company: A History, 1403-1959* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1960), 110.

challenge for governments in England, but by far the most notable of the early Stuart years was the epidemic of 1625, described by J. F. D. Shrewsbury as severely affecting London between July and September of that year.¹²⁶ This outbreak, in which approximately 30,000 people died (equivalent to a tenth of London's population), coincides with the dramatic reduction of music printing activity in London for several years after 1625 which was also matched by a substantial fall in general English book production (Figure 1.13).

Decline in music publishing was nonetheless deep-seated and output had been falling for the decade or so before 1625, but the cessation of activities in this year might also be interpreted as caused by more localised events in tandem with larger factors like plague. The turning points in the wider trends of publishing output are perhaps attributable to the death of key stationers with the scarce skills, experience and equipment to print musical texts. The deaths of Thomas East in 1609 and John Windet in 1611, both veteran printer-publishers and trade printers, coincided roughly with the high point of new editions around 1610; thereafter began the drawn-out dwindling of production. Similarly, Thomas Snodham was the sole music printer in the years before his death in 1625, and the apparent total cessation of publishing activity in this year is highly likely to be related to the sudden removal of his expertise.

Other individual events might have contributed towards these larger trends. Jonathan Wainwright argues that William Barley's acquisition of the music printing privilege in 1606 marked the turning point towards decline in English output.¹²⁷ This suggestion runs contrary to the raw statistical trend (Krummel observes that output 'rose sharply' under Barley's control before falling from 1609 onwards), but the movement of the privilege into Barley's control marked a tipping point in the quality of editions and authority of printed musical texts, as Barley was not a musician, nor even a stationer when he first took control of the patent.¹²⁸ A specific event such as this might not have had a localised or short-term effect, but may have been responsible for the slow deterioration of consumer confidence which ran alongside economic penalties such as the 40 shilling fees payable to the privilege holder by assigns who were granted permission to print. This combination of short and long-term threats has clear equivalents in the changes to the paper trade described above, with sudden introduction of impositions and gradual rising prices perhaps contributing to the same adverse effect.

The aforementioned inadequacy of existing printing technologies to reproduce the new musical styles of the seventeenth century was also likely to be among the long-term pressures which made music publishing a more precarious financial enterprise. Inadequacies of printing equipment would undermine

¹²⁶ J. F. D. Shrewsbury, *A History of Bubonic Plague in the British Isles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 327.

¹²⁷ Wainwright, 'England, 1603-1642', 521.

¹²⁸ Krummel, 31.

the value of the printed book in relation to manuscript, which might express newer musical styles in a more idiomatic and comprehensible way, and which would be better suited to transmitting large amounts of repertoire to a small number of musical connoisseurs. Suitability of print for certain genres and styles was perhaps also linked to the social connotations of the book: a growing preference for manuscript over print is possible because the latter had connotations of amateur music-making by aspiring gentlemen at a time when the skills of virtuosi were becoming more highly valued.¹²⁹

Donald Krummel suggested that demand for printed music was falling by 1613, although it is perhaps difficult to perceive how the prospective market for printed music books developed in the Jacobean and Caroline eras, and the extent to which output of new editions can be matched exactly to public demand.¹³⁰ Ian Spink surmises that music publishing at the beginning of the seventeenth century supplied the largest ‘middle-class’ audience before the late nineteenth century, but that the size and competency of this clientele diminished over the course of the century.¹³¹ Music meetings certainly continued to take place, but it would seem impossible to prove that they were fewer or less frequent.¹³² Prominent composers and musical theorists revelled in the persistent trope of falling standards of music making across English society, which might suggest a shrinking market if taken at face value. In *A Briefe Discourse* (1614), Thomas Ravenscroft invoked Plutarch’s image of music as being represented by a woman, but assaulted and defiled in his own ‘braine-sicke Age’;¹³³ in the same publication Martin Peerson wrote that ‘As now of Her [music] the Vulgar barely Deeme’, while William Austin claimed that musicians ‘by their Discord make that art uneven’. Also making this argument to a scholarly audience, John Hilton wrote to William Heather in the dedication of his *Ayres* (1627) that ‘Musicke, but especially the Patrones thereof, are in their declining age’, suggesting a changing status of music among both musicians and its consumers.¹³⁴ Indeed, some of the most recent arguments in favour of a musically skilled public, by scholars such as Christopher Marsh, have rested on the idea that a supposedly widespread English musicality existed in spite of musical illiteracy, which gives a similarly bleak picture for the prospective market for music publishers.¹³⁵

Other sources mitigate this gloomy outlook. In 1644, John Milton still wrote of the ‘lutes, the violins, and the ghittars in every house’ and ‘airs and madrigals, that whisper softnes in chambers’.¹³⁶ Music

¹²⁹ Rose, ‘Music in the Market-Place’, 62.

¹³⁰ Krummel, 32.

¹³¹ Ian Spink, ‘Music and Society’, in *The Blackwell History of Music in Britain: Vol. 3, The Seventeenth Century*, ed. Ian Spink (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1992), 34.

¹³² Christopher Marsh cites the music meetings attended by George Herbert and Thomas Crosfield: Christopher Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 216.

¹³³ Thomas Ravenscroft, *A Briefe Discourse* (London: Edward Allde, for Thomas Adams, 1614), [Sig. ¶4r].

¹³⁴ John Hilton, *Ayres, or Fa Las for Three Voyces* (London: Humphrey Lownes for George Latham, 1627), [Sig. A2r].

¹³⁵ Marsh, *Music and Society*, 4.

¹³⁶ John Milton, *Aeropagitica* (London: s.n., 1644), 16.

certainly continued to be taught in some homes and schools, with the dedications of printed teaching material of the period by composers including John Attey and Henry Lawes referring to this pedagogical culture.¹³⁷ Inventories and wills attest to the continued presence of printed music books among the households of the gentry or learned individuals, while stock lists for the booksellers discussed in the subsequent chapter show a continued supply of musical editions, even in towns far from the capital.¹³⁸ Yet continued signs of printed music do not explicitly testify to a flourishing market: a stocklist of the bookseller John Foster is shown in the following chapter to have had a large amount of relatively old music books. This is symptomatic of the disconnect between production and public consumption, as printed music often took a long time to sell. The presence of music books in wills described above similarly stresses the longevity of printed books, and this together with slow sales might suggest a no less enthusiastic musical clientele, rather a saturation of the market.

Later publishing activities in the first half of the seventeenth century reflect a changing recreational audience. Music publishing at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century served an ostentatious bourgeoisie musical culture that flourished among the socially-aspiring social stratum sometimes described as the middle classes, typified by the ‘great number of Gentlemen and Merchants of good accompt ... [who] have taken part in good part such entertainment of pleasure’ described by Nicholas Yonge.¹³⁹ The 1620s and 1630s witnessed a move to an audience favouring the private, interior and sombre as musical publications often stressed their suitability for closed, introspective gatherings. Martin Peerson’s *Private Musick* (1620) justified its title on account of the suitability of its contents for performance ‘for one with a Violl’ which is matched by a woodblock depiction of this intimate scene on the title page;¹⁴⁰ Peerson also drew attention to its ‘portableness’, referring to the sense of a personal possession leant by its quarto size.¹⁴¹ The title of Peerson’s *Mottects or Grave Chamber Musique* (1630) likewise evokes a closed domestic setting which is strongly reflected in the moralistic and introspective text. Similarly, the frontispiece of William Child’s *The First Set of Psalms of III Voyces* declares it ‘Fitt for Private Chappells or other private meetings’.¹⁴²

While a general fall in musical activity and skill in the seventeenth century is questionable at least, a fall in the quality of execution of music printing can be observed. Composers and authors certainly

¹³⁷ Spink, ‘Music and Society’, 24.

¹³⁸ Marsh, *Music and Society*, 7. In addition to the above Barnard and Bell, ‘York Book Trade’: Stephanie Carter and Kirsten Gibson, ‘Printed Music in the Provinces: Musical Circulation in Seventeenth-Century England and the Case of Newcastle upon Tyne Bookseller William London’, *The Library*, 7th Series, 18 (2017): 428-473.

¹³⁹ Nichola Yonge (ed.), *Musica transalpina* (London: Thomas East, 1588), Sig. A_{ii}^r.

¹⁴⁰ Martin Peerson, *Private Musick*, (London: Thomas Snodham, 1620), [Sig. A₂^r].

¹⁴¹ *Private Musick* appears very small given its contents: it is extremely unusual both for being printed in tablebook layout in quarto, when almost all other tablebooks are printed in folio, and for the fact that the cantus is interspersed with a bass line (which Peerson suggests can be realised by keyboard players), when lute tablature was used in almost all equivalent publications.

¹⁴² William Child, *The First Set of Psalms of III Voyces* (London: James Reave, 1639)

blamed printers for issues of textual accuracy, although this persistent trope is likely to form part of a rhetorical response to critics. One such example is offered by Thomas Ravenscroft, who wrote apologetically for the faults of past publications, while attacking the printers involved for introducing musical errors into the text at multiple stages in the printing process:¹⁴³

And although many of them were Defectious in their Composition when they came to my hands: yet accordinge to my knowledge then, I corrected them and commended them to the world, and had the printer and the Presse-Corrector discharg'd their office with care, they had appear'd without any defect in their Cliffes, Notes, ditties...

Krummel's observation of falling standards of textual accuracy is described against the backdrop of transferral of the music privilege from Thomas Morley to William Barley, thus passing from musicians to stationers, whom he criticises for a lesser interest in proof-reading and accurate transmission of musical texts.¹⁴⁴ This perhaps offers another reason to consider Barley's acquisition of the privilege as a watershed in music publishing, supplementing the evidence of declining output raised by Wainwright in support of this conclusion. Scholarly observation of the falling accuracy of musical typesetting has mostly focussed on William Stansby, noted above for being reprimanded by the Stationers' Company for inaccurate execution of work for the English Stock, and whose notoriously poor workmanship has been commented on by Cecil Hill and Jonathan Wainwright.¹⁴⁵ Hill also compares Stansby's work to that of Thomas East, whose work he claims deteriorated from the 1580s to the early 1600s, and suggests a more widespread deterioration in the quality of English music printing.¹⁴⁶ The egregious low-point for textual accuracy came at the end of Charles's reign with the succession of commissions for trade printers who had never printed music before, of which Edward Griffin's printing of John Barnard's *First Book* is a prime example. Griffin was responsible for the introduction of countless errors which severely distorted well-known musical compositions, all of which was particularly unfortunate given Barnard's personal involvement in proof-reading and correction (see Chapter 4) and self-expressed desire to preserve the valuable cathedral repertoire from the inaccuracy of manuscript transmission.¹⁴⁷

Prospective purchasers might also be dissuaded by the falling visual appeal of the printed music book, with many of the blemishes on the printed page occurring as a result of textual inaccuracy. Embarrassed printers and indignant composers were responsible for widespread correction of misprints and other faults introduced in the printing process: use of cancel slips, pasted corrections and systematic manuscript emendations to correct misprints and other faults demonstrates a commitment to the textual authority of their products, but also might look unsightly and undermine initial faith in the fidelity of

¹⁴³ Thomas Ravenscroft, *A Briefe Discourse*, Sig. ¶¶₂^r.

¹⁴⁴ Krummel, 31.

¹⁴⁵ Hill, 'William Stansby', 9. Jonathan Wainwright, Introduction to *Walter Porter, Collected Works*, xv.

¹⁴⁶ Hill, 'William Stansby', 9.

¹⁴⁷ John Barnard, *First Book*, [Sig. A₂^v]. Bamford, 'Barnard's *First Book*', 196.

the text. The examples given in Chapter 4 show the way in which cancelling of whole sheets or careful application of paste-down slips increasingly gave way to cruder forms of correction in the print shop.

Whereas worn type and textual errors would have detracted from the experience of performers, the increasingly unattractive and clumsy execution of decoration and typographic ornamentation may also have discouraged prospective purchasers, particularly if the books were sold unbound and little other than title pages was visible (see Chapters 2 and 3).¹⁴⁸ John Morehen has commented on the growing number of imperfections in the decorative borders on title pages between East's *Third Set of Bookes* (1610) and *Fift Set of Bookes* (1618), both of which were produced in Thomas Snodham's printing house.¹⁴⁹ These borders were composed with small decorative fleurons, no doubt similar to the 'borders' and 'flowers' valuable enough to be mentioned separately in John Windet's will, and took considerable time and attention to detail to arrange to create the desired effect.¹⁵⁰ In a wider context, Snodham's own inattentiveness to these borders is part of the long deterioration from the elaborate frontispieces of Windet and East, the latter of whom was responsible for the decorative styles of music paper produced under the music privilege, to later instances when composers made no effort to arrange the fleurons into floral patterns and the growing number of editions with no frontispiece decoration whatsoever.¹⁵¹ Figure 1.14, showing John Windet's impression of Richard Alison's *An Howres Recreation* (1606), carefully decorated with a quatrefoil fleuron border, and Snodham's edition of Francis Pilkington's *Second Set of Madrigals* (1624), which has been printed with no effort to produce the pattern for which the fleurons were designed, testifies to the declining typographical skill and attention to detail in the decoration of later musical editions.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁸ Hill, 'William Stansby', 9.

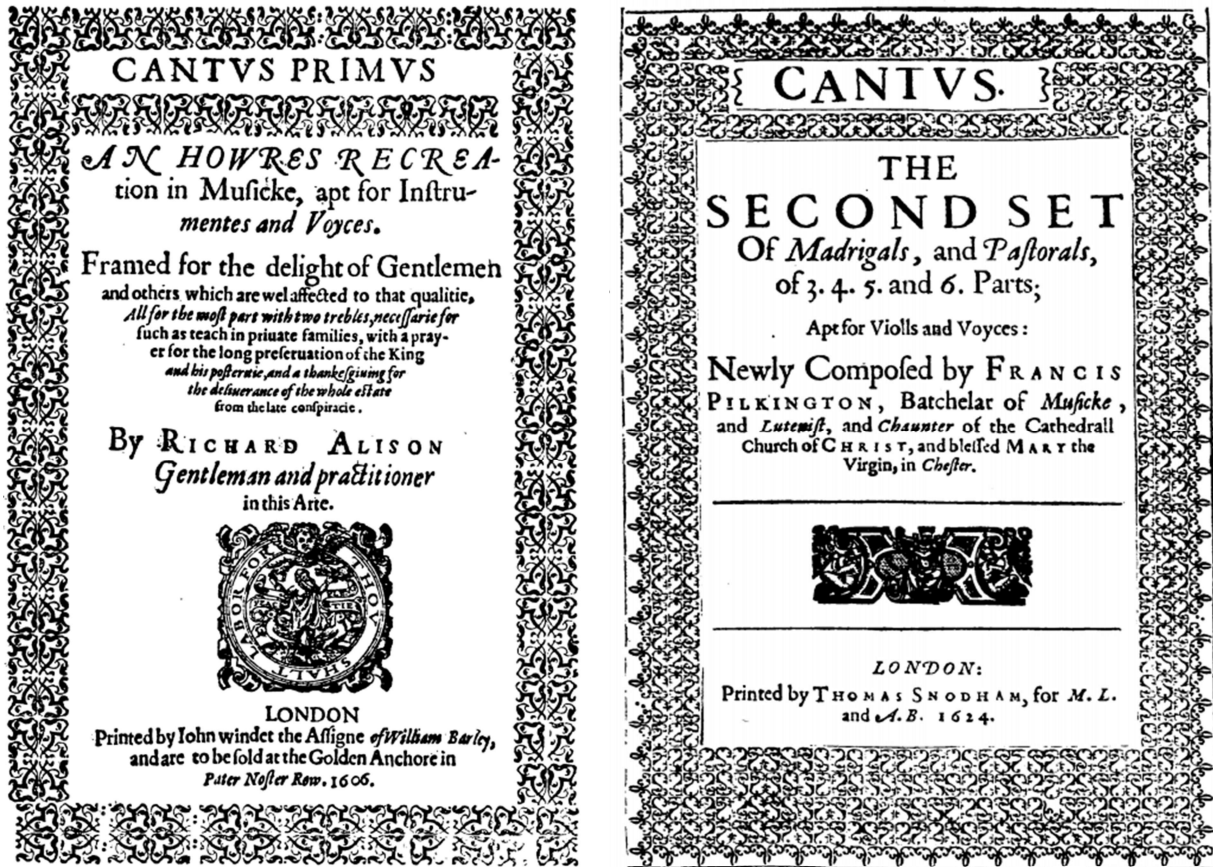
¹⁴⁹ Morehen, 'Thomas Snodham', 103.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ Example of erratic border: Pilkington, *Second Set*, [Sig. A₁^r].

¹⁵² The two types of fleuron used in the printing of Pilkington's *Second Set* are the same as those referred to by Katherine Butler as 'fleurons A and B' in the printing of blank music paper, who gives an example of the 'correct' quatrefoil pattern for which fleuron A is designed. Katherine Butler, 'Printed Borders for Sixteenth-Century Music or Music Paper and the Early Career of Thomas East', *The Library*, 7th Series, 19 (2018): 177.

Figure 1.14: Falling standards of decorative borders as seen in Richard Alison's *Howres Recreation* (London: John Windet, 1606) and Francis Pilkington's *The Second Set of Madrigals* (London: Thomas Snodham for Matthew Lownes and Alice Browne, 1624).



The decline of music printing was thus brought about by a combination of interrelated causes, and represented a decline both in the sense of economic fortunes as indicated by output and in the quality of music printing or cultural prominence of printed music. Plague, deaths of stationers, rising prices, transfer of privileges, difficulties with technology, market saturation, public apathy and poor execution of printing are all likely to have been responsible for the dwindling number of new editions published each year. However, the number of new editions does not represent the health of the whole trade and, as Chapter 2 shows, the physical production of music books was only half of the process: the printing, but not the bookselling. A final word should also be given to the four editions of sacred music published towards the end of Charles's reign (those of Child, Braithwaite, Barnard and Lawes). These largely experimental editions were each produced by an inexperienced trade printer in contrast with the experienced printer-publishers like Snodham and Stansby who took advantage of potential profits for themselves. Each is shown in Chapter 5 to have deep-seated ideological convictions and the small resurgence of publishing at the turn of the 1640s which they appear to represent does not necessarily represent new life in the publishing trade, rather a detachment of publishing activity from commercial motivations.

Conclusion

This chapter has placed the music printing activities of stationers within scholarship of book history and has related them to the broader social and economic contexts of the early Stuart era. Influenced by methods of analytical bibliography, this chapter has drawn on close examination of source material for new evidence: the deteriorating C clefs of the Windet fount, the identification of watermarks in paper such as those found in Notari's *Prime Musiche Nuove* and the measurement of the untrimmed paper of an edition of Lucretia East have all offered new factual basis to inform the conditions in which music was printed. Fresh observations from archival documents, including the references to transferral of music type in wills and changing prices and levies in taxation books, have also enriched understanding of the financial transactions which underpinned the publishing trade.

The uncovering of these new details has enabled this chapter to draw distinctions between the early Stuart period and the era of Morley and East which preceded it, analyse the relationship between printing technology and the changing demands for different types of musical repertoire, and situate music printing in international networks of trade. This chapter has identified additional possible challenges faced by early Stuart music printers, weaving them together to present a more holistic account of the decline and stagnation suffered by the music trade, illustrating how it ran contrary to wider patterns of growth in English publishing.

Chapter 2 – Structures of the music trade: regulation, censorship and commercial networks

Criticising the press regulations prescribed by Parliament in the 1643 Ordinance for the Regulating of Printing, John Milton's *Areopagitica* ridicules ideas of censorship by demonstrating the implausibility of state control over everyday life. Milton held up musical performance as one example of an activity which is equally impracticable and unprofitable to censor as publishing:¹

If we think to regulat Printing, thereby to rectifie manners, we must regulat all recreations and pastimes, all that is delightfull to man. No musick must be heard, no song be set or sung, but what is grave and *Dorick*. There must be licencing dancers, that no gesture, motion, or deportment be taught our youth but what by their allowance shall be thought honest; for such *Plato* was provided of; It will ask more then the work of twenty licensors to examin all the lutes, the violins, and the ghittarrs in every house; they must not be suffer'd to prattle as they doe, but must be licenc'd what they may say. And who shall silence all the airs and madrigalls, that whisper softnes in chambers? The Windows also, and the *Balcone's* must be thought on, there are shrewd books, with dangerous Frontispices set to sale; who shall prohibit them, shall twenty licensors? The villages also must have their visitors to enquire what lectures the bagpipe and the rebbeck reads ev'n to the ballatry, and the gammuth of every *municipal* fidler, for these are the Countrymans *Arcadia's* and his *Monte Mayors*.²

This description of how music might be regulated, used by Milton as a rhetorical device to expose press censorship as futile and unreasonable, draws attention to the problems involved in controlling musical culture and gives some indication of the degree to which contemporary writers believed music was censored or regulated in their own day. Milton, adopting a deeply ironic tone, suggests that attempts to regulate or censor music might extend to limitations of mode as advocated by Plato, inspection of musical instruments, and cessation of unsupervised domestic singing.³ Indeed, it is particularly striking to scholars of the music publishing trade that Milton should juxtapose the non-verbal elements of music to the paratextual elements of the book, such as 'dangerous Frontispices', implying the difficulties of regulating abstract or coded information which might rely on insinuation in its interpretation. While such severe restrictions on musical performance as fantasized by Milton were unknown even in Cromwell's Puritan Commonwealth, a degree of control over the publication of music in England had been exercised in the reigns of James I and Charles I, which had origins in the well-documented and widely known Elizabethan regulation of music printing.

The principal means of controlling the publication of music in the early seventeenth century was a sequence of printing privileges, successors to the widely known grant conferred by Elizabeth I to

¹ John Milton, *Areopagitica* (London: s.n., 1644) 16.

² Perhaps Jacopo Sannazaro's *Arcadia* and Jorge de Montemayor's *Diana*.

³ Milton invokes Plato's *Republic*, which argues that modes which are suitable for mourning or encourage drunkenness or laziness should be banned by the state because they undermine the societal resolve and good character of the public. Plato, *The Republic*, ed. G. R. F. Ferrari, trans. Tom Griffith, Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 88. (398,e).

William Byrd and Thomas Tallis in 1575.⁴ These privileges, which among several benefits gave their holders the sole right to print polyphonic music in an attempt to eliminate competition and stimulate industry, have been criticised in modern scholarship for doing no more than encouraging false hopes for music publishers.⁵ This chapter interrogates such judgements in light of new evidence, and offers a different focus on the way in which the adoption of new economic structures by music publishers controlling the privilege suggests a contemporary recognition of its shortcomings.

Further regulation and organisation of the music publishing trade stemmed from the Company of Stationers, and a second section of this chapter examines the Company's controls and influence. While privileges controlled music printing technology, the Company protected property rights to individual musical publications (itself an emerging and uncertain concept detached from contemporary ideas of the author's rights); this reflects a somewhat paradoxical role-reversal for a guild of printers, which might be expected to regulate printing quality.⁶

The degree of censorial control exercised through the Stationers' Company on behalf of the crown has been brought into question by scholars such as Cyndia Susan Clegg, but opposing opinions continue to be aired by musicologists like Jeremy Smith, asserting the influence of the state over the press and arguing that the Company were more diligent in their self-regulation, prudently referring sensitive cases to the authorities.⁷ This chapter examines the processes which enabled censorial oversight, commenting on the extent to which printed musical compositions were controlled.

Continuing the exploration of new economic structures in the music trade, this chapter offers a new interpretation of the music publishing partnerships based on neglected archival evidence. It argues the partnerships represented a pooling of both capital and skills, marking a departure from previous attempts to operate the music privilege in isolation, instead imitating the English Stock (the Company's own syndicate which printed psalms, ABCs and other popular books for which they had acquired monopolistic privileges).

⁴ For a transcription of the terms of this privilege: John Milsom and Iain Fenlon, "Ruled Paper Imprinted": Music Paper and Patents in Sixteenth-Century England', *The Journal of the American Musicological Society* 37 (1984): 139.

⁵ Krummel, 33.

⁶ With some notable exceptions of printing technology privileges granted to figures such as Petrucci, control by guilds was common: Antwerp's aforementioned Guild of St Luke, of which the Phalèse family were members, was one such guild which printers were required to join in order to operate in the city. Jan Van der Stock, *Printing Images in Antwerp: The Introduction of Printmaking in a City, Fifteenth Century to 1585*, trans. Beverley Jackson (Rotterdam: Sound and Vision Interactive, 1998), 42.

⁷ Cyndia Susan Clegg, *Press Censorship in Jacobean England*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 9. Cyndia Susan Clegg, *Press Censorship in Elizabethan England*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 5. Smith, 81. Jeremy Smith, 'Governmental Interference as a Shaping Force in Elizabethan Printed Music', in *The Oxford Handbook of Music Censorship*, ed. Patricia Hall (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 71.

Finally, this chapter considers wider structures of distribution in music publishing, exploring the different roles of booksellers as retailers and wholesalers by examining inventories and catalogues. A neglected series of catalogues associated with the so-called Latin Stock, together with catalogues from the bookseller Robert Martin, are used to examine the role of the catalogue in the seventeenth-century music trade, particularly with regard to the import of sacred music from abroad, and the manner in which these patterns of distribution interact with the questions of regulation and economic structure posed in this chapter.

Music printing privileges

Even in the years that they were enforced, the English music privileges were surrounded by considerable confusion regarding their terms and ownership, doubtless contributing to some misleading judgements over their ownership and enforcement in modern scholarship. The rubric *cum privilegio*, found on many musical publications of this period to signify that they were issued under the auspices of these grants, appear indiscriminately: privilege holders sometimes omitted it, while others might have included it when no privilege was in force.⁸ Others, obliged by the privilege's terms to name themselves as the patentee's assign, to whom they also had to pay a fee, ascribed control of the privilege to the wrong person, suggesting they might even have mistakenly paid the wrong party.⁹ Meanwhile, the privileges' monopoly over foreign imports of music was openly infringed on a number of occasions, at one point by a group from within the Stationers' Company itself (see the final section of this chapter).

Part of the problem in assembling a history of the music printing privileges is that the rolls documenting the letters patent by which they were conferred have not been as thoroughly researched as the Stationers' Company records. No systematic search for printing privileges in these rolls was undertaken before Arnold Hunt's comprehensive study of 1997.¹⁰ Thus landmark histories like Krummel's were written without full awareness of each grant, instead relying on sporadic references to the privileges in the more thoroughly documented archives of the Stationers' Company Court, where occasional disputes at flashpoints in the privileges' history were heard (see below).

The printing privileges granted by Elizabeth I, James I and Charles I were each granted for twenty-one years and, although some points of detail changed between each grant, the three main clauses remained constant: first, the privilege holder maintained the sole right to print music, have music printed, or at their own discretion allow others to print music upon payment of a fee; second, the privilege gave its proprietor the sole right to print staves as blank music paper, or have such paper printed; third, it forbade anyone except the privilege holder to import printed music from overseas.¹¹ The terms relating to music paper and music from overseas were no doubt first introduced as protective clauses to avoid the

⁸ Edward Allde, who held the music privilege from 1612, was responsible for the impression of Thomas Campion's *The Description of a Maske* (1614), which did not acknowledge his own privilege. Several editions printed by William Stansby after Allde's death bear the words *cum privilegio*, including his reprint of Morley's *Canzonets* (1631) and Walter Porter's *Madrigales and Ayres* (1632); however, although there is no record of a transfer of Allde's either before or after his death, this chapter presents evidence to suggest that the privilege was assumed by others.

⁹ See description below of continued ascription of the privilege to William Barley after 1612.

¹⁰ Arnold Hunt, 'Book Trade Patents, 1603-1640' in *The Book Trade and its Customers, 1450-1900*, ed. Arnold Hunt, Giles Mandelbrote and Alison Shell (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1997), 27-54.

¹¹ For the terms of the 1575 and 1598 privileges: Fenlon and Milsom, 'Ruled Paper Imprinted', 139. Tessa Murray, *Thomas Morley, Elizabethan Music Publisher* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2014), 192. For transcriptions of the unrecorded 1635 privileges, see Appendix 3.

principal purpose of the grant being undermined by any sort of competition, but these elements of the privilege came to hold significant commercial value in their own right: the printing of blank music paper has been shown by John Milsom and Iain Fenlon, and in subsequent scholarship, to have been exploited for significant financial gain;¹² Milsom has also recently explored the long-ignored clause for importation of music from overseas, perhaps of a lesser commercial value, but discussed here nonetheless.¹³

Three privileges covering music printing were active in the reigns of James I and Charles I. The first was granted to Thomas Morley in 1598, later assumed by William Barley in 1606.¹⁴ Tessa Murray showed Morley's privilege to have been heavily based on the terms of the first grant to Tallis and Byrd, as well as outlining Morley's unsuccessful attempts to persuade Robert Cecil to extend its coverage.¹⁵ After Morley's death in 1602 his privilege was thought to have fallen into abeyance, as James I's accession led to the suspension of personal monopolies in 1603, which only exempted corporations such as the Stationers' Company, who thereafter controlled the publishing of Richard Day's psalm book as a cornerstone of their English Stock.¹⁶ However, the same patent granted to Morley was revived by William Barley in 1606, who claimed in a test case against Thomas East that his former role as Morley's assign gave him the right to operate the privilege.¹⁷

Although the terms of Morley's privilege stipulated that it should run until 1619, William Barley did not enjoy the full length of the grant. In 1612, a second privilege was granted to the stationer Edward Allde, virtually identical to that granted to Morley, and which appears to have been reassigned at the request of Morley's widow, Susan Hardanville.¹⁸ Crucially, Allde was granted the privilege for 'twentie and one yeares next ensuing the date of this our licence'; thus, in spite of that fact that the privilege was being reassigned at the request of Morley's widow, it represented a new grant to run for the same full term as those which had come before it, and effectively superseded the privilege held by Barley. This second music privilege to be active in the Stuart era replicated all the terms of the privileges that preceded it with regards to printing, with some minor adjustments to avoid any overlap with a new

¹² Fenlon and Milsom, 'Ruled Paper Imprinted', 141. More recently at: Katherine Butler, 'Printed Borders for Sixteenth-Century Music or Music Paper and the Early Career of Music Printer Thomas East', *The Library*, 7th Series, 19 (2018): 174-202.

¹³ Milsom suggested that Tallis and Byrd could have imported music under the auspices of their privilege, and that a reference to 'bookes of Birdes and Tallis musicke' in the Bynneman inventory refers to polyphonic music books imported from abroad: John Milsom, introduction to 'Thomas Tallis and William Byrd, *Cantiones Sacrae*, 1575', *Early English Church Music 56* (London: Stainer and Bell, for the British Academy, 2014), xxix.

¹⁴ Krummel, 30. Murray, *Thomas Morley*, 94.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 86.

¹⁶ Krummel, 27.

¹⁷ Barley's case probably drew on the wording of the patent as protecting the privilege holder's assigns when undertaking work on behalf of the holder. The ruling of this case was given on 25 June 1606: William A. Jackson, *Records of the Court of the Stationers' Company, 1602-1640* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1957), 19.

¹⁸ National Archives C66/1957/17. Murray, *Thomas Morley*, 95

patent granted in the same year to ballad printers. Tessa Murray noted that this privilege also stipulated that Allde's retention of it depended on his compliance with its terms;¹⁹ indeed, it set in place a mechanism for the Privy Council to withdraw the grant if it was abused, and this involvement of the council is shown hereafter to have laid the foundations for more restrictive controls in the 1630s:²⁰

[if] it shall be founde that the saide Edward Alldaie or his assignes or deputies shall have abused this our grante in doinge of anie thinge not intended unto them thereby then upon then upon signification under the handes of anie sixe of our privie councell as aforesaide of such abuse this our p[re]s[ent] graunt shall forthwith cease determyne and bee voide...

Besides this, the second clause regarding printed music paper was extended to forbid others from selling music paper with lines ruled by hand, presumably with a rastrum.²¹ Allde's privilege should have remained in force until 1633, although he died in 1627 and was barely active in music publishing following the immediate years after which the grant was made:²² Allde made use of the grant when publishing John Amner's *Sacred Hymns* (1615), Thomas Campion's *The Description of a Maske* (1614) and the musical examples in Thomas Ravenscroft's *A Briefe Discourse* (1614), but no other extant musical editions bear his name.²³

The music printing privilege was renewed for a final time in December 1635, this time naming William Stansby, Richard Hawkins and George Latham as the new owners.²⁴ This final grant has been overlooked by musicologists, apart from a few passing mentions: the conclusion of Krummel's history is made without reference to either the privileges of 1612 or 1635, while Tessa Murray erroneously asserted that Allde's privilege was the last to be granted.²⁵ Arnold Hunt recorded the privilege granted to Stansby and his partners in his 1977 survey, while Jeremy Smith refers to it in an endnote of his history of Thomas East, but the dating of the privilege is too late to be included in the main text of his argument and it has never been scrutinised before now.²⁶

The privilege granted to Stansby, Hawkins and Latham (transcribed as Appendix 3.1) replicated most of the terms of its predecessors, but it was the first music printing privilege to be issued to multiple stationers and to acknowledge the existence of their publishing partnership by naming all three members. It reaffirmed the three clauses of earlier patents, but also reflected the changing tone of press

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ National Archives C66/1957/17.

²¹ The letters patent forbade others to 'rule or cause to be ruled by hand or impression all everie or anie paper such as maie serve for the printing or pricking of anie songe or songes'. National Archives C66/1957/17.

²² Ian Gadd, 'Edward Allde', ODNB.

²³ John Amner, *Sacred Hymns* (London: Edward Allde, 1615); Thomas Campion, *The Description of a Maske* (London: Edward Allde, 1614); Thomas Ravenscroft, *A Briefe Discourse* (London: Edward Allde, for Thomas Adams, 1614).

²⁴ National Archives C66/2694/7.

²⁵ Murray, *Thomas Morley*, 97.

²⁶ Hunt, 'Book Trade Patents', 54. Smith, 210.

control under Charles I's government. While Jeremy Smith suggested that the wording of Tallis's and Byrd's privilege suggested total freedom from any government interference, this final privilege shows that the crown and Privy Council claimed discretionary powers to rescind the privilege if they deemed it to be used subversively:²⁷

Provided also and our further witt and pleasure is that if att any tyme hereafter dureing the saide tyme of one and Twentie yeares ytt shalbe appeare unto us our heires or Successors or unto the said and others of the Privie Councell of us our heyres and Successors that this our Graunte is contrary to our lawes or mischevyous to the state or generally inconvenient then upon significaton and declaraton to bee made by us our heires or Successors under our theyre Signett or Privie Seale or the lord or others of our Privie Councell or sixe or more of them for the tyme being writeing under theire hande of such p[re]judice or inconvenience that then for such reasons this our p[re]s[ent] Graunte shall forthwith cease determyne and bee voide...

Although the proprietors of the 1635 partnership were more experienced in the field of music printing and publishing than Edward Allde had been, this latter privilege appears to have a similarly minimal impact on musical output; the partnership's printer William Stansby died in 1638 with no obvious successors and thereafter the partnership's music printing activity seems to have stopped.²⁸ Privileges were a subject of great resentment in the 1640 Long Parliament, which began to revoke them on an individual basis.²⁹ The music privilege is not known to be among those repealed, but the general deregulation of the press upon the abolition of Star Chamber and High Commission most likely signalled the end of any monopolistic control of music publishing, if indeed the partnership survived that long.³⁰

A fourth privilege, separate from the music privileges offered to Morley, Allde and Stansby et al., was issued to William Braithwaite in August 1635 for printing with his system of tablature (transcribed as Appendix 3.2).³¹ Braithwaite's grant followed a similar model to the music privilege, with both offering rights in relation to printing technology, rather than to particular repertoire as was more common on mainland Europe. To this end, Braithwaite's privilege not only forbade others from printing music with his system of notation, but even extended to ownership of the 'Punchions, Matrices, Alphabeticall Letters for Tableture, and other such tooles, and Instruments, as shall be used, had, made, or imployed'. As with the 1635 music privilege, Braithwaite's grant stipulated that the crown and Privy Council should retain the right to withdraw the privilege on grounds of censorship at their discretion. Having

²⁷ Smith, 'Governmental Interference', 78.

²⁸ Stansby sold his business to Richard Bishop in 1636, although it is shown hereafter that this did not extend to his share in the Music Stock. Mark Bland, 'William Stansby', ODNB.

²⁹ Harold G. Fox, *Monopolies and Patents: A Study of the History and Future of the Patent Monopoly* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1947), 140.

³⁰ Cyndia Susan Clegg, *Press Censorship in Caroline England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 216.

³¹ National Archives C66/2694/9. Discussed briefly as a 'royal' grant by Krummel, who knew Braithwaite's privilege from Thomas Rymer's transcription. Krummel, 102. Thomas Rymer, *Foedera, conventiones, literae et cujusunque generis acta publica*, vol. 8 (London: Robert Sanderson and George Holmes, 1739), XIX 656.

received his privilege, Braithwaite took the highly unusual and hitherto unrecorded step of publishing its terms in a pamphlet in 1635, conveying similar regard for his privilege's significance as Tallis and Byrd did by an extract from their privilege at the end of the 1575 *Cantiones ... sacrae*.³² Braithwaite's pamphlet was printed almost immediately after the letters patent were granted, pre-empting the first of his musical publications by three years, which suggests that it was intended both to deter competitors and enhance the status of his project by publicising this privilege.

The extent to which the music privileges were enforced appears variable. Having acquired Morley's privilege, William Barley appears to have been rigorous in making sure that others acknowledged his grant in their editions, no doubt demonstrating equal fervour when collecting payment for allowing others to print music.³³ Enforcement of the privileges seems scant thereafter. Some publications after the 1612 grant of Alde's privilege still listed William Barley as the privilege holder, such as Henry Lichfield's *First Set of Madrigals* (1613) and Francis Pilkington's *First Set of Madrigals* (1613/1614), both published by Snodham, Lownes and Browne, although this might have been because they had paid Barley for a waiver of the privilege in the previous year. Thomas Snodham's impression of John Ward's *First Set of English Madrigals* (1613) and William Stansby's impression of Leighton's *Teares or Lamentacions* (1614) were both issued without acknowledging any privilege on the title page. From 1618, Snodham, Lownes and Browne began printing editions bearing the words *cum privilegio*, such as Thomas Bateson's *Second Set of Madrigales* (1618) and Michal East's *Fourth Set of Bookes* (1618), but with no reference to Edward Alde.

The appearance of *cum privilegio* without any reference to Alde or his heirs on editions prepared by Snodham, Lownes and Browne after 1618, as well as on the editions of Stansby, Hawkins and Latham before they were granted their own privilege in 1635, suggests that a transfer of the privilege took place. The possibility that these two printing partnerships took control of the privilege has yet to be postulated, but while no record of a transfer in the patent rolls was observed in Arnold Hunt's comprehensive study, nor was such a transaction noted in the records of the Stationers' Company, some archival evidence supports this assertion: the records of the Stationers' Company court book refer to the assignment of a warehouse operated by 'Partenors in the musicke Patent' on 10 March 1629/1630 (whose identity is discussed hereafter).³⁴ The privilege was possibly transferred in 1614 (the first year the partnership list *cum privilegio* on their title pages) at the request of Alde or his heirs in on the same terms by which Alde received it from Susan Hardanville, with a new grant for 21 years running until 1635 as opposed

³² *His Majesties gracious grant and privilege to William Braithwait* (s.l. [London]: s.n. [W. Jones?], s.d. [1635?]).

³³ William Barley pressed his claim to twenty shillings and six copies of each edition in his court case against East, as well as in proceedings against Thomas Adams, who in October 1609 was subjected to the same terms and made to backdate forty shillings of outstanding payments. Jackson, *Court Book*, 39.

³⁴ Jackson, *Court Book*, 215. Krummel, 32.

to a continuation of the former grant, as 1635 was the same year Stansby's partnership petitioned for renewal.

It is perhaps possible that the musical editions printed by Snodham and Stansby for the two publishing partnerships had no legal basis for their use of the words *cum privilegio* at all. Some printers in German-speaking lands were evidently guilty of producing books with either this term or equivalent claims of privilege without any such grant having been made, as edicts made on behalf of the Holy Roman Emperor condemned this practice.³⁵ False claims of privilege were perhaps motivated by a desire to make the book more attractive to purchasers, insinuating a degree of musical or typographical quality worthy of a royal grant, even attempting to compete with continental editions which might bear the same distinction; such activity would tally with arguments that most elements of the publishing process were intended to add monetary or symbolic value to the book.³⁶ However, the suggestion that claiming privilege added value in the English market is dubious, as a good number of editions printed under the rights of the privilege did not take advantage of this supposed opportunity, implying that contemporary publishers did not necessarily consider this designation to carry any value in the marketplace. Besides, there appear to be no other prospective false claimants in this period besides the two publishing partnerships headed by Snodham and Stansby, and no claims of privilege were made in any periods of abeyance.

There were several elements behind the crown's rationale for making grants of printing privileges in the seventeenth century. The prefatory material to the 1575 *Cantiones ... sacrae*, the flagship volume of Tallis and Byrd's privilege, includes elegiac couplets which announce this first printed collection showcasing English music before the continental market as having been made possible by the patronage of Elizabeth I.³⁷ These couplets, *De Anglorum musica*, talk of the monarch's patronage advancing the cause of English music as it 'contemplates the press' by allowing Tallis and Byrd to compose while the 'rest of the throng is struck dumb'.³⁸ When read in conjunction with the extract of the terms of the privilege at the rear of each part book, it appears that the explicit purpose of granting the privilege to Tallis and Byrd was so that only the finest music would be published and sold abroad, an idea supported by the fact that *Cantiones ... sacrae* was marketed at the Frankfurt book fair.³⁹

³⁵ Stephen Rose, 'Protected Publications: The Imperial and Saxon Privileges for Printed Music, 1550-1700', *Early Music History* 37 (2018): 249.

³⁶ On value being added to the book at every stage in the publishing process, with different roles in the process defined by the value they were able to contribute to it, see Royston Gustavson, 'Competitive Strategy Dynamics in the German Music Publishing Industry 1530 -1550', *NiveauNischeNimbus: Die Anfänge des Musikdrucks nördlich der Alpen*, (ed.) Birgit Lodes (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 2010): 185-210.

³⁷ Thomas Tallis and William Byrd, *Cantiones ... sacrae* (London: Thomas Vautrollier, 1575), sig.A₁^v.

³⁸ Translations from Milsom, *Cantiones Sacrae*, xviii.

³⁹ John Harley, 'New Light on William Byrd', *Music and Letters* 79 (1998): 478.

The purpose of the music privilege came into new meaning in the seventeenth century, when it began to be operated by stationers rather than composers. The privileges were at greatest risk of repeal at the passing of the Statute of Monopolies in 1624, when widespread discontent with the monopoly system led to the repeal of most forms of this grant. However, the music privilege survived, along with all other privileges relating to printing, and Arnold Hunt has suggested that this was because printing privileges were considered to have been among those granted for the public good.⁴⁰ Yet it seems equally likely that printing monopolies were not repealed because they were already, to an extent, held for the mutual benefit of most members of the publishing trade: the Stationers' Company's acquisition of the most lucrative privileges, which benefited shareholders and those contracted to print for the English Stock, meant that there were few discontented competitors in the printing trade to object to exclusion from the profits of an industry.

Further justification for privileges relating to music relates to the protection of capital, labour and inventions. Applications for music publishing privileges in German-speaking lands, which typically protected musical compositions rather than technology, have been shown to have blended notions of the common good with composers' need to protect their labours from publishers who might immediately pirate their works;⁴¹ composers suggested piracy worked against the common good by proliferating inaccurate texts and condemned their selfish profiteering from the labours of others.⁴² Braithwaite's privilege, which uses stock phrases common to many privileges from Charles's reign to invoke the crown's intent to encourage innovation by offering protection for those who developed new technology, clearly invokes the notions of common good and just reward for labour:⁴³

Wee graciously favouring the Industries of our Subjects, in the investigation of such Arts and Inventions as may be of good use and service to our People, and being willing to encourage them in all lawfull and commendable Studies and Endeavours, by appropriating for them some term of yeares the benefits and fruits of their Inventions...

The changing rationale behind the privileges is key to understanding their significance. This section, which has provided the first detailed record of the 1635 privilege, has shown how this grant and its 1612 predecessor extended many of the terms of Morley's privilege, albeit with incremental increases in government control. However, it has also demonstrated that the privileges developed a different role in the hands of stationers: unlike composers who wished to protect their compositions, or Braithwaite who felt the need to protect his system of notation, the stationers who acquired the privileges of 1612 and 1635 were not seeking to benefit from their past labours. Instead, the privilege was reinvented under the same terms to offer protection, probably against the risk of the relatively small size of the market

⁴⁰ Hunt, 'Book Trade Patents', 29.

⁴¹ Rose, 'Protected Publications', 278.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 279.

⁴³ National Archives C66/2694/9.

for printed music, and in this way the privilege can be seen to become a mechanism for protecting the financial investment in publishing rather than incentivising musical invention. The acquisition of the privilege by stationers shows how they sought solace from economic difficulty in protective structures, and this legal protection is shown later in this chapter to have had a close counterpart in the economic protections offered by publishing partnerships.

The Stationers' Company

In theory, music published under the auspices of the printing privileges was entirely removed from other mechanisms of external control, including regulation of the book trade undertaken by the Company of Stationers; in practice, some universal elements of the publishing trade were inseparable from the Company's controls, which included powers to regulate the number of presses allowed by printers and to restrict the majority of the publishing trade to the confines of the city of London.⁴⁴ Besides these fundamental controls enjoyed by the Company, the Stationers maintained three distinct streams of influence over music publishing: first, the Company's powers of licensing and regulation came into force in any interregnum between privileges, often with consequences which prevailed after a new privilege was granted; second, the Company Court was used to test the terms, extent and validity of music privileges, as can be seen in a court case launched by William Barley; and third, the terms of the privileges were such that the exploitation of the Company's power of regulation as a secondary mechanism of control was sometimes beneficial to stationers, particularly when there were multiple parties involved in the publishing process.

In the manner of a medieval guild, one of the core purposes of the Stationers' Company was to regulate the quality of its members' work.⁴⁵ The Company was known to fine or otherwise chastise its members for poor quality printing, but no cases in the company court book show this practice being applied to polyphonic music (perhaps because the privileges distanced music commercially and legally from the Company's interests). Instead, the only music books whose quality the Company appear to have monitored were the psalm books printed by the English Stock.⁴⁶ The Company perhaps policed quality of workmanship in the psalter because the English Stock's financial interests were so close to those of the Company, but the Stationers had entertained wider concerns for the quality of their presswork when they established the monopoly on ballads under their own authority in 1612:⁴⁷ as mentioned in Chapter 1, the Company stipulated a minimum quality of paper to be used for the printing of ballads, effectively making the grant conditional on the quality of production.⁴⁸

The most influential element of the Stationers' regulation was the registration of new titles in the Company registers. The practice of registering new titles was intended to protect publishing rights of individual stationers by eliminating competition from other members of the Company for the same

⁴⁴ The company court attempted to stem excessive growth by issuing a list of the thirty-three permitted presses on 9 May 1615. Of these, fourteen stationers were granted two and five printers one; those involved in music publishing (Lownes, Allde, Stansby, Snodham, Griffin) were each granted two. Jackson, *Court Book*, 75.

⁴⁵ Cyprian Blagden, *The Stationers' Company: A History, 1403-1959* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1960), 110.

⁴⁶ See reprimand for Stansby's 'Unfit psalters' described in Chapter 1.

⁴⁷ See stipulations regarding quality of paper in Chapter 1. Jackson, *Court Book*, 53.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 54.

texts: upon payment of a fee, stationers would have the titles of works they wished to print entered into the register, after which point no other stationer was permitted to print the same work.⁴⁹ This procedure gives some indication of the way that ownership of texts (including musical compositions) in the publishing process was understood at the time, as the rights to copy were retained by the publishers who risked the considerable financial outlay of production costs. Composers therefore relinquished control over their works from the point of registration, after which they would be unable to take the same works to other stationers or continue to benefit from them, unless they were among the small minority of composers who paid for the publication of their own works.⁵⁰

Little use was made of the Company's registers for music in the years that the music privileges were enforced, as the authority of the patent surpassed that of the Stationers' own byelaws. Indeed, as the music printing privileges passed from the control of composers to stationers, there were few circumstances when registration might have proved beneficial. Byrd and Morley had allowed publishers to print or commission other musical works upon payment of a fee, and these publications were entered in the register, but this practice became rarer when stationers controlled the privilege, perhaps out of fear of competition. On the few occasions when privilege holders such as Barley allowed others to publish musical editions, registration was still not legally required, as these editions were obliged to acknowledge themselves as being printed by the privilege holder's assigns and were therefore covered under the terms of the privilege itself.

Registration of new musical publications thus occurred mostly at times when the privileges were not thought to be in force. Jeremy Smith has noted the substantial number of titles which were entered by Thomas East in the years 1602-1606, between the periods when the privilege was operated by Morley and Barley.⁵¹ Krummel describes East's registrations as a 'precautionary step', reflecting his past experiences of operating during a gap between privileges, and these registrations were probably intended to be used in the event the privilege came back into force.⁵² By comparison, Windet took few such precautions for the works from this period in which he acted as printer-publisher, releasing several works around 1605 without prior registration.⁵³ Windet's lack of such precaution probably accounts for the termination of his music publishing activity from 1606, when Barley pressed his ownership of the privilege before the Stationers' Company court.

⁴⁹ Jeremy Smith describes this process in the Elizabethan era: Smith, 80.

⁵⁰ Murray cites John Farmer, Richard Allison and Philip Rosseter as self-publishing composers: Murray, *Thomas Morley*, 100.

⁵¹ East had also registered several titles when Byrd's privilege ended in the 1590s. Smith, 117.

⁵² Krummel, 30.

⁵³ Windet acted as printer-publisher for Richard Allison's *Howres Recreation* and the two lute books of works by Tobias Hume without prior registration.

The role of the Stationers' Company in acting as a test court for the ownership of the music privilege in 1606 was unusual, as no clause in the wording of the grant suggests that the privilege was subject to any jurisdiction other than the crown. Barley, who claimed Morley's privilege, engineered an ultimately successful case against Thomas East over his right to print music which he entered in the registers of the Stationers' Company in the years when the privilege was not enforced.⁵⁴ While scholars such as Jeremy Smith have written extensively about this case, the precise justification for the Company's right to arbitrate this issue has not been made clear and is pertinent to an understanding of their regulatory role. The record of the case in the Stationers' Company court book suggests the dispute over the privilege came under the Company's jurisdiction because both Barley and East were freemen and, in the words of the judgement, 'submitted themselves to p[er]forme thorder & determinac[i]on of the M^r. Wardens, & Assistent[s], of this company'.⁵⁵ To submit himself before the Stationers Barley had to transfer from the Company of Drapers on the same day, a company with a history of interfering in publishing by exploiting royal privileges.⁵⁶ In admitting him, the Stationers not only weakened the practice of Drapers operating printing privileges, but also brought the music privilege under their own jurisdiction.

Jeremy Smith has suggested that the establishment of the Court's jurisdiction in this arbitration constituted a victory for the Stationers in its 'struggle to counteract the power of the royal patents that affected so much its members' trade', but it should be stressed that the Company's actions constituted no attempt to curtail the power of privileges more widely.⁵⁷ The Company was a major beneficiary of the privilege system, as shown by the English Stock's lucrative operation of a psalm book patent originally granted to Richard Day.⁵⁸ Instead the Company's actions can perhaps be more closely identified with an attempt to eliminate external competition from rivals such as the Drapers' Company and to uphold privileges in their own sphere of control. After Barley's transferral from the Drapers' Company, the music printing privileges were held exclusively by stationers; hereafter the monopoly's rationale in serving the public good by promoting the best composers' music was lost, and instead it assumed new meaning by promoting the financial interests of a self-selecting corporation.

The ruling of the Court in the *Barley vs. East* case set an unusual legal precedent for the balance between registered 'copies' and the music privilege. While acknowledging Barley's ownership of the music privilege, the court's judgement also gave East continued rights to publish new editions of any of the

⁵⁴ Described at: Smith, 119.

⁵⁵ Jackson, *Court Book*, 19.

⁵⁶ Edmund Arber, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1660 A.D.* (London: privately printed [the author], 1876) iii, 683. Gerald D. Johnson, 'The Stationers versus the Drapers: Control of the Press in the Late Sixteenth Century', *The Library*, 6th Series, 10 (1988): 8, 17.

⁵⁷ Smith, 120.

⁵⁸ Krummel, 26.

titles which he had entered into the Company registers between 1602 and 1606.⁵⁹ East was obliged to give Barley prior notice, twenty shillings and deliver six free copies of each new impression he produced, but the court ruled that East and his wife did not require Barley's permission to publish any of the works which he had already entered.⁶⁰ Thus, a new legal settlement was reached whereby registered titles from periods of abeyance between privileges remained valid and allowed for reprinting when the privilege came back into force. Smith notes that the Company contrived these terms in spite of the fact that the privileges were worded to negate any other existing rights to music printing.⁶¹ This ruling therefore saw the Company not only determining the legal owner of the privilege, but even redefining some of its terms.

The Company's ruling also redefined the role and impact of the privilege. When enforced, the privilege prevented new titles being registered and printed without the monopolist's permission, but could not be used to prevent the publication of music already registered. It therefore gave protection against 'new music', and this was perhaps responsible for a swing towards reprinting existing titles, with the years round 1610 witnessing unprecedented rates of reprinting and reissue, including the presswork of Lucretia East (see Figure 1.13).

'Rights to copy', such as those of Thomas and Lucretia East which were preserved through the 1606 court ruling, were treated by stationers as assets. Incomparable with modern notions of copyright and with no bearing on textual integrity or accuracy, these rights to print a given text instead protected the financial interest of the printer rather than the author: as such, these publishers' rights sit uncomfortably in teleological histories of intellectual property which anticipate modern copyright by focusing on the status of the author.⁶² Their status as assets can be seen from the way in which some rights were reassigned upon a stationer's death. These transfers were conducted through the Stationers' register by creating lists of titles which were effectively re-entered for another stationer, often with reference to the deceased stationer's widow who was present to supervise the transaction. If wills like that of John Windet show how it might be necessary to convey the tangible assets associated with a printing business when leaving it to successors, such as printing equipment, these transfer lists show how it was also

⁵⁹ 'Tho. East and his wyfe and the longer lyver of them shall accordinge to the charter and ordonnance of the said company, Aswell Enjoye all the sette of songe & musicke booke which were Entered & Registered.' Jackson, *Court Book*, 19.

⁶⁰ 'Tho. East & his wife duringe their said lyvees and the lyfe of the longer lyver of them, from tyme to tyme hereafter so often as either of them shalbe resolved to priynte any of the said copies Registred as aforesaid, shall thereof gyve notice unto hym before the begynnyng of any ympression of suche sette of songe Twenty shillinge And shall also allwaies delyver unto hym within Seven dayes after the fynishinge of every suche ympression Sixte sette of the same songe booke so printed.' Jackson, *Court Book*, 19.

⁶¹ Smith, 120.

⁶² Joseph Loewenstein is one such to offer a 'prehistory' of copyright which principally considers early rights in relation to authors' rights of subsequent periods. Joseph Loewenstein, *The Author's Due: Printing and the Prehistory of Copyright* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 28.

important to pass on the intangible assets of legal rights to texts, and that the Stationers' Company performed a key role in preserving such things as could not be detailed in a will.

The deaths of Thomas East and Thomas Snodham both precipitated transfers of the 'rights to copy' of musical titles, with lists of the titles being transferred to other stationers by the consent of their widows. Joseph Kerman discussed these lists as a way of appraising which editions might have been popular at the time of re-registration, but his account pays no attention to the involvement of stationers' widows or the implications of considering the titles as property.⁶³ More recently Jeremy Smith has written about the assignment of East's property by his widow, first made to John Browne in December 1610, before being reassigned to the shared ownership of Snodham, Lownes and Browne on 3 September 1611;⁶⁴ Smith's description of these transfers assumes that Lucretia East was recompensed financially, which seems likely, although no proof for this assertion exists. Elizabeth Snodham participated in a similar transaction when she assigned Snodham's copies, or whatever share her husband had held in them, to William Stansby on 23 February 1625/6.⁶⁵ Past scholarship neglects the fact that the assignment of these titles by stationers' widows reflects the contemporary estimation of the rights as business interests from which widows were expected to be able to profit. By contrast, William Stansby had also assumed John Windet's titles on 11 September 1611 without any references to having compensated the latter's beneficiaries:⁶⁶ comparison with his will shows that this was because Windet's heirs were his sisters, his wife having predeceased him, and this comparison emphasises the dependency of this form of inheritance on marital status.

The transfer list of 1625/6 gives some sense of the degree to which stationers continued to maintain interest in older repertoire which might be reprinted with their increasingly dated moveable type: the lists show that Stansby was still paying to assert his rights to Byrd's *Cantiones sacrae I* and *Musica transalpina* almost forty years after they were first published.⁶⁷ This continued practice of transferring all of the musical titles to which printers had rights, and not only of the more recent or lucrative publications, gives the impression that stationers viewed the sum of these rights as being greater than the parts. In the later years of the publishing partnerships which held the privilege when many of the titles re-registered were quite old, these comprehensive re-registrations were perhaps an attempt to preserve as great a share as possible of the musical texts available to stationers for publication, not only so the partnerships had the choice of what sort of repertoire they might reissue, but also as a preventative

⁶³ Joseph Kerman, *The Elizabethan Madrigal: A Comparative Study* (New York: American Musicological Society, 1962), 265.

⁶⁴ Smith, 123. Arber, *Registers*, iii: 450, 465.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, iv, 152.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, iii, 467.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, iv, 152.

measure to reduce risks of competition through the amassing of textual property to the exclusion of others.

Some entries in the Stationers' register were perhaps intended to test or challenge the extent of the music privilege under its various owners, for instance with the editions of catches and rounds by Thomas Ravenscroft. The first, *Pammelia* (1609) was printed under William Barley (perhaps with the help of William Stansby) for the booksellers Richard Bunyon and Henry Whalley, and because it was issued under the privilege, with the words 'Cum Privilegio' included in the imprint, it was not entered in the register. However, subsequent volumes of Ravenscroft's collections, *Deuteromelia* (1609) and *Melismata* (1611) were printed for the bookseller Thomas Adams, who entered them in the Stationers' register before having them printed and did not acknowledge himself as Barley's assign, despite the fact that they had precisely the same proportion of music to text as the first volume.⁶⁸ The registration of books which were on the fringes of mainstream music publishing, such as collections with short rounds where the parts might not need to be printed separately, was perhaps an attempt to demonstrate that such texts were not covered by the music privilege, or to provoke the privilege holder to engage in legal dispute at a stage of pre-publication rather than when the full printing costs had been incurred.

The Stationers' Company register might have been used for a similar assertion of rights by Thomas Snodham in the publication of Robert Tailour's *Sacred Hymns* (1615). Because this collection was close in nature to the psalm books issued by the English Stock, Snodham sought a license from the Stationers' Company court, which was granted on 17 June.⁶⁹ Despite the court's acknowledgment that it was 'taken out of the psalms which belong to the Company', meaning that it required no registration because it came under the authority of the English Stock's psalm book patent, Snodham still made the seemingly superfluous registration two days later on 19 June.⁷⁰ This might have been to guarantee rights to reprinting if the edition were to prove popular and merit a second edition, but as this publication could have fallen under the terms of either the psalm book or the music printing privileges, between which there was significant crossover for musical settings of the psalms, the acquisition of a license and the act of registration allowed Snodham to demonstrate that he was printing under the Stationers' Company grant. Snodham might have chosen to publish his collection under the psalm book privilege for a number of reasons, not least because this privilege was granted indefinitely rather than for a period of twenty-one years, but the combination of registration and a license under the psalm book privilege gave him independence from his partners Lownes and Browne.⁷¹

⁶⁸ Ibid., iii, 419, 456.

⁶⁹ '17 Junij 1615. Tho. Snodham. R[eceiv]ed of Thomas Snodham for a license to print a booke called sacrid himmes by Joyce [?] Taylor taken out of the psalms which belong to the Company. XXs[hillings] paid.' Jackson, *Court Book*, 456.

⁷⁰ Arber, *Registers*, iii, 568.

⁷¹ For a full transcription of the Company's privilege, see: Ibid., iii 42-44.

Other circumstances might arise when the registration of music books was beneficial to stationers, even in the years of the music privilege when registration might appear superfluous. With the exception of Thomas East, who entered the titles of all books he published, a significant majority of the entries in the Company register relate to publications where an independent publisher employed a trade printer. On several occasions the stationer and bookseller John Browne, for example, employed trade printers such as John Windet, to print music for him. Unlike Thomas East, Windet did not typically register his own musical publications;⁷² however, the editions he printed for Browne were all registered in advance by the publisher.⁷³ Browne was also sure to assert his rights when employing other trade printers, registering four musical titles in 1609 which were subsequently printed by Thomas Snodham.⁷⁴ Other booksellers followed this seemingly superfluous course of action, with Thomas Adams registering musical titles printed by Peter Short, John Windet and Thomas Snodham.⁷⁵

These booksellers' registrations were more likely made to guarantee the contract between the publishing bookseller and the trade printer: by registering the publication before assigning it to a trade printer, independent publishers could gain legal assurances that the trade printer would be unable to manufacture additional copies to sell themselves. The rights to John Dowland's *Second Booke* proved a significant problem in the aforementioned dispute between East and Eastland: because Eastland was not a Stationer, the title was registered by East who was thereafter entitled to reprint the edition, with assurance that no additional copies would be printed being given verbally.⁷⁶ The fact that the majority of musical editions printed by trade printers thereafter were entered in the register by the publisher suggests that others might have learnt from this disastrous case: Thomas Adams duly registered Dowland's *Third and Last Booke* (1603) himself only a couple of months after Eastland's last attempt at litigation against East was concluded, and this publication was unusual in bearing only the printer's initials but the bookseller's name in full, which was perhaps an attempt to direct customers to the official point of sale. The registration of books by independent publishers could therefore function as a legal mechanism to prevent trade printers from making illicit copies of a print run for personal gain,

⁷² The notable exception to this is Thomas Greaves's *Songes of sundrie Kindes* (1604), which Windet registered on 2 April 1604 (the same day as Adams registered Dowland's *Lachrimae*). Arber, *Registers*, iii, 259.

⁷³ Editions printed by Windet which were registered and published by Browne include John Bartlett's *A Booke of Ayres*, Thomas Ford's *Musicke of Sundry Kindes*. Ibid., iii, 317, 344.

⁷⁴ Ferrabosco's *Ayres*, Wilbye's *Second Set*, Rosseter's *Consortes* and Hooper's *Lessons for the Leero Vial*. Ibid., iii, 401, 402, 405, 409.

⁷⁵ It is suggested already in this chapter that the first of these, *Lachrimae*, was published by Dowland himself. The other publications are John Daniell's *Booke of Songes* the aforementioned *Deuteromelia*. Ibid., iii, 319.

⁷⁶ Margaret Dowling suggests the verbal contract between East and Eastland involved a reversion of the rights to East after the first impression, but East's entrance of the title in the Stationers' register made this an inevitable legal default; a written contract was abandoned. Margaret Dowling, 'The Printing of John Dowland's *Second Booke of Songs or Ayres*', *The Library*, 4th Series, 12 (1932): 368.

demonstrating further how the Stationer's register continued to be used even in the era when it was superseded by the music privilege.

Ultimately the relevance of the Stationers' register was diminished by stationers coming together to form publishing partnerships, and although the lists of transfers perpetuated the joint stock of textual rights enjoyed by the partners, the legal foundation offered by the jointly controlled music privilege meant that the partners did not need to assert their rights against each other. Although not the final entry for music in the Stationers' registers in this period, the joint registration of Dowland's *Pilgrimes Solace* by Snodham, Lownes and Brown on 28 October 1611 reflects a turning point away from the use of the Company's regulatory powers to press individual rights and towards the corporate ownership of textual property.⁷⁷

⁷⁷ Arber, *Registers*, iii, 470.

Censorship and the regulation of texts

That England's music trade operated against a stark backdrop of political and religious turmoil in the first half of the seventeenth century is undeniable. The move towards the 'general crisis' of the mid-seventeenth century has hitherto been related to music publishing in this thesis with regards only to the broadly negative economic climate (see Chapter 1 for description of this term), and indeed other musicologists invoking the idea of 'general crisis' in the seventeenth century such as Lorenzo Bianconi have concentrated on its economic implications. However, this greater 'struggle between society and state' described by Hugh Trevor-Roper might imply serious consequences for the relationship between governmental authority and published texts.⁷⁸

Arguments surrounding the role and purpose of censorship in the early Stuart state have been characterised by the claims of Marxist historians such as Christopher Hill that ever more severe press restriction was used to silence opponents of the crown before eventually being overcome by revolution.⁷⁹ These claims are contested by revisionist historians including Kevin Sharpe, who have suggested that decrees relating to press regulation in the years before the Civil Wars sought only to clarify existing laws and create procedures to protect the existing publishing trade, rather than suppress all criticism of the monarch.⁸⁰ In line with many studies of seventeenth-century English culture, discourse surrounding censorship has broadened from narrow debate between Marxists and revisionists over the perceived revolutionary struggle between monarch and people, towards the supposedly 'post-revisionist' studies of Thomas Cogswell and Anthony Milton, which focus instead on the role of censorship in protecting national foreign policy and maintaining religious unity.⁸¹ More recent histories, such as that of Cyndia Susan Clegg, consider various means and aims of press control in light of these broader scholarly views, arguing that censorship is better understood as an 'umbrella' term for a range of state influence over printing and the book trade, rather than one restrictive control which might be termed 'the censorship'.⁸²

⁷⁸ Lorenzo Bianconi, *Music in the Seventeenth Century*, trans. David Bryant (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 28. Hugh Trevor-Roper, 'The General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century', *Past & Present* 16 (1959): 38.

⁷⁹ Hill argues that 'most significant writers suffered in one way or another from the Elizabethan or early Stuart censorship', before hailing the end of ecclesiastical censorship and abolition of Star Chamber in 1641 as 'the most significant event in the history of seventeenth-century literature': Christopher Hill, 'Censorship and English Literature', in *The Collected Essays of Christopher Hill*, vol. 1 (Brighton: The Harvester Press, 1985), 39-40.

⁸⁰ Kevin Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 650.

⁸¹ Thomas Cogswell writes in *The Blessed Revolution* about the relationship between censorship and political relations at the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War, while Anthony Milton has written about ecclesiastical censorship under Laud. For a summary of their findings and an assessment of them as post-revisionist: Clegg, *Jacobean England*, 3.

⁸² Clegg's history of Jacobean censorship is organised to break censorship into its different purposes in relation to monarchical authority and libel of the crown, foreign policy and religion.

Accounts of censorship in English music publishing have typically focussed on editions promoting Roman Catholicism, particularly where this was the personal faith of the composer: Smith's description of censorship in his study of East was largely defined by the scrutiny which might have befallen Byrd's *Gradualia*, while his description of the relationship between the privilege and censorship also hinged on the legality of printing Latin motets.⁸³ This has perhaps given a slightly distorted view of the role that any form of state censorship might have had in music publishing in early Stuart England, where censorship existed in a form removed from Continental practices, with Roman Catholic publications in England being in a minority, and where the attention given to musical publications seems altogether smaller than was given to other texts. This section challenges existing musicological views by considering the practice of censoring music books, particularly those of a sacred nature, in relation to broader concepts of the role and practice of censorial activity as they are currently understood in bibliographical scholarship.

In early seventeenth-century England, censorial oversight was principally conducted through the Stationers' Company, with the act of registration offering the opportunity for texts to be examined by agents of the crown and church. Registration was a process of two parts, with the procurement of a licence to print a work occurring first, followed by the entrance of the title in the Company's register;⁸⁴ the former was the granting of permission to print a book, a legal requirement for which stationers were fined for non-compliance, while the latter established rights to copy to protect the investment of the stationer, as described in the previous section of this chapter, and was not always considered necessary. Book historians following R. B. McKerrow have stressed the fact that no relationship existed between censorship and rights to copy, as the examination of texts by agents of the crown took place when the stationer attempted to obtain a licence and not when they entered the title into the company register.⁸⁵ Yet, evidence of the licensing process is extremely rare, as no institutional record of this procedure has survived within the Stationers' Company;⁸⁶ thus, while scattered pieces of archival evidence have been used to recreate the licensing process, the Stationers' registers survive alone as the chief source for the licensing of a great majority of individual publications, as entrance could only take place after a work was licensed and the wording of entries often refers to any censorial oversight exerted at this earlier stage.

While in many regards the distinction between sacred and profane was not clearly observed in music publishing, for the purposes of licensing this distinction was more relevant. Texts of a religious nature,

⁸³ Smith, 82, 99. Smith, 'Governmental interference', 78.

⁸⁴ Loewenstein, *The Author's Due*, 28.

⁸⁵ Ronald Brunlees McKerrow, *An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students*, 2nd edition (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928), 142.

⁸⁶ Fredrick Siebert suggests that there was a separate book for licensing which has not survived. Fredrick Siebert, *Freedom of the Press in England 1476-1776* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1952), 58.

including some music, were licensed under ecclesiastical oversight. While most records in the Stationers' register indicate that a title was entered 'under the hands of the Wardens', it was typical for theological texts and other religious materials to be described as being authorised by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Bishop of London, or one of their chaplains. These ecclesiastical censors would almost certainly have examined only the text of musical publications and would have paid little or no attention to the musical settings: well-known historic instances of musical symbolism of Catholic dissent such as the word-painting indicating the cross at the beginning of Byrd's 'Deus venerunt gentes' in *Liber primus sacrarum cantionum* (1589) would have been of no interest to ecclesiastical censors, who were probably oblivious to such nuances not readily discernible when the music was split across several part books; likewise, the quotation of obsolete Gregorian chant melodies recalling pre-Reformation liturgy in Byrd's *Gradualia* would not have aroused interest among clerical licensors.⁸⁷

The registers make it possible to trace the censor for most editions of sacred music. Both books of Byrd's *Gradualia* were entered in the register after having been personally licensed by Richard Bancroft, Bishop of London and subsequently Archbishop of Canterbury.⁸⁸ George Wither's *The Songs of the Old Testament* and *Cantica sacra* (amalgamated to produce *Hymnes and Songs of the Church*) were authorised respectively by Richard Cluet and Thomas Goad, who acted as deputies for the Bishop of London in their capacity as his chaplains.⁸⁹ But besides these two cases which have attracted comment from Smith and Clegg, other licensors of sacred music have not been previously identified. Zachariah Pasfield, a prebendary of St Paul's who is known among bibliographers for licensing works of Shakespeare, gave permission for the English edition of Croce's *Musica sacra*.⁹⁰ The 'Master Edward Abbott' who licensed *Melismata* held various appointments, including chaplain to the Bishop of London, while the 'Master Etkins' who licensed *Deuteromelia* was probably Richard Etkins, Vicar of St Mary Abbots.⁹¹ Tailour's *Sacred Hymns* was licensed by two of the company wardens and 'Master Tavernor', who has not been identified before, but was almost certainly the Richard Taverner who was vicar of Ealing.⁹²

⁸⁷ Most notably in the use of *Puer natus*, which appears on the first page of the Cantus in *Gradualia* II: Kerry McCarthy, *Liturgy and Contemplation in Byrd's Gradualia*, (London: Routledge, 2007) 169.

⁸⁸ Smith, 99.

⁸⁹ These titles were entered into the register on 8 December 1620 and 7 December 1622, each with a notice of the licenses which had already been obtained: Arber, *Transcript*, iv, 43, 87.

⁹⁰ Arber, *Transcript*, iii, 361. On Pasfield: William Proctor Williams, 'Under the Hands of ... : Zachariah Pasfield and the Licensing of Playbooks', in *Shakespeare's Stationers: Studies in Cultural Bibliography*, ed. Marta Straznicky, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013) 63-94.

⁹¹ Arber, *Transcript*, iii, 419, 456. The Clergy of the Church of England Database lists only one Edward Abbott active at this time, CCEd ID: 40007. For Richard Etkins: Leo Kirshbaum, *Shakespeare and the Stationers*, (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1955), 70.

⁹² Arber, *Transcript*, iii, 568. Clergy of the Church of England Database, CCEd ID: 15588. Kirshbaum, *Shakespeare and the Stationers*, 348, n. 80.

The reasons why music books were or were not subjected to ecclesiastical censorship are unclear. Publications of music of an entirely sacred nature to be used for liturgy or devotion, including *Gradualia*, Wither's two collections of hymns, *Musica sacra*, and Tailour's *Sacred Hymns*, appear always to have been examined when a licence was being obtained. *Melismata* and *Deuteromelia* were unusual in being examined by ecclesiastical figures when such a small proportion of their content was sacred, perhaps either because their low social origin and popular tone, akin to that of ballads, gave rise to fears of libel, or because the first collection, *Pammelia*, contained a higher proportion of sacred texts, including various prayers in Latin. However, equally telling with regard to the way that texts of musical works were perceived are the publications which were not deemed to necessitate clerical attention: William Byrd's 1611 *Psalmes, Songes and Sonnets* was licensed by the wardens of the Stationers' Company alone, in spite of the ten anthems or devotional settings it contained and the well-known recusancy of its author.⁹³

The process by which sacred music books were examined by clerical censors and the diligence with which they undertook the task is uncertain. While characterising the registration process in the Elizabethan period as simple, Jeremy Smith claims that the 'copies', a term he does not specify further, brought for registration show books in different stages of prepublication.⁹⁴ What kind of copies of musical publications were brought to Stationers' Hall is unknown, and seemingly has not been considered by scholars of music publishing; there is limited evidence from which to draw firm conclusions against a wider backdrop of non-consensus among book historians on this issue.

A sixteenth-century precedent existed for depositing a printed copy from the completed impression in Stationers' Hall when registering the publication, which Cyndia Susan Clegg notes was enforced as late as the mid-1570s;⁹⁵ this was stipulated by the Company's ordinances and was recorded in the Stationers' registers alongside the payment of the registration fee. However, this system had clearly lapsed by the turn of the seventeenth century as the register no longer notes such deposits, and it would have been incompatible with the notion that, by the seventeenth century, texts were brought to Stationers' Hall in different states of completion and were registered before the impression to protect the investment of the publisher. Among the few other scholars to suggest that printed copies of works were taken to Stationers' Hall is Cyprian Blagden in his landmark history of the Stationers' Company: he concedes that in a few instances a manuscript was submitted for the entrance process, but argues that for the majority of cases it would have been a galley proof or the completed impression of the first few pages, while also casting considerable doubt on the idea that licensors examined texts thoroughly.⁹⁶

⁹³ Arber, *Transcript*, iii, 458.

⁹⁴ Smith, 81.

⁹⁵ Clegg, *Elizabethan England*, 16.

⁹⁶ Blagden, *Stationers' Company*, 54.

A greater number of book historians argue that manuscripts were taken for registration, although there is little consensus on the exact nature of such a copy. Describing the loss of the author's rights after the sale of a manuscript to a printer, Leo Kirschbaum implied that it was the author's autograph taken to Stationers' Hall, stressing that possession of the sole physical copy of the text was the only control that the author or prospective publisher had before entrance in Stationers' register.⁹⁷ Joseph Loewenstein asserts that a stationer 'submitted a manuscript, the so-called copy', suggesting both that it was not an autograph and that references to 'copies' in the register might even testify to the ongoing role of the manuscript draft for legal purposes.⁹⁸ When writing about early editions of Shakespeare's plays, W. W. Greg suggested that the theatrical companies' prompt copies used to obtain performance licenses were used for registration, while questioning whether the Master of Revels who sanctioned its performance in the first place actually examined the manuscript for a second time for registration for publication.⁹⁹ Perhaps the diversity of scholarly views on the nature of the copies taken for licensing reflects a diversity of practices, and if different literary genres of poetry, prose and plays were examined in different forms on account of their diverse content, then it would seem likely that music might have been treated differently also.

The kinds of copies of musical publications which were brought to Stationers' Hall and inspected by ecclesiastical censor are of significance to an assessment of how rigorous this process might have been, particularly if the inspection copy was partial or incomplete. Jeremy Smith implies a high level of scrutiny of the text when he describes Richard Bancroft's examination of Byrd's *Gradualia* as part of an elaborate censorial strategy to flush out dissenting Catholics, and the fact that this was the only musical collection not delegated to a junior cleric suggests that it might well have been examined more closely than was typical; but Smith's description of *Gradualia* appearing 'on Bancroft's desk', whether intended metaphorically or not, highlights fundamental gaps in our understanding of the licensing process, such as where examination of texts took place.¹⁰⁰ For the licensing of musical publications there are further considerations depending on the format of the edition: if only a single partbook were presented, this might not include all works in the collection, or present only the chorus texts in verse anthems; likewise, texts of musical works which illegally reproduced forbidden Catholic literature, such

⁹⁷ Leo Kirschbaum, 'Author's Copyright in England Before 1640', *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 40 (1946): 44.

⁹⁸ Loewenstein, *Author's Due*, 28.

⁹⁹ This argument stems from the authorisation of plays by the Master of Revels, under whose 'hands' the title was entered. W. W. Greg, 'Entrance, Licence and Publication', *The Library*, 4th Series, 25 (1944): 11.

¹⁰⁰ Jeremy Smith, 'Turning a New Leaf: William Byrd, the East Music-Publishing Firm and the Jacobean Succession', in *Music and the Book Trade from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century*, (ed.) Robin Myers, Michael Harris and Giles Madelbrote (New Castle, Delaware and London: Oak Knoll Press, 2008), 39.

as those chosen by Byrd from Richard Verstegan's translation of the primer, might have been obscured by repetition, missing lines of text supplied in other parts, and being interspersed with musical staves.¹⁰¹

Comparison of the Stationers' register and title pages shows that, while most entries are faithful transcriptions of the edition as it was published, some underwent substantial revision. Differences of spelling between entrances and titlepages are common, perhaps indicating that titles were read to the clerk rather than transcribed.¹⁰² Likewise, minor differences in phrasing in the Stationers' register, such as the omission of the word 'select' in Tailour's *Sacred Hymns, Consisting of Fifti Select Psalms* or the substitution of 'Voyces or Viols' with 'vyalls and voyces' in Byrd's *Psalmes, Songs and Sonnets* (1611) might be explained by a lack of diligence in the copying process, and these small variants show that entrance in the register needed only be as accurate enough for the publication to be recognised at a later date. This latter example of disparity between the register and titlepage has been used by John Morehen to argue that the nuances of such phrases have no implications for performance practice because they were used interchangeably in different states of prepublication;¹⁰³ however, this sort of argument presumes that the Company clerk was attempting a verbatim transcription of a title page of a copy brought for entrance, when in fact these details might still have been of significance to the composer, perhaps even the stationer, but were irrelevant to the Stationers' Company's own records.

Nonetheless, some entries in the Stationers' register demonstrate a small number of musical editions undergoing far more extensive revision between the point at which they were entered in the register and the form in which they were published. The more drastic of these revisions show that some music books were registered without reference to the title by which they would later become known, while the more elaborate names of some others were simplified for a clearer description (Table 2.1).

¹⁰¹ Byrd drew on the dual language edition of Verstegan's *The Primer, or Office of the Blessed Virgin Marie* for both the Latin texts of *Gradualia ... Liber Primus* (1605) and the English texts of *Psalmes, Songs and Sonnets* (1611): David Fraser, 'Sources of texts for Byrd's 1611 *Psalmes*', *Early Music* 38 (2010): 171-172. For the legal status of Verstegan's works: Marcin Polkowski, 'Richard Verstegan as a Publicist of the Counter-Reformation: Religion, Identity and Clandestine Literature', in *Publishing Subversive Texts in Elizabethan England*, ed. Teresa Bela, Clarinda Calma and Jolanta Rzegocka (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2016), 267.

¹⁰² John Morehen suggests this in relation to the *Psalmes, Songs and Sonnets*: Morehen, 'Thomas Snodham', 108.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

Table 2.1: Variants between entries in the Stationers' register and impression (dates in the Stationers' register are recorded in Old Style)

Date of entry (impression where different)	Register entry (As appearing in Arber's transcription)	Title page transcription
10 Feb 1606/7 (1607)	<i>Gradualia, Ac Cantiones sacrae Quaternis, Quinis et Sex vocibus Concinnatae. Liber Secundus.</i>	<i>Gradualia: Seu Cantionem Sacrarum Quarum aliae ad Quatuor, aliae verò ad Quinque et Sex voces editae sunt. Liber Secundus.</i>
19 March 1610/11 (1611)	<i>The first parte of Musicall crochettes, or Courte, City, and Country varietyes, conceites and pastimes, to 3. 4. and 5. Voyces</i>	<i>Melismata. Musicall Phansies. Fitting the Court, Citie, and Countrey Humours. To 3. 4. And 5. Voyces.</i>
28 October 1611 (1612)	<i>A booke of Ayres made and sett forth bothe for the Lute and basse vyoll with voices to singe to, by John Dowland</i>	<i>A Pilgrimes Solace. Wherein is contained Musicall Harmonie of 3. 4. and 5. parts to be sung and plaid with the Lute and Viols</i>
8 December 1620 (1621)	<i>The songs and prayers dispersed throughe the Old Testament collected and faithfully translated into measures, preserving the genuine sence and naturall phrase of the holy text.</i>	<i>The songs of the Old Testament Translated into English Measures, Preseruing the Naturall phrase and genuine Sense of the holy Text</i>
7 December 1622 (1623)	<i>Ten Hymns translated by Master Wither called Cantica sacra or the holy songs.</i>	<i>Cantica Sacra or the Hymns and Songs of the Church / Hymns and Songs of the Church</i> ¹⁰⁴

Revision after licensing had significant implications for the effectiveness of the supposed system of censorship, as the fact that stationers felt no compunction to preserve the titles of the copies which were licensed suggests that they might well have implemented changes to the body of the text. Were this the case, the licensing process would have resembled a more notional acceptance of the premise or concept of a book, rather than an authorisation for a complete text.

These more relaxed attitudes regarding the registration of texts with clerical censors in advance of publication do not necessarily indicate a more tolerant culture of press censorship, instead showing how English music publishing varied substantially from continental practices. Contemporary English composers living in exile in the Spanish Netherlands, including Peter Philips and Richard Dering, experienced more stringent checks on the texts of their music: the publication of these composers' works in Antwerp was preceded by an examination of the full text by an official ecclesiastical censor, whose seal of authorisation was printed in the rear of the volume to show that the book had been sanctioned.¹⁰⁵ Such marks of imprimatur used in Catholic territories of continental Europe gave music books a kind of protection which guaranteed their legality and continued circulation, and although books of sacred

¹⁰⁴ This early edition of *Hymnes and Songs of the Church* exists in only one copy (held by St Paul's Cathedral), printed without naming printer, place or date.

¹⁰⁵ A note on the final page of Philips's five voice motets details that they were authorised on 25 August 1611 by Egbert Spithold, Antwerp's censor of books, who describes them as 'pious and praiseworthy, worthy to be touched by many hands in the church'. Peter Philips *Cantiones sacrae ... quinis vocibus* (Antwerp: Pierre Phalèse the Younger, 1612). Translation in John Steele (ed.), *Peter Philips: Cantiones sacrae quinae vocibus* (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 1992), x.

music in England were also approved by clerical censors, no notice of the licence was reproduced in the published version.

The absence of any enduring mark of authorisation reflected the fact that the licensing process could not alone guarantee the continued legal status of printed books. Walter Raleigh's *Historie of the World* was famously suppressed by the Archbishop of Canterbury George Abbott at the direction of James I, in spite of the fact that it had already been approved by clerical censors.¹⁰⁶ Remarkable in this case was the fact that the *Historie* might have been suppressed because of the engraved portrait of James I included without the king's permission; this shows how elements of a printed book which could not have been examined upon presentation of a manuscript copy at Stationers' Hall might retrospectively nullify the license.¹⁰⁷ Publications with a musical component could also run into difficulties notwithstanding authorisation by a clerical censor: Wither's *Hymnes and Songs*, licensed by George Abbott's chaplain Thomas Goad, become the centre of a dispute between the author and the Stationers' Company, which contested Wither's privilege on the grounds of popery and obscenity.¹⁰⁸ Likewise, Charles de Ligny's arrest in 1605 for possession of a copy of *Gradualia* occurred in spite of the fact that the collection had been licensed by George Abbott and was never formally suppressed or recalled;¹⁰⁹ indeed, the dubious legal status it held clearly had no bearing on the continued assertion of legal rights to the text as it was reproduced in the list reassigning East's titles as 'Mr Byrd's Graduation' [*sic*].¹¹⁰ Printed music books were therefore issued unprotected from the possibility of future suppression as political and religious circumstances changed.

Finally, the uncertainty of censorial activity was compounded by the changing terms of the privileges, which latterly included clauses affirming the rights of the crown and Privy Council to retract grants upon publication of material which was 'contrary to our lawes or mischevyvous to the state or generally inconvenient'. Just as licensing offered no guarantee of future authorisation, threats to remove privileges loomed over music publishing, perhaps promoting a culture of cautionary self-regulation: Braithwaite's extensive reworking of *Siren coelestis* for his own edition, discussed in Chapter 5, is but one instance where controversy was deliberately avoided through self-censorship of texts.

Censorship of printed music, therefore, was a variable and irregular practice. While pre-publication inspection of texts was likely superficial, it involved officials from outside the Stationers' Company

¹⁰⁶ Raleigh's work was registered on 15 April 1611, having been licensed by John Overall, Dean of St Paul's. Arber, *Transcript*, iii, 457. Clegg, *Jacobean England*, 96.

¹⁰⁷ John Rancin Jr, 'The Early Editions of Sir Walter Raleigh's 'The History of the World'', *Studies in Bibliography* 17 (1964): 199.

¹⁰⁸ Clegg, *Jacobean England*, 50.

¹⁰⁹ For Charles de Ligny's arrest: John Harley, *The World of William Byrd: Musicians, Merchants and Magnates* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 159.

¹¹⁰ Arber, *Transcript*, iii, 450.

and offered the stationer's investment little protection from further interference or retribution from the state. Yet in spite of the irregularity and inconsistency of its application, censorship saw no major changes or reform in the years before the Civil Wars and Parliament's 1643 Ordinance for the Regulating of Printing, after which point clearer licencing procedure might have offered some encouragement in the Playford era. In this sense alone, Jacobean and Caroline censorship was an element of music publishing culture common to the previous century, increasingly cumbersome and outdated in the face of otherwise widespread economic, social and musical change.

Publishing partnerships and the Music Stock

Much of this chapter has described the way that legal structures behind music publishing remained constant in the face of significant economic and societal change. However, the transferral of ownership and control of the music printing privileges from composers to stationers and the increasingly creative use of the Stationers' register to contend textual property rights show that the traditional economic models which existed within the legal confines of the trade were shifting. The music printing privilege gained new meaning when its ownership moved from individuals to collective groups or bodies; this important shift from individual to collective control has not been acknowledged as a turning point in the trade.

The two publishing partnerships for music have been mentioned above in passing: the first consisted of Thomas Snodham, Matthew Lownes and John Browne, the second of William Stansby, Richard Hawkins and George Latham. Of these, Snodham and Stansby were responsible for the physical impression of the music, while the partners together appear to have shared responsibility for financing publication. Both partnerships are known to past musicological scholarship, but their exact nature has never been clarified. Krummel did not write in detail about the first partnership and, unaware of later privileges, did not acknowledge the second partnership because it fell outside the scope of his historical narrative based on the politics of the music patents.¹¹¹ More recently, Jeremy Smith repeated Miriam Miller's view that the details of these stationers' association are indecipherable, his lack of commentary arising from the fact that the partnership commenced their joint venture some time after the death of Thomas East.¹¹²

Grounding these publishing partnerships in wider contexts of the book trade, this section expands the present understanding of the two partnerships by relating them to a growing trend of incorporation in this period of publishing history, showing their economic model to be mirrored elsewhere in both the book trade and the wider economic landscape. After reflecting on the effect of the introduction of booksellers into these partnerships, new archival evidence is presented here from stationers' wills which elucidates the nature of these associations and the connections which existed between their members. This new evidence includes the revelation of a largely unnoticed description of the second partnership as a 'Music Stock' in the will of William Stansby, in light of which the publishing partnerships are reconsidered.

¹¹¹ Krummel, 32.

¹¹² Smith, 124. Miriam Miller, 'London Music Printing, c.1570-c.1640' (Thesis approved for fellowship of the Library Association, 1969), 103.

The publishing partnerships created a long-term formal union between printers and booksellers (stationers for whom the majority of their business was publishing and commissioning new editions as opposed to printing), enabling shared access to printing technology, capital and networks of distribution. The printers, Thomas Snodham and William Stansby, entered the partnership with the largest number of music titles registered with the Stationers' Company, but the booksellers in the first music publishing partnership contributed the rights to some important titles, most notably those associated with John Dowland.¹¹³ Booksellers involved in the partnership would also have been able to offer existing networks of customers and distribution, even premises where the partnership's editions might be sold. No musical publication from either of the partnerships stipulates a single point of sale in their imprint, which is highly unusual for the time and marks a departure from these stationers' earlier works and their other printing activities.¹¹⁴ This suggests that both booksellers, and possibly the printers also, were responsible for selling the partnership's editions at several locations.

The booksellers' principal contribution to the partnership was most likely capital, for some booksellers of the period were exceptionally wealthy. To take examples from outside the partnerships discussed here, John Norton (d.1612), who principally traded in books he had bought or commissioned from trade printers, left gifts in his will totalling several thousand pounds besides the land and remainder of the estate left to his family.¹¹⁵ Likewise, individual bequests with a combined value of £2000 formed less than a third of the estate of John Bill (d.1630).¹¹⁶ Humphrey Lownes and Thomas Adams, booksellers who had commissioned or dealt in music books in the first decade of the seventeenth century, were probably wealthier than the printers they employed.¹¹⁷ The wills of the booksellers involved in the music publishing partnerships, which appear not to have been analysed previously, suggest that they would have been able to make considerable capital available to their joint venture, although the full extent of their wealth cannot be deduced from their wills alone.

As was customary among the mercantile classes of the City of London at the time, three of the four wills made by the partnerships' booksellers divide the estate into three parts, with the first two thirds of

¹¹³ Matthew Lownes held the rights to copy of Dowland's *First Book* which he had acquired through his wife, Emma Short. All three stationers had participated in the registration of *Pilgrimes Solace*.

¹¹⁴ Michael East's *Third Set* (1613), for instance, was printed by Snodham for Lownes in one of the last trade printing transactions before the establishment of the publishing partnership. It bears the imprint of the 'Bishop's Head' in St Paul's Churchyard, directing potential buyers to Lownes's shop.

¹¹⁵ H. R. Plomer, *Abstracts from the Wills of English Printers and Stationers from 1492 to 1630* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1903), 45.

¹¹⁶ The gifts of £1900 did not include a £300 annuity granted to his wife; together these comprised approximately one third of the assets, with his sons John and Henry each receiving a similar share. Plomer, *Abstracts from the Wills*, 51.

¹¹⁷ Neither Lownes's nor Adams's will provide a clear indication of the overall value of their estates, but their wealth appears clear enough. Lownes held a £320 Assistant's share in the English Stock, left gifts of £300, and his will shows that he held leasehold property and owned a collection of silver. National Archives, PROB 11/157/733. Adams left gifts of several hundred pounds, and his wife inherited various estates in Essex and Sussex. National Archives, PROB 11/135/424.

the estate providing for a spouse and the principal heir and the third part making gifts to other family members and charitable causes. The will of Matthew Lownes (d.1625) offers the clearest demonstration of this practice and gives a strong impression of the relative wealth of the music partnership's booksellers, with the first third of his substantial estate being transferred to his wife, a second third split among his children and a final third making extensive provision for many relatives and friends.¹¹⁸ The gifts made through the final third of the will amount to almost £900, and if this were only a third of the full value of the estate, his entire assets presumably amounted to at least £2700. Lownes's will also reveals the dynastic connection between the first and second music publishing partnerships, as his daughter Susan Latham (who received an additional gift of £50 from the final third of his estate) was the wife of George Latham in the second publishing partnership, who is also named as one of Lownes's executors.¹¹⁹

The partnerships' other booksellers were also wealthy. The final third of the estate of Richard Hawkins (d.1638) amounted to less at just over £400, although his estate was likely worth considerably more than £1200 because this will stipulated that the remainder of the final third be split among Hawkins's children after the monetary gifts, while the first bequest made of 'lands and tenements' reinforces the idea that the cash gifts were considerably less than a third of the estate in real terms.¹²⁰ The will of George Latham (d.1658) contains few monetary figures, but Latham considered one third of his estate to offer adequate provision for his six children, between whom that portion was split evenly.¹²¹ The will of John Browne (d.1622), which emphasises his role as a bookseller by describing him unconventionally as a 'Statio[ner] and publisher', left cash gifts totalling only £500 without dividing his estate into three parts; however, it seems likely that his estate was also considerably larger, as all of his business interests were maintained by his widow Alice Browne, whose initials continued to appear on some of the imprints of musical editions produced by the first music publishing partnership in the years after his death.¹²²

Alice Browne's retention of her deceased husband's share of the music partnership not only emphasises the involvement of widows in music publishing as a result of inheritance, but also the treatment of the share as a capital asset. Whether she was a passive shareholder or active bookseller is uncertain, but early modern women were active in retail and restrictions on her activity arising from her status outside the Stationers' Company (such as operating a press and registering titles) would not have stopped her

¹¹⁸ National Archives, PROB 11/147/29.

¹¹⁹ This familial relationship has been documented by book historians, but never made apparent in the context of the music publishing partnership. McKerrow, *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of Foreign Printers of English Books, 1557-1640* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1910), 180.

¹²⁰ National Archives, PROB 11/169/77.

¹²¹ National Archives, PROB 11/276/261.

¹²² National Archives, PROB 11/140/301.

from running her husband's shop.¹²³ Although Alice Browne was the only widow whose share was reflected on title pages of new editions, the will of William Stansby (d.1638) indicated his intention that his wife should benefit from the partnership in a similar way after his death. His will specified how his share in the partnership was to be treated after his death, perhaps because he was the stationer for whom the share in the joint enterprise formed the highest proportion of his own assets:¹²⁴

Item my will and mynd is that for and concerning the stock of One hundred and three score poundes of lawfull money of England remayning and being in the hands of the M^r and Wardens of the Company of Stationers And also of the [O]ne other sume and musique Stock of Three score poundes more or lesse therewith remayning in the hands of George Latham of London Stationer my selfe and another My will and meaning is that my loving wife and Executrix hereafter named shall have receave and take the profits of the said two stocks during her naturall life if she continue so long a widow and unmarried. And that from and after the death of my said Executrix That then the said two Stocke or sum(m)es of money shalbe [redeemed?] and come unto my kinswoman Ruth Sholborne the wife of Jonathan Sholborne aforenamed...

This transfer of Stansby's share in the music publishing partnership offers the clearest indication in this period of the partnership's worth, but has considerable implications for the structure and composition of the partnership. The reference to the 'musique Stock' appears to have been previously known only to Mark Bland, who interprets it principally as a share to the rights of the music privilege in his entry for Stansby in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.¹²⁵ Scholars of music publishing in England, including Donald Krummel, Cecil Hill, Miriam Miller and even Jeremy Smith, seem not to have been aware of this description of the partnership as a 'stock', and while the monetary valuation of the share offers evidence to contest underlying assumptions that music publishing had become essentially worthless, this description of the partnership as a 'stock' gives considerable insight into the practical and legal understanding of the partnership at the time.

No reference in the Stationers' archives is known to refer to the music publishing partnerships as a formal stock, but the term has implications for its structure and warrants comparison with other stock ventures in this period. The English Stock, printing psalm books, psalters, ABC's and almanacs, was the most successful of these ventures, having been founded in 1603 with a nominal capital of £9,000, which had risen to £14,400 by 1614.¹²⁶ Stansby's share of £160 represented a liveryman's share (as opposed to Assistant's or Journeyman's, worth £320 and £80 respectively), earning estimated dividends

¹²³ Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 116.

¹²⁴ National Archives, PROB 11/177/699.

¹²⁵ Mark Bland, 'William Stansby', ODNB. Bland speculates that the total value of the estate was approximately £1000.

¹²⁶ Blagden, *Stationers' Company*, 94.

of 20% in the early 1600s.¹²⁷ Similarly established with a nominal capital value of £4800 in 1616, the Latin Stock specialised in the importation of foreign books.¹²⁸ It was a commercial failure which paid one dividend out of its capital and ran into significant debt, before being dissolved by 1627.¹²⁹ The Irish Stock was established upon the securing of a royal privilege in 1618 which granted a monopoly on bookselling in Ireland, although this venture proved similarly unsuccessful and the privilege was sold by the partners in 1639.¹³⁰

The premise and operation of the English, Latin and Irish Stocks mirror the workings of the music publishing partnerships in several respects. First, the English and Irish Stocks were underpinned by royal privileges which supposedly guaranteed a market monopoly, as was certainly the case with the second publishing partnership after 1635, and possibly as early as 1614 as is suggested earlier in this chapter. Second, the English, Latin and Irish stocks all maintained warehouses for the mutual assets of their shareholders, which mirrors the assignment of a warehouse to the 'Partenors in the musicke Patent' which is recorded in the Stationers' Company court book in 1629/30.¹³¹ Third, shares in the English Stock were granted on the understanding that the widows of deceased shareholders should be allowed to continue to profit from the share dividends, rather than simply from the sale of the assets.¹³²

This close modelling of the music publishing partnerships on the structure and arrangements of the officially recognised stocks of the Stationers' Company, and most notably the fact that the partners described it as the Music Stock among themselves, invites some speculation as to the extent to which it would have otherwise imitated these publishing syndicates. Shares were almost certainly bought and sold alongside those which can be shown to have been inherited. Although Matthew Lownes's share was most likely inherited by his son in law George Latham, no equivalent familial connections existed between the other shareholders. Ownership of shares in stocks came with strong expectations of dividends, and the so-called Music Stock (as it is hereafter described) was probably no different from other stocks in this way: the size of these payments was an object of contention in the English Stock, while the heavy expectations that the Latin Stock should pay dividends resulted in a catastrophic use of capital for this purpose, furthering a subsequent reliance on loans.¹³³

¹²⁷ Ibid., 96.

¹²⁸ Ibid., 106.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 107. Julian Roberts, 'The Latin Trade' in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, Vol. IV, ed. John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 162.

¹³⁰ Jackson, *Records of the Court*, xii. Blagden, *Stationers' Company*, 109. Robert Welch, 'The book in Ireland from the Tudor re-conquest to the Battle of the Boyne', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, Vol. IV, ed. John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 704.

¹³¹ The English Stock's warehouses and stock-keepers are described at: Blagden, *Stationers' Company*, 98. The warehouses of the Latin and Irish Stock are described in the Company Court Book: Jackson, *Court Book*, 88, 153, 215.

¹³² Blagden, *Stationers' Company*, 95.

¹³³ H. R. Plomer, 'Some Notes on the Latin and Irish Stocks of the Company of Stationers', *The Library*, 2nd series, 8 (1907): 289.

Stansby's will valued his share in the Music Stock at £60, although like his £160 Liveryman's share in the English Stock, this was probably a nominal value based on the amount of money paid when the share was called up.¹³⁴ If shares in the Music Stock were treated similarly, this valuation is probably incapable of giving an accurate indication of the size of the music publishing trade: shares in the Latin and English Stock were bought and sold at these fixed prices, the true value reflected in the rising and falling dividends, but both had uneven share structures, and the idea that shares in the Music Stock were of unequal value seems congruous with the booksellers' greater wealth and lesser specialist technical skill.¹³⁵

In multiple senses, therefore, the inception of the Music Stock shows how the music publishing trade followed some of the broader trends of the book trade, which saw a wider move from individual operators to corporate bodies in sectors underpinned by royal privileges. This is exemplified by the English Stock, who acquired John Day's 1559 Psalm Book privilege, William Seres's 1555 privilege for primers and psalters and the remaining rights to almanacs and prognostications from the estate of Richard Watkins, each genre becoming a mainstay of their production.¹³⁶ Likewise, the Latin Stock attempted to increase the scale of an import trade which had been successfully exploited by individual booksellers such as John Norton (d.1612), and although no royal privilege was granted for the Stock, it exploited the prohibitions on non-stationers importing printed books which were laid out by the Stationers' Company charter to create a monopoly.¹³⁷

The trend towards corporate ownership of monopolies also existed outside publishing. In 1906 William Hyde Price observed that the 1624 Statute of Monopolies, which attempted to end industrial monopolies by only allowing privileges for inventions, was fundamentally flawed because inventors with different privileges could form partnerships, pooling their rights to give them absolute regulatory authority over an entire trade.¹³⁸ Price's argument, which cites growing corporate control over trades like salt and soap under the guise of technological development, invokes the idea that monopolies granted to individuals gave rise to corporations by way of what he terms the 'rudimentary joint-stock company', in a shift from individual to collective trading.¹³⁹ This echoes not only the way in which the English Stock

¹³⁴ Blagden, *Stationers' Company*, 95. The shares were the nominal value of the capital and not, as Jeremy Smith erroneously states, the annual dividend: his misunderstanding of the share structure seems to arise from a reference to four quarterly payments of £40 mentioned in the will of Lucretia East, which describes the Company's procedure for realising the share in the year after her death to pay the beneficiaries of her will. Smith, 113; 123; 211, n10.

¹³⁵ The Latin Stock also had an uneven share structure which employed the same system of three tiers of value, with of sixteen shares of £100, thirty-two of £50 and sixty-four of £25. Plomer, *Latin and Irish Stocks*, 289.

¹³⁶ Jackson, *Court Book*, 9. Blagden, *Stationers' Company*, 51.

¹³⁷ Arber, Transcript, I, xxxi. Julian Roberts refers to the Latin Stock as an attempt to 'monopolise', although this is not reflected in the granting of a privilege: Roberts, 'The Latin Trade', 161.

¹³⁸ William Hyde Price, *The English Patents of Monopoly* (London: Archibald Constable, 1906), 35.

¹³⁹ Price, *Patents of Monopoly*, 35.

compiled different privileges, but also the initial joint registration of titles in the formation of the first publishing partnership, which would lead to the so-called Music Stock.

The Music Stock's dependence on different shareholders' resources might account for its comparably poor performance to these larger corporations, particularly in relation to the technical skills for printing music. The English Stock included many shareholders with the skills to print its books, but the Music Stock had only one stationer with music-printing expertise at any one time. Provision for widows might have caused problems in this small partnership, for although women could continue to benefit from the Stock and might have continued the operation of a shop, they might not operate independent presses. John Browne's death in 1622 did little to disadvantage the Music Stock as his capital and textual rights were still available to the partnership after inheritance by his widow, who maintained his shop after his death; the death of Thomas Snodham, on the other hand, deprived the partnership of the ability to print new editions. Matthew Lownes's death in the same year presumably left the Music Stock without any shareholders who were still members of the Stationers' Company.

A gap between the final imprints of Snodham, Lownes and Browne in 1624 and the first imprint of Stansby, Hawkins and Latham in 1631 leaves an element of uncertainty as to when the transition from the first to second partnership took place. Elizabeth Snodham's aforementioned use of the Stationers' register to transfer her husband's share in the textual rights to music books to William Stansby on 23 February 1625/26 offers some indication of when her share in the Music Stock was sold. Likewise, Thomas Lownes claimed his father's titles on 10 April 1627, including his stake in *Pilgrimes Solace*, but only weeks later he transferred the majority of this list, including Dowland's work, to his uncle Humphrey Lownes and his partner Robert Younge on 30 May.¹⁴⁰ On 6 November 1628, Humphrey Lownes transferred this list to Matthew Lownes's son-in-law, George Latham and his partner George Cole.¹⁴¹ It is from this date that Latham had secured the part of Matthew Lownes's business which included the textual rights to *Pilgrimes Solace*, and this is likely indicative of his acquisition of a share in the Music Stock. Unfortunately, in December 1630 the titles thereafter became subject to a claim by Humphrey Lownes's partner Robert Younge, who had never been bought out of his stake in his shared rights to copy.¹⁴²

It would therefore seem highly probable that the 'Partenors in the musick Patent', described in the court book under 10 March 1629/30 as leasing a warehouse, already included Stansby and Latham. There appears no indication of the date when Alice Browne's third share in the Music Stock came under the control of Richard Hawkins. She had transferred some of her husband's non-musical titles to John

¹⁴⁰ Arber, iv, 176, 180.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 205.

¹⁴² Ibid., 245.

Marriott in 1623, although the listing of her initials on the Music Stock's impressions of 1624 confirm that she did not surrender her share at this date.¹⁴³ Alice Browne remarried in 1624, from which point she was ineligible to retain her share in the English Stock, being deprived of it by the Stationers' Court on 7 June.¹⁴⁴ If provision for widows in the Music Stock were also conditional on abstaining from remarriage, she might have been bought out at this stage too.

The uneasy transfer and reassignment of shares in the Music Stock after the deaths of Snodham and Lownes occurred within a short space of time, despite expectations that widows profit from their shares for the rest of their lives, and this gives some sense of the inherent weaknesses of this stock structure. Whereas the casual 'co-partnership' between Windet and Stansby had naturally dissolved on the former's death, the Music Stock's more formal structure had perhaps given a pretence to shares holding a stable or nominal value in the same way that they did in the English Stock, but its control of the music publishing trade would have been meaningless unless another music printer were appointed to it. If duration can be taken as a measure of success, the Music Stock appears to have run for a period of over twenty years, from around 1614 to at least as late as 1638, outliving both the Latin and Irish Stocks. Unlike the Latin Stock, it does not appear to have closed with considerable outstanding debts, with Stansby's will suggesting it to be soluble, or even profitable. Its corporate structure of multiple shareholding enjoyed more success than that of the Irish Stock, but there appears no evidence that the heirs of the later partners were able to realise capital for sale of the business upon its conclusion in the same manner as the Irish Stock.¹⁴⁵

Music printing in the era of the two publishing partnerships, or the Music Stock, can therefore be seen as belonging to a series of ambitious ventures which attempted to replicate the success of the English Stock by imitating its shareholding structure. This effort to formalise the music publishing trade brought together stationers who had the technical skill to print music with wealthy booksellers who had access to considerable capital. Finally, the creation of the Music Stock further challenges Krummel's theory that the music privilege had become worthless by 1614, and that the market for printed music had ceased to become profitable.¹⁴⁶ Clearly this is not how the stationers who entered into the partnership perceived it, and while the reorganisation of the trade into a joint stock suggests a continued faith in the market, it also suggests a recognition that new economic structures were necessary to overcome the challenges encountered by previous music publishers.

¹⁴³ Ibid., 92.

¹⁴⁴ Jackson, *Court Book*, 166.

¹⁴⁵ For the sale of the privilege in 1639 to William Bladen: Blagden, *Stationers' Company*, 109.

¹⁴⁶ Krummel, 32.

Music retailing and the role of catalogues

Having established that the Music Stock represented not only a pooling of capital but also of expertise, this chapter now examines the role of the bookseller in the publishing process in greater detail. The present section outlines which booksellers involved in the music trade kept premises in London, beginning with those who were shareholders in the Music Stock, and then reflects on the way in which these points of sale and booksellers' expertise contributed to music publishing in England. Revisiting evidence on the possible role of booksellers in distributing printed music from London further afield, this section will also reflect on the role of stationers in importing from overseas for the English market by offering new perspectives on the catalogues which attest to this practice.

Musicologists writing about the publishing trade and book historians more widely use the term 'bookseller' loosely, referring to traders of different status and business models. In London the term mostly referred to stationers who made the majority of their money through trading rather than producing books (as with the booksellers in the Music Stock), while provincial booksellers were unlikely to be members of the Company and ran varying sizes of operation which were more likely to sell to local customers than to trade. Ian Maclean has codified 'Hansa' and 'branch' models of bookselling, with the former involving merchants who travelled and dealt in sizeable stock with other traders at book fairs (as was more common in northern Europe) and the latter referring to networks of smaller shops who might sell the wares of large printing houses on commission (a method more prevalent in Italy).¹⁴⁷ English bookselling fits into neither of these categories easily, although John Bill's international book-trading business might be more easily aligned with the former and the domestic market centralised on London might be closer to the latter. Instead, individual booksellers in this period are better identified as wholesalers or retailers, depending on whether they sold to trade, kept warehouses or commissioned new editions.

The maintenance of shops was an important element of all booksellers' businesses, with these fixed points of sale setting them apart from many printer-publishers. Whereas East and Snodham sold their work from their printing shops or houses, or perhaps directly to trade, the four booksellers who held shares in the Music Stock kept premises in strategic areas of London.¹⁴⁸ Booksellers had traditionally kept shops on the north side of St Paul's churchyard, Stationers' Hall being located closely nearby, and this is where Matthew Lownes operated: from around 1610 he maintained a shop opposite the great

¹⁴⁷ Ian Maclean, *Scholarship, Commerce, Religion: The Learned Book in the Age of Confessions* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2012), 203.

¹⁴⁸ In this context 'house' can be ambiguous, potentially meaning a domestic property, a printing house (which might contain some shop element) or a combination of the two. However, some editions were sold from domestic properties, such as the early editions of Byrd's *Psalms, Sonets & Songs*, which were 'sold at the dwelling house of the said T. East, by Paules Wharf'.

north door of St Paul's at the sign of the Bishop's Head.¹⁴⁹ Lownes was succeeded in this shop by his son-in-law George Latham, who was still present at these premises in 1649.

Books commissioned by Browne show that he operated from a shop in the churchyard of St Dunstan-in-the-West on Fleet Street.¹⁵⁰ This site at the western extremity of the City of London was relatively far removed from the majority of other booksellers and Stationers' Hall, but is significant in its location not least because John Playford would ultimately open his shop in the porch of the Temple Church, directly opposite St Dunstan's. Browne's successor in the Music Stock, Richard Hawkins, operated a shop closely nearby in the vicinity of Sergeant's Inn on Chancery Lane.¹⁵¹ While no familial connection is known between Browne and Hawkins, the close proximity of the two shops of these subsequent holders of the same share in the Music Stock appears significant.

Besides the shareholders of the Music Stock, most booksellers involved in the music trade also kept retail premises in London, mostly around St Paul's. Richard Redmer, an apprentice of Matthew Lownes who reissued both volumes of Byrd's *Gradualia* in 1610, operated from a shop at the 'Sign of the Star' near the west door of the cathedral.¹⁵² Thomas Adams, who commissioned Dowland's *First Book* from Peter Short and John Danyel's *Songs for the Lute Viol and Voyce* from Thomas East, also kept a shop in the churchyard of St Paul's on the corner of Canon Alley.¹⁵³ The Lawes brothers' *Choice Psalms* was highly unusual in listing two points of sale from the booksellers who commissioned it: the edition names the Prince's Arms, the shop kept by Humphrey Lownes in St Paul's Churchyard, and the Star by St Peter's Cornhill, which was occupied by Richard Wodenothe.

The operation of shops by booksellers is mostly distinct from the practice of selling from houses which was largely followed by specialist publishers including musicians. George Lowe's *Parthenia*, his only musical edition, directs purchasers to his house on Lothbury, from which he sold various prints produced by copper plate engraving.¹⁵⁴ Likewise, Barnard's *First Book* sends customers to 'the signe of the Three Lutes, in Paul's Alley'; no shop is known to have had this name, but Barnard's home in the College of Minor Canons was on this street, his door perhaps near some other establishment of this name. Self-publishing composers were similar in this regard: Dowland sold *Lachrimae* from his home

¹⁴⁹ Peter Blayney, *The Bookshops in Paul's Cross Churchyard* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1990), 17.

¹⁵⁰ For example: John Wilbye, *The Second Set of Madrigales* (London: Thomas Snodham for John Browne, 1609).

¹⁵¹ This imprint appears on Hawkins's publications, such as *The Tragedie of Mariam*. The location of his shop is described at: Mckerrow, *Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers*, 132.

¹⁵² David Colclough (ed.), *The Oxford Edition of the Sermons of John Donne*, vol. III, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 474.

¹⁵³ Blayney, *Bookshops in Paul's Cross Churchyard*, 15.

¹⁵⁴ The scant details of Lowe's career are described at: Alexander Globe, *Peter Stent, London Printseller* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1985), 5. See also: British Museum, Catalogue of Prints and Drawings, 'George Lowe', <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/term/BIOG153037>.

on Fetter Lane, while sales from the houses of composers John Farmer, Richard Allison and Philip Rosseter are noted by Tessa Murray.¹⁵⁵ Composers are unlikely to have expected passing trade at their homes, but naming them as a point of sale perhaps reflects a reliance on the same networks of patrons, composers and performers who were active in disseminating their music in manuscript.¹⁵⁶

Sale of music from printing houses by non-booksellers would not necessarily attract the passing trade and existing customer base enjoyed by those who kept shops. Booksellers are also known to have maintained contact with the provincial trade, and the practice of stationers supplying former apprentices with books at wholesale prices, many of whom were from outside London and returned to open bookshops in the towns from which they came, shows just one way that stationers could reach markets beyond London.¹⁵⁷ Whether the music trade benefited from such networks is uncertain.

Only one major archival source from the years 1603-1649 testifies to the circulation of polyphonic music beyond London through the provincial book trade: an inventory of the stock held by the York bookseller John Foster, which was made at the time of his death in 1616.¹⁵⁸ Kirsten Gibson and Stephanie Carter have recently shown 25 of the 3000 books to be of a musical nature:¹⁵⁹ besides seven psalm books and an indeterminate number of duplicates, at least eight different printed editions of polyphonic music can be identified.¹⁶⁰ Dowland's *Pilgrimes Solace* is the only edition in the inventory to have been published by the Music Stock, contributing to an impression of limited distribution channels and a slow-moving music trade outside London.

Polyphonic music features in no other known inventory of a provincial bookseller of the Jacobean or Caroline eras. While other inventories of Michael Hart (1615) and Robert Booth (1648) refer to psalm books, these may not have included four-voice settings;¹⁶¹ indeed, Forster's inventory makes a point of distinguishing 'singing psalms' from 'psalmes in foure parts', a distinction similarly observed in the

¹⁵⁵ Peter Holman echoes the assumption that the use of the author's house as the point of sale means *Lachrimae* was published by Dowland himself, also suggesting that it was a commercial failure which he never repeated. Peter Holman, *Dowland: Lachrimae (1604)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 3. Murray, *Thomas Morley*, 100.

¹⁵⁶ For scribal networks surrounding composers: Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 23.

¹⁵⁷ Graham Pollard and Albert Ehrman, *The Distribution of Books by Catalogue from the Invention of the Printing Press to A.D. 1800* (Cambridge: Roxburghe Club, 1965), 124.

¹⁵⁸ John Barnard and Maureen Bell, *The Early Seventeenth Century York Book Trade and John Foster's Inventory of 1616* (Leeds: Leeds Literary and Philosophical Society, 1994).

¹⁵⁹ Stephanie Carter and Kirsten Gibson, 'Printed Music in the Provinces: Musical Circulation in Seventeenth-Century England and the Case of Newcastle upon Tyne Bookseller William London', *The Library*, 7th Series, 8 (2017): 446-447.

¹⁶⁰ Gibson and Carter identify works by Alison, Dowland, Michael East, Weelkes and Henry Youll. The 'Sett of Gombartes' and 'Two Settes of Ittallian Songes' might be printed or manuscript, but the latter could be either volumes of Yonge's *Musica transalpina* or Watson's *First Set of Italian Madrigals*.

¹⁶¹ Carter and Gibson, 'Printed Music in the Provinces', 449-50.

inventory of the Newcastle bookseller William Corbett (1626).¹⁶² The Corbett inventory lists only a handful of psalm books among the 154 items in his two shops, including an edition with music in four parts, although a reference to ‘five table books and two psalme books’ leaves open the possibility that psalm books were sold alongside other printed editions, or possibly books of blank ruled staves.¹⁶³ The valuation of Corbett’s estate at £47 10s 9d emphasises the stark contrast between the sums of hundreds or thousands of pounds in the wills of wealthy booksellers of London who sold to trade and owners of smaller provincial bookshops.

These one-off probate inventories served a specific function and had no role in the publishing trade, although other manuscript lists are believed to have done. Christian Coppens has drawn attention to the difficulties of aligning such source material with anachronistic definitions of catalogues, and as some printed book lists and catalogues are hereafter considered their ambiguous meaning is cautiously acknowledged:¹⁶⁴ seventeenth-century catalogues could be stock lists, advertisements for future works, lists of books which could be supplied, or even bibliographical records of historic interest. The issue of printed stock catalogues containing music appears to have been a practice unknown in the early Stuart era: thereafter, from the 1650s John Playford placed adverts which listed his different editions at the end of his music books, while Henry Playford’s *A Curious Collection of Musick-Bookes* (1690) survives as the earliest fully-fledged commercial stock catalogue with prices and numbers of available copies.¹⁶⁵

Before the Restoration, catalogues appear less commercial in nature. Playford’s broadsheet *A Catalogue of All the Music Books Printed in England* (1653) provides a remarkably thorough survey of English music printing before this date, but the broadsheet probably did not represent his own stock.¹⁶⁶ Lenore Coral suggested that the bulk of this catalogue instead served as a historical record of academic interest, and the broadsheet might have been produced to foster enthusiasm for Playford’s own editions which are listed at the bottom.¹⁶⁷ William C. Smith described a similar broadsheet of 1609, supposedly printed by ‘Thomas East’, which might have represented an early Stuart precedent for this later practice.¹⁶⁸ While Stephanie Carter doubted its existence, citing scant evidence (only a passing mention by Edward Rimbault) and the timing of its release after East’s death in 1608, it should be noted that in 1609 Thomas

¹⁶² Ibid., 445.

¹⁶³ Ibid., 452. This inventory (Durham Probate Records: DPR/I/i/1626/C7/1) has been transcribed and published online by Claire Boreham as part of the 2014 research project *Making the Archives Public: Digital Skills, Research and Public Engagement* and is available at <corbettsbookshop.omeka.net>. Accessed August 2019.

¹⁶⁴ Christian Coppens, ‘Census of Printers’ and Booksellers’ Catalogues up to 1600’, *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* (2008): 557.

¹⁶⁵ The Playfords’ catalogues are summarised at: Stephanie Carter, ‘Music Publishing and Compositional Activity in England, 1650-1700’ (PhD diss., University of Manchester, 2011), 118-125.

¹⁶⁶ William C. Smith, ‘Playford: Some Hitherto Unnoticed Catalogues of Early Music’, *The Musical Times* 67 (1926): 636-639. Carter assumes that it is a stock list: Carter, ‘Music Publishing’, 42, 124.

¹⁶⁷ Lenore Coral, ‘A John Playford Advertisement’, *RMA Research Chronicle* 5 (1965): 2.

¹⁶⁸ Smith, ‘Playford’, 636.

Snodham printed under his adoptive father's name as an alias, and such a list might have served a useful function upon his inheritance of East's printing house (although there is similar reason to doubt it was a stock list).¹⁶⁹

The scarcity of catalogues for music printing houses before 1650 is perhaps accounted for by the relative expense of paper, the centralised and limited market for music, and the fact that musical publications were to a degree self-advertising, with title pages and letters of dedication attracting the eyes of prospective buyers. Yet, a small number of specialist booksellers' catalogues elucidate some mechanics of the music trade. While these did not fulfil an identical function to Playford's stock catalogues and were unrelated to probate inventories, they are principally associated with the trade of foreign books. They reflect the development of the book catalogue at book fairs and the greater need for distribution devices for the more specialised books which travelled further.

The catalogues of Robert Martin, a London bookseller who imported Italian books for resale, were first studied by Donald Krummel, who identified no fewer than 232 musical editions of mainly Venetian origin in Martin's catalogues which survive from the years 1633 to 1650.¹⁷⁰ Krummel characterised the catalogues, which contain thousands of continental books on a range of topics, as printed stock lists of the books available in his shop, which is supported by a literal reading of the catalogues' titles.¹⁷¹ This is broadly in line with their description by Pollard and Ehrman, but the notion that these regular catalogues constituted a stock list seems problematic when the very large number of musical titles contained therein is compared to the supposed small size of the musical market.¹⁷²

Jonathan Wainwright's study of a bill of sale to Christopher Hatton showed that Martin did supply music books from his catalogues to paying customers, but Wainwright also voiced scepticism that all books in Martin's catalogues were in his shop, citing the fact that only 107 of 224 editions survive in British libraries.¹⁷³ Such arguments centred on survival rates cannot be taken to be conclusive, particularly as the number of copies originally brought to England is uncertain: if Martin imported only a couple of each edition, then this would represent a far higher survival rate than that inferred from the surviving copies of Dowland's *Second Booke* (of which eight surviving copies are listed in RISM, from an original print run of over 1000).

¹⁶⁹ Carter, 'Music Publishing', 115. For posthumous use of this alias: John Wilbye, *The Second Set of Madrigales* (London: Thomas Snodham, 1609). Smith, 9.

¹⁷⁰ Donald Krummel, 'Venetian Baroque Music in a London Bookshop: The Robert Martin Catalogues, 1633-1650' in *Music and Bibliography: Essays in Honour of Alec Hyatt King* (New York, London: Clive Bingley, 1980), 3.

¹⁷¹ The catalogues typically contain a phrase such as 'apud quem venales habentur' (in which are held for sale).

¹⁷² Pollard and Ehrman, *Distribution of Books*, 91.

¹⁷³ Jonathan P. Wainwright, *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England: Christopher, First Baron Hatton (1605-1670)* (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1997), 29.

Nonetheless, the following discussion of another set of catalogues of continental books not only shows another means by which foreign printed music might have come to England, but also contextualises an understanding of Martin's catalogues as an agent of distribution. These catalogues emanated from the aforementioned Latin Stock, which between 1617 and 1628 commissioned reprints of the official Frankfurt book fair catalogue in London; known already to bibliographers and historians, they contain lists of music previously unnoticed by musicologists.¹⁷⁴ Graham Rees and Maria Wakely argued that these catalogues were printed to draw attention to the cataloguers' wares and continental connections, noting that John Bill deliberately edited their contents to promote his own business interests.¹⁷⁵ They were likely sold or sent to English institutions or bibliophiles who were prospective purchasers, and the near-unbroken series in the Bodleian library listed by Pollard and Ehrman was perhaps indicative of one early collection of the catalogues acquired for this purpose.¹⁷⁶ Table 2.2 shows the distribution of the small number of musical editions through the catalogues.

¹⁷⁴ This series of catalogues and its immediate antecedents are described at: Pollard and Ehrman, *Distribution of Books by Catalogue*, 86.

¹⁷⁵ Graham Rees and Maria Wakely, *Publishing, Politics and Culture: The King's Printers in the Reign of James I and VI* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 201.

¹⁷⁶ Pollard and Ehrman, *Distribution of Books by Catalogue*, 89. Ian Maclean describes a growing role of scholarly collectors and bibliophiles as contributing to the need for the circulation of the details of printers' wares: Ian Maclean, *Scholarship, Commerce, Religion*, 203.

Table 2.2: Number of music editions listed in the English reprints of the Frankfurt catalogue.¹⁷⁷

STC Number	Date	Publisher's imprint (printer)	Number of music items listed
11328	Spring 1617	John Bill	
	Autumn 1617	John Bill	
11328.2	Spring 1618	John Bill	
	Autumn 1618	John Bill	
11328.4	Spring 1619	John Bill	13
	Autumn 1619	John Bill	9
11328.8	Spring 1620	John Bill	
	Autumn 1620	John Bill	
11328.6	Autumn 1619	Societatis Bibliopolarum (The Latin Stock, printed by Felix Kingston)	
11329	Spring 1620	Societatis Bibliopolarum (The Latin Stock, printed by Felix Kingston)	
	Autumn 1620	Societatis Bibliopolarum (The Latin Stock, printed by Felix Kingston)	6
11329.4	Spring 1621	'Francofurti' (The Latin Stock, printed by John Bill)	
	Autumn 1621	'Francofurti' (The Latin Stock, printed by John Bill)	
11329.7	Spring 1622	'Francofurti' (The Latin Stock, printed by John Bill)	3
	Autumn 1622	'Francofurti' (The Latin Stock, printed by John Bill)	
11330	Spring 1623	'Francofurti' (The Latin Stock, printed by John Bill)	
	Autumn 1623	'Francofurti' (The Latin Stock, printed by John Bill)	11
11330.2	Spring 1624	'Francofurti' (The Latin Stock, printed by John Bill)	3
	Autumn 1624	'Francofurti' (The Latin Stock, printed by John Bill)	11
11330.4	Spring 1625	Francofurti (The Latin Stock, printed by G Miller, R Badger)	10
11330.6	Autumn 1626	Francofurti (The Latin Stock, printed by Stansby)	
11330.8	Spring 1627	Francofurti (The Latin Stock, printed by Felix Kingston)	11
11331	Spring 1628	John Bill	
	Autumn 1628	John Bill	

These catalogues have been overlooked by many scholars, perhaps on account of the fact that they falsely give 'Francofurti' as the place of publication. Nonetheless, their English origin was clear to Pollard and Ehrman because some catalogues were supplemented with lists of books recently printed in English (of which only the autumn 1623 list of English books contains music, namely Tomkins's *Songs of 3. 4. and 5. Parts*).¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁷ Duplication of catalogues for 1619 (11328.6 and 11329) arose from the publication of rival series of catalogues: Pollard and Ehrman, *Distribution of Books*, 87.

¹⁷⁸ *Catalogus universalis ... autumnalibus* ([London: John Bill], 1623), Sig. D₂^v.

Although the extant series of catalogues runs from 1617, it is not until spring 1619 that the first lists of music appear. The English catalogues are only selections of the titles which appear in the original Frankfurt editions, but the format of the catalogues closely imitates that of the originals. The catalogues are broken into sections and music usually appears under the heading *Libri musici*, though it sometimes features in the appendix when no separate list of music is present. One such example is the catalogue for spring 1622, where in the original Frankfurt section there is a section for music which the compilers of the English counterpart decided not to include, probably on account of the fact that almost every item in it is German- rather than Latin-texted.¹⁷⁹ In this instance, three musical editions appear in the appendix of the German edition (perhaps because they were added late or were forthcoming), and then these are reproduced in the appendix of the English edition.¹⁸⁰

The music selected for inclusion in the English editions of the Frankfurt catalogue was mostly published in German-speaking lands and was comprised overwhelmingly of musical works with either Latin texts or no text at all (see Appendix 4 for a full inventory of the music listed within these reprints). This inevitably gave rise to the inclusion of sacred music for the Roman rite, such as collections of masses by composers including Augustin Plattner, Georg Burkhard and Pierre Bonhomme, or anthologies of Latin motets compiled by Johann Donfried and Georg Victorinus.¹⁸¹ The selection of instrumental works such as Samuel Scheidt's compositions for the organ, *Tablatura nova*, to be included in the catalogues with Latin sacred music suggests the Latin Stock considered such music to be commensurate with academic books which made use of Latin as a language of universal scholarly discourse; but it also shows their avoidance of Germanic texts, perceived to be of limited interest to English readers.¹⁸²

These catalogues of the Latin Stock offer only a selection of the music books which appear in the original Frankfurt catalogues, but the choice of titles appears at times to have been shaped by superficial indicators of the books' contents. Two volumes of music by Carlo Farina, his *Libro delle pavane* and its successor *Ander theil neuer paduanen* were included in the official Frankfurt catalogue for spring 1627, but only the former was reproduced in the English edition of the catalogue.¹⁸³ While the above examples of the selection of Latin music might suggest that the editors of the English catalogue sought editions making use of this supposedly universal scholarly language, the inclusion of Farina's *Libro delle pavane* might simply have been because the Frankfurt lists of music were typically printed in a

¹⁷⁹ *Catalogus universalis ... vernalibus* (Frankfurt: Sigismund Latomus, 1622), sig. [B₃^v].

¹⁸⁰ The musical editions included in the appendix are found at sig. [C₃^v] and [C₄^r]: Johann Staden, *Harmonicae meditationes animae*, (Nuremberg: Johann Friedrich Sartorius, 1623), RISM S4235; Gabriel Platz, *Flosculus vernalis, sacras cantiones*, (Aschaffenburg: Autor, Balthasar Lipp, 1621), RISM P2602 and Johann Donfried, *Promptuarii musici ... pars prima* (Strasbourg: P Ledertz, 1622) RISM 1622².

¹⁸¹ See Appendix 4.

¹⁸² The three parts of *Tablatura nova* were listed together for the first time in Spring 1624, while the Lange edition of Praetorius's works appears in the catalogue for Autumn 1623.

¹⁸³ The two books of Farina's works are RISM F97 and F98. The first book only appears in the London catalogue: *Catalogus universalis* (London: Felix Kingston, 1627), sig.C₂^r.

mixture of Roman and Fraktur founts, with the former being used for the editions using languages other than German. In the case of this particular example of Farina's two volumes of instrumental music, it would appear that the editors of the English version of the catalogue either had insufficient musical knowledge to realise that the musical content of each book was untexted. Almost certainly they were not in possession of physical copies of the books they were listing (Figure 2.2).

Figure 2.1: The original Frankfurt edition of the catalogue, listing both volumes of Farina's works. *Catalogus universalis ... vernalibus* (Frankfurt: Sigismund Latomus, 1627), Sig C1^r.

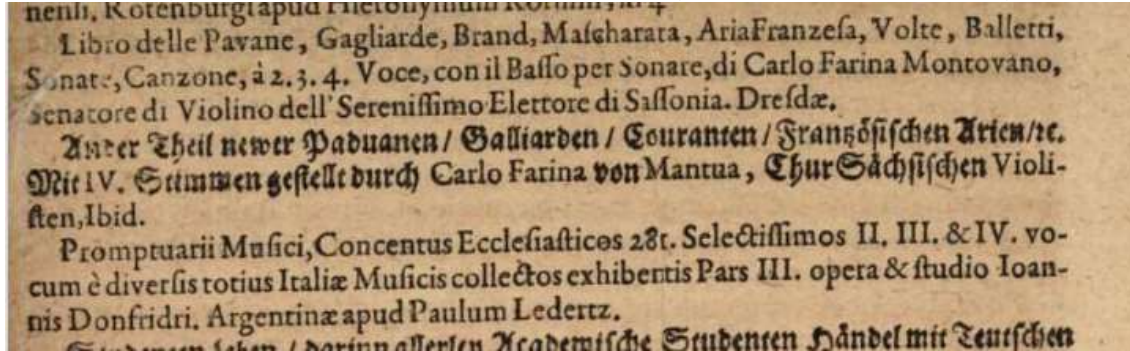


Figure 2.2: The English edition, omitting the *Ander theil*. *Catalogus universalis ... vernalibus* ([London: Felix Kingston], 1627) Sigs. C₂^r-C₂^v.

um in fol.

Libri Musici.

Vaticinium Augustissimæ Coelorum Imperatricis, cui vulgò Magnificat nomen est, tribus quondam vocibus à Marco Bollio Rotwilæ ad S. Crucem Organista octies illustratum, nunc à filio ipsius editum, adiectis X. trium vocum Motetis. Rotwilæ apud Maximil. Helmlin.

· Camænonopædia sacra, concentus vocant, 2.3.4.5.6.8. vocum Accentu: Michael Kraf. Franci Imperialis Vinearum Coenobii Musices Præfecto autore. Augustæ apud Georgium Willer. P.

Cantiones Sacræ ab 1.2.3.4.5. & 8. vocibus cum Symphoniis nonnullis & Basso continuo pro organo, autore Ioanne Christophoro Pfeumdero ciue Heilbronnensi. Rotenburgi apud Hieronymum Kornlin, in 4.

Libro delle Pauane, Gagliarde, Brand, Mascharata, Aria Franzesa, Volte, Balletti, Sonate, Canzone, à 2.3.4. Voce, con il Basso per Sonare, di Carlo

C 3

lo

Io Fama Montouano, Senatore di Violino dell' Serenissimo Elettore & Sassonia. Dresda

Promptuarij Musici, Concentus Ecclesiasticos 281. Selectissimos II. III. & IV. vocum, & diuersis totius Italie Musici collectos exhibentis Pars III. opera & studio Ioannis Donfridri. Argentinae apud Paulum Ledertz.

Magni Dei Magnæ maris Mariæ Canticum bifariam aequalibus vocibus binis & quaternis, quas Basis continua sustinet. Octo receptis modis Musici seu Tomis, olim per Paulum Gæmerum decantatum, nunc editum ab Augustino Crinçio Typographo Bambergensi. Bambergæ apud dictum Crinçium.

Missa IV. V. VI. VII. VIII. IX. XI. cum adiunctis Litanij. Deiparæ Mariæ Virginis denis vocibus concerta, autore Ioanne Bonn Neufrengi

The use of these reprints of the Frankfurt catalogues to promote Roman Catholic music in England might have been of questionable legality. Yet Wainwright's study of Hatton's purchases from Martin show that continental music books of a Roman Catholic nature could be acquired with limited controversy.¹⁸⁴ Likewise, the presence in the English catalogues of publications by recusant exiles, such as Richard Dering's *Cantiones sacrae* (1617), shows that legitimate networks of the book trade could have brought these collections of Catholic sacred music to England, in addition to the clandestine networks of Catholic culture described by scholars such as Hector Sequera.¹⁸⁵

Nonetheless, importation of foreign music was specifically prohibited by the music printing privileges, and this arguably extended even to advertising continental music, which both the Latin Stock and Martin

¹⁸⁴ Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 29.

¹⁸⁵ Hector Sequera, 'Practice and Dissemination of Music in Catholic Networks as Suggested by the Music Collection of Edward Paston (1550-1630) and Other Contemporary Sources', in *Networks of Music and Culture in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries*, eds. David Smith and Rachelle Taylor (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 226.

catalogues clearly infringe.¹⁸⁶ The absence of any lists of music in the Latin Stock catalogues from 1617 to 1619 is not easily explained, but continued confusion over ownership of the music privilege possibly meant that the Latin Stock omitted musical titles until the original expiry date of the Morley patent, later held by Barley, in September 1619.¹⁸⁷ Of course, identical clauses in Edward Allde's successor privilege of 1612 rendered imports of music by the Latin Stock illegal for the entire duration of its existence, while the privilege granted to Stansby, Latham and Hawkins would have had similar implications for Martin's sale of music in the years after December 1635.

The Martin and Latin Stock catalogues raise questions as to the extent to which the import trade might have rivalled domestic publishing activity, as these catalogues emerge from the same period in which domestic publishing suffered commercial decline. The importance of imports might seem more likely given the growing status of continental music as prestigious and rarefied among elite social circles, with wealthy collectors such as Christopher Hatton taking advantage of the much larger musical repertoire supposedly available from booksellers such as Martin. However, it might be said that declining production of music in English publishing houses was simply part of the wider European trend of diminishing output. Indeed, the prospect of a large import trade in the 1620s and 1630s is perhaps challenged by the absence of any residual documentary evidence in extant customs records. Julian Roberts notes the absence of any reference in the London Port Books to Martin paying tonnage and poundage on these imports, instead suggesting Martin's trade was relatively small, although these duties were applied principally to raw materials and Martin's books were probably ineligible for them.¹⁸⁸

Two alternative arguments challenge the idea that these catalogues offer evidence for a large import trade in music. First, the number of items listed in Martin's catalogues verges on being implausibly large. Besides the average of about 115 musical editions in each of these catalogues described by Krummel, some of the Martin catalogues run to well over 3000 titles, and while many titles do appear in subsequent catalogues, the series gives the impression of a relatively high turnover of stock.¹⁸⁹ However, the catalogues of Martin's business exist only for the years 1633, 1635, 1639, 1640 and 1650, and as they survive in relatively small numbers, it is possible that these extant catalogues were part of a more comprehensive serial, thus implying an even greater turnover. Indeed, if each title in the catalogues were to be kept in Martin's bookshop then this number alone would not convey the total number of books, as it would seem probable that he supplied multiple copies of at least some of the

¹⁸⁶ The privileges stipulate that none other than the privilege holder 'shall bringe or cause to be brought into or within any our Realmes or Dominions nor in the same shall sell utter or putt to sale or make to be sould uttered or putt to sale or otherwise dispose of any the saide sett songe sonnet or songe in partes made or prynted in any Foraigne country'. Privilege of Stansby, Latham and Hawkins: National Archives C66/2694/7.

¹⁸⁷ Morley's privilege was dated 28 September 1598 and ran for 21 years. Murray, *Thomas Morley*, 193.

¹⁸⁸ Julian Roberts, 'Latin Trade', 163.

¹⁸⁹ Counted at: Sears Reynolds Jayne, *Library Catalogues of the English Renaissance* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1965), 182.

more famous titles listed, such as Galileo Galilei's *Il Saggiatore*, or Machiavelli's *Il Principe*, both listed in the catalogue of 1640.¹⁹⁰

The rough figure of 3000 books listed in each of Martin's catalogues is comparable to the sizeable library of Sion College after its foundation in 1630.¹⁹¹ When the approximate number of 3000 titles in the catalogues is multiplied to account for several copies of some titles being held, the implied size of Martin's business seems dubious; indeed, if Martin had held duplicate copies of the thousands of titles listed in his catalogues, he would have imported more books from Italy in this fifteen year period as the new Bodleian Library acquired books of any language in the first twenty years of its existence.¹⁹² Yet, the Italian trade was not even the full extent of Martin's business, as he issued a catalogue of French books in 1640 which lists approximately 700 additional titles.¹⁹³ Moreover, this supposedly enormous stock of books represents only those which were included in the catalogues, and there might theoretically have been more books imported and sold in between editions of these catalogues, or books in other languages which did not fall under scope of these printed lists.

Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, this interpretation of the Martin catalogues as stock lists is based on an anachronistic understanding of what printed catalogues typically conveyed at the time. Printed stock lists for English booksellers were virtually unheard of in the early seventeenth century. Henry Fetherstone, to whom Martin had been apprenticed, was responsible for issuing an early stock catalogue, also of Italian books, but his more modest catalogue comprised largely antiquarian stock and resembled his residual wares at the end of a lucrative bookselling career.¹⁹⁴ Inventory catalogues were in a clear minority and other catalogues in this period testify to a 'supply' service.¹⁹⁵ The 1631 *A Catalogue of Certain Bookes* gives a list of English books which have been published in the previous five years, perhaps filling the function of the lists at the back of the Latin Stock's catalogue after the stock's failure in the late 1620s.¹⁹⁶ The catalogue states that it is 'Now published for supply', suggesting that the contents can be made available even if the catalogue's editor is not in direct ownership of them. The same is surely true of the Latin Stock catalogues, for some editing aside, they reproduced the fair catalogues rather than a stock list to allow readers access to a different market.

¹⁹⁰ Robert Martin, *Catalogus librorum* (London: Thomas Harper, 1640) [D₃^v], [E₄^r].

¹⁹¹ The contents of the library by 1650 are given in *Catalogus universalis librorum omnium in bibliotheca Collegii Sionii* (London: Richard Leybourne, 1650). Jayne, *Library Catalogues*, 91.

¹⁹² Thomas James, *Catalogus universalis librorum in bibliotheca Bodleiana...* (Oxford: John Lichfield and James Short, 1620). Jayne estimates about 16,000 books in the 1620 Bodleian catalogue, citing it as the largest library in England at the time: Jayne, *Library Catalogues*, 7.

¹⁹³ Robert Martin, *Catalogue des diverses livres Francoises* (London: Thomas Harper, 1640).

¹⁹⁴ Henry Fetherstone, *Catalogus librorum in diversis locis Italiae emptorum* (London: John Legatt, 1628). (STC 10837). Pollard and Ehrman, *Distribution of Books*, 90.

¹⁹⁵ Jayne's survey of miscellaneous book lists before 1640 includes the first printed sales catalogues: Jayne, *Library Catalogues*, 175-182.

¹⁹⁶ S.N. *A Catalogue of Certain Bookes* (London: Thomas Cotes[?], 1631).

The 1638 Hatton bill of sale described by Wainwright helps contribute to an impression of Martin's catalogues as representative of a supply business.¹⁹⁷ Each publication bought by Hatton appears in the list of musical editions in the Martin catalogues transcribed by Krummel; however, closer comparison of the two lists reveals that only five of the editions on the bill of sale actually appeared in catalogues issued before 1638.¹⁹⁸ More surprisingly, every single edition bought by Hatton in 1638 appears in the catalogue Martin issued in 1639.¹⁹⁹ Yet of these 25 editions, only 12 appeared again in the catalogue of 1640 and six in the catalogue of 1650.²⁰⁰ The idea that Martin's catalogue was a stock list would thus require us to believe that Martin immediately reordered a copy of each of Hatton's 25 purchases, of which he had resold 13 within a year only to decide not to order them once again. Perhaps it is more likely that Martin brokered the sale of each of these 25 editions through his contacts with Venetian suppliers (they were seemingly not discovered by Hatton through catalogues as 20 of them had not been listed before), and thereafter he decided to list every edition sold to Hatton in his catalogue of 1639 in the belief that they were popular and another customer might order them again.

Thus, catalogues in the early seventeenth century could convey different, even ambiguous meanings. Besides a few printed stock lists, catalogues such as the 1631 *Certain Bookes* and perhaps the 1653 Playford broadsheet could function as historical records. Wholesale catalogues of new books circulated in manuscript, but one of the first printed examples held up by Pollard and Ehrman in this genre, Andrew Maunsell's 1595 *Catalogue of English Printed Books*, illustrates the blurred boundary between the wholesale and historical genres.²⁰¹ This printed catalogue contains lists of music including works by Byrd and *Musica transalpina*, but Maunsell justifies the catalogue saying 'that men desirous of such kind of Bookes, cannot aske for what they have never heard of, and the Booke-seller cannot show that he hath not', confirming the historic precedent for booksellers listing stock not in their possession. This was perhaps the tenor struck by both the Martin and Frankfurt catalogues, which might be seen as part of this tradition of replicating titles available to the bookseller. In Martin's case, the overwhelming majority of books printed by the Gardano printing house in Venice (215 out of the 232 musical titles listed) perhaps suggests a reliance on stock lists provided by printing houses abroad.²⁰²

¹⁹⁷ A transcribed list of the books listed on the bill is given at: Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 29.

¹⁹⁸ These are the collections of Cauda, Ferrari, Fontei, Marastoni, and Saracini, nos. 26, 37, 50, 100 and 187 in Krummel's list.

¹⁹⁹ Krummel's list omits the entry for Girolamo Monte dell'Olmo's *Sacri affetti* in Martin's 1639 catalogue, which appears on p.65.

²⁰⁰ The editions to reappear in Martin's 1640 catalogue are given here with Krummel's list number in brackets: Aloisi (3); Ciaia (28), also 1650; Constantini (31); Cremonese (32), also 1650; Filippi (40), also 1650; Fontei (50), also 1650; Fontei (51), also 1650; Marastoni (100); Monte dell'Olmo (127), also 1650; Monte dell'Olmo (128); Pisticci (162), also 1650; Pisticci (163).

²⁰¹ Andrew Maunsell, *Catalogue of English Printed Books* (London: John Windet, 1595). Music at vol. ii, 16.

Pollard and Ehrman, *Distribution of Books*, 125.

²⁰² Krummel, 'Venetian Baroque Music', 2.

Booksellers, therefore, performed various roles in the music trade. Their involvement in the Music Stock should have signalled a change in the patterns of sale for music, with greater emphasis on trading through strategically-placed shops rather than printing houses or domestic properties, while their connections and networks should have opened the music trade to a wider audience. Whether such effects materialised is uncertain, but the integration of booksellers into the Music Stock points to an evolving trade which sought new economic models and structures to survive. Early examples of trading of music through printed catalogues also reflect the search for new trading practices, placing emphasis on the supply rather than production of music books. Nonetheless, the early Stuart move towards partnerships and corporate ownership does not form part of a teleological narrative of progress towards the more profitable Playford era, as Playford predominantly acted alone in commissioning editions. Instead it contributes to a pattern in the early Stuart music trade of searching for new economic models rather than technical solutions to the challenges of music publishing in an unstable economic climate.

Conclusion

The reference in the Stationers' Company court book to the 'Partenours in the Musicke Patent', the identity of whom has eluded scholarship of music publishing in this period before now, signals how the economic structures of publishing depended on regulation in this period. The definition of an economic structure by the legal protection which underpinned it gives some sense of the preoccupation in early seventeenth-century English publishing with regulatory control as the foundation of manufacture and trade. Ideas of monopolistic privileges or Company regulation are not new to scholarship of English music publishing, but this chapter has shown how these stable legal controls were exploited to reinvent the economic models for publishing. Whereas Chapter 1 has shown that printing techniques remained conservative and broadly consistent with the previous century, this chapter has charted the emergence of joint stock enterprises, distribution of music by catalogues and other innovations which, somewhat remarkably, came from the same stationers who resisted technological change.

The newly uncovered evidence presented in this chapter has included a contemporary reference to the music publishing partnership as the Music Stock, new conditions in the mostly unknown 1635 printing privileges which reflect the government's attempt to control the press, the identity of the clerics who authorised editions of sacred music on behalf of the crown and unknown lists of music in the catalogues printed by the Latin Stock for import to England. This hitherto unrecorded information not only enhances understanding of the individual components of the book trade to which they relate, but also makes apparent larger trends.

Music publishing in this era shows a strong trend towards corporate, rather than individual, control. Some minor gains were made by composers who sought to maintain rights in the publishing process, most notably by Thomas Ford, whose *Musicke of Sundrie Kindes* was registered by John Browne on the condition that it would not be printed multiple times without the composer's consent.²⁰³ However, the early years of the seventeenth century saw a considerable weakening of composers' involvement in music publishing as the printing privileges moved to collective ownership by multiple stationers. The establishment of a Music Stock by Snodham, Lownes and Browne perhaps represents a loss of confidence in the ability of any individual to operate the privilege profitably alone, and this pooling of capital and expertise imitated the aggregate bodies of the stocks established by the Stationers' Company. The music printing privileges never came directly under the Company's control in the way which had led to the foundation of the English Stock in 1603, but its position of influence as arbitrator over the privilege was cemented by the court case between East and Barley in 1606: thereafter stationers

²⁰³ Murray, *Thomas Morley*, 174.

alone would operate the privilege, and ultimately dominate the music trade for the remainder of the century.

Chapter 3 – Texts and paratexts: negotiations between composers, stationers and readers

Upon its release, the printed music book stood between stationer, composer and a range of audiences, with each of these parties harbouring different expectations of what the act of publication should achieve. Stationers sought profit and the cultivation of a future market, composers pursued recognition for their music and the growth of their reputation, while purchasers variously looked for music of different complexities, functions, styles, or social and geographic origins. Music was thus typical of printed books more generally in negotiating the expectations of publisher, author and audience, and these ideas of the book as a negotiating agent are here shown to have firm foundations in literary theory.

While the New Criticism movement of the mid-twentieth century sought to focus on texts as isolated and self-contained artistic works, and thus moved bibliographers more ardently in the search of a copy-text through analytical methods, changes in literary theory have encouraged new focus on the study of texts within the physical and social parameters in which they were transmitted.¹ D. F. McKenzie spearheaded the argument that both the physical forms of printed books and the methods of their production influenced the act of reading and interpretation of texts, an argument which joined bibliography and literary criticism in the ‘sociology of texts’.² The early seventeenth century saw stationers experiment with different physical formats for music to respond to changing contexts of musical performance, and bibliographical study of these different formats of partbooks, tablebooks, scores, keyboard books and so forth formed the basis of Donald Krummel’s history of music printing; these formats have been described extensively since, more recently in Tessa Murray’s study of Morley’s publishing activities.³ Such detailed accounts make a summary of different bibliographical formats superfluous to this thesis, and indeed the experimentations with these formats were predominantly a feature of secular publications, but in a discussion of the printed book’s role in negotiating publisher, author and audience, it is worth considering the possible role that the stationer’s choice of layout and physical format of these books had in the reading and interpretation of the musical texts contained within them.

More significantly, literary historians have also examined the author’s role in influencing the reception of texts through the construction of paratexts, or prefatory material typically in the author’s name which does not form part of the text itself. Opinions on the role and significance of the author have ranged

¹ Roger Chartier, ‘Figures of the Author’ in *The Order of Books*, trans. Lydia G Cochrane (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994), 25.

² Ibid., 28. D. F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts (The Panizzi Lectures, 1985)*, (London: The British Library, 1986), 5.

³ Krummel, 3. Tessa Murray, *Thomas Morley, Elizabethan Music Publisher* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2014), 83.

widely, with the author variously being seen as an obstruction to the self-contained study of texts in New Criticism, authors' 'intentions' considered a delusory distraction, and 'author-function' separated from the historical contexts of the author's life.⁴ However, the study of texts as self-contained units ignores the social history of the book, in particular detaching them from the attempts of authors and publishers to influence the reception of their works through the paratextual accompaniments to these texts. Gérard Genette's description of paratexts as 'thresholds' argues that authors attempted to encourage particular interpretations of their works before readers embarked on their own passage through the text, and these paratextual creations of the author are thus an attempt to shape the reception of their works during their unstable textual transmission through the printed book.⁵ Paratexts therefore offer considerable insight into texts and textual transmission. For, even if attempts to reconstruct the author's 'intentions' for the creation of their text are dismissed as irrelevant, the paratextual elements of the book were the author's (or publisher's) principal means of influencing the reception of the published text.

Paratexts have a prominent role in English printed music of the early seventeenth century, taking such forms as letters of dedication, letters to the reader, verses commending the author, and hymns in praise of God. Genette's observation that prefatory material encouraged prospective readers to engage with texts, as well as influencing the way in which they did it, rings true in the musical editions of this period:⁶ composers, no doubt encouraged by stationers, used paratexts to make their editions more attractive by emphasising the prestige of dedicatees, writing in favour of their music in anticipation of criticism or censure, and addressing issues relating to musical performance or audiences' tastes at the threshold of their editions.

More significant than matters relating merely to audiences' tastes were the social tensions arising from music publishing, which exacerbated divides between aristocratic patrons and public purchasers, and between professional and amateur musicians. Indeed, the requirement for the published book to appeal to wide audiences and different social groups sometimes required revision or adaption of a composition for print from the version originally conceived by the composer. Paratexts, which were overwhelmingly voiced in the composer's name, although doubtless shaped by the expectation of the book trade and of music publishing specifically, were the chief means of mitigating these social tensions. Different paratextual genres and themes arose with the superficial intention of addressing these different social

⁴ Michel Foucault, 'What is an Author?', in *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*, ed. Donald F. Bouchard (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1977), 113-138. W. K. Wimsatt Jr and M. C. Beardsley, 'The Intentional Fallacy', *The Sewanee Review* 54 (1946): 468-488.

⁵ Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 2. Genette argues that the original function of the prefatory material was to 'ensure that the text is read properly'. Ibid, 196.

⁶ Ibid.

and professional groups, such as the dedication honouring the patron or the letter to the reader challenging the critic; however, these paratexts were printed for all audiences to see, offered as a public display intended to influence reception among all readers.

Paratexts were dominated by convention. In terms of the genre and literary style of the paratextual material, this meant the expression of the dedication and preface in the form of a letter to the patron and reader respectively, in accordance with tradition established in continental Europe in the sixteenth century.⁷ However, the stationer's physical presentation of paratexts was also overwhelmingly adherent to convention, and the consistent positioning of the paratextual material in the same place and format in every edition requires some explanation. Quarto partbooks from early Stuart England almost invariably begin with one half sheet folded once over to make two leaves rather than four, and the paratextual material consistently appears on this half sheet of paper; in folio books, the opening sheet is the same size as the others in the book, but the paratextual material is again confined to the first two leaves. Regardless of the page-size of the publication, the opening gathering typically contains no music and was probably printed last: only in editions like Michael East's *Sixt Set* (and the *Triumphes of Oriana* before it) was a part of this opening gathering used for music, where a piece was perhaps submitted late for printing and was excluded from the table of contents.⁸ The exclusion of music from this gathering and the fact that it was printed last raises questions as to whether it was subject to the same scrutiny from composers who acted as their own proof-readers (see Chapter 4), but it also resulted in consistent positioning of the letter of dedication on the front of the second leaf and the letter to the reader on the reverse of the same leaf. This physical layout is discussed further in this chapter as a possible element of book design which related to the variously bound and unbound states in which different classes of reader first engaged with the book.

This chapter examines the way in which these paratexts framed music in the printed book, influencing readers' interpretations of the repertoire in a way which did not occur when readers interacted with the same repertoire in manuscript. The most common paratextual element of the printed music book was the dedicatory letter, which typically offered the compositions to a patron as a gift. The opening section of this chapter revisits the dual role of these letters as an acknowledgement of patronal relationships and as a spectacle to be observed by public purchasers of printed music. A second section describes the increasing prominence of letters written directly to public readers by the composer, observing the use of these addresses to exert authorial status and respond to criticism through explanation of the music. Composers' descriptions of their music in printed paratexts form the foundation of the third section of

⁷ Jane A. Bernstein, *Music Printing in Renaissance Venice: The Scotto Press (1539-1572)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 147.

⁸ In East's *Sixt Set* the opening canzonet is not included in the table of contents. The late arrival of 'Hence Stars' for *Triumphes of Oriana* is described in the edition. Morley et al., *The Triumphes of Oriana* (London: Thomas East, 1601), Sig. [A₂^v].

this chapter, which discusses composers' instructions for interpretation of their music and their own assessment of their compositions in relation to genre, suitability for performance in sacred and secular contexts, and their authorial 'intentions'. The final section of this chapter offers observations on extra-textual paratexts, examining the role of layout, design, and the organisational schemes which were used to order the contents. These peritexts, to draw on Genette's term in reference to the visual and textless content surrounding the printed text, literally and figuratively framed the presentation of music in print.

Letters of dedication

Letters of dedication are the most prominent paratextual element of the printed music book, appearing in almost all editions of the Jacobean and Caroline eras. Though they cannot be taken individually as proof of an existing patronal relationship with composers by the time the letter was written, or indeed that a relationship was ever attained, their persistent appearance and their shared content and rhetorical frameworks suggest a prevailing culture of patronal involvement in music publishing. The stylised language and rhetorical ploys of these letters make them problematic sources in judging the role of patronage in music publishing, let alone the historical contexts for repertoire printed. Scholarly estimation of their usefulness ranges from Roger Bray's near total dismissal of their integrity to Nele Gabriëls's commendation of them for hermeneutic study to elucidate composers' biographies, publishing practices and nuanced details of musical patronage.⁹ The following discussion is nonetheless mandated by these letters' clear and knowing attempts to influence readers' engagement with printed music, which is apparent even in the most mannered and misleading examples; yet, the following analysis acknowledges that they were written with distinct aims, be it the securement of patronage or control of audience reception, and they probably do not offer composers' genial self-reflection on the publishing process. This section considers the nature of the patronage that these letters pursued, examines their shared content and rhetorical devices, and finally assesses the relationship between dedications and music books' contents and draws some conclusions about the symbolism and significance of the act of dedication itself.

Scholarship of English music printing has, in line with Bray's assessment, principally drawn on archival evidence to characterise letters of dedication as underpinning relatively simple transactions.¹⁰ This is testified to by the much-quoted dispute between Eastland and East, which refers to the splitting of the anticipated reward from the dedicatee, Lucy, Countess of Bedford, between publisher and composer:¹¹ that the expectation of a cash reward was so strong that it formed grounds for a contract between publisher and composer testifies to the ubiquity of these transactions. More archival evidence for one-off cash rewards is offered by David Price's observation of a £10 payment in the Duke of Buckingham's accounts to Thomas Vautor ('a musition that presented a sett of bookes') and a £5 reward to Tobias

⁹ Roger Bray considers the act of dedication as no more than a financial transaction: 'By the end of the [sixteenth] century the dedication of a book of madrigals to a nobleman was simply a formal way of extracting an extra fee'. Roger Bray, 'England 1560-1600' in *European Music 1520-1640*, ed. James Haar (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006), 500. Nele Gabriëls, by contrast, lists five principal areas in which close study of dedications can offer insight. Nele Gabriëls, 'Reading (Between) the Lines: What Dedications Can Tell Us', in *Cui Dono Lepidum Novum Libellum*, ed. Ignace Bussoyt et al. (Leuven: University of Leuven Press, 2008), 70.

¹⁰ Tessa Murray is typical in this approach, citing the below examples of Vautor and Hume and incorporating such figures into calculations: Murray, *Thomas Morley*, 99.

¹¹ Kirsten Gibson, 'How Hard an Enterprise It Is: Authorial Self-Fashioning in John Dowland's Printed Books', *Early Music History* 26 (2007): 47.

Hume from Anne of Denmark.¹² Such accounts also give some indication of these rewards' value, although Price's conservative estimate of £5 as being typical, given without further evidence, reflects the uncertainty over their exact worth. David Mateer's identification of a 40s payment to Byrd as a possible reward for the second part of *Gradualia* gives further reason to doubt the consistency of their value.¹³ The use of these exact amounts in financial modelling of the music publishing trade, as seen in Tessa Murray's account of Morley's business, obscures the likely variety in the value of awards, even if they were universally meted out in response to dedications.¹⁴

Letters of dedication offer additional evidence which implies a greater range of possible rewards from patrons: some were monetary, others were not. Indeed, dedications from the mid-seventeenth century, and specifically those for sacred music, suggest a range of possible benefits which fluctuated in nature with the onset of commercial decline in the music publishing trade. In the case of two of the archivally-documented examples used as evidence for the giving of cash rewards, Dowland's *Second Booke* and Vautor's *First Set*, the letters suggest that the dedication was probably unsolicited and offered to a prospective patron unknown to the composer: Dowland's *Second Booke* explains his residency in Denmark in a way which suggests the Countess of Bedford would not have known his whereabouts, making no specific reference to any existing relationship with her;¹⁵ Vautor's dedication explains his prior employment by Buckingham's parents, but the fact he has to explain this suggests no recent connection with the family.¹⁶ As is demonstrated hereafter, many dedicatory letters imply complex existing patronal relationships between composer and dedicatee, and these seemingly unsolicited offerings were perhaps among a minority which induced cash payments rather than forming a long-term patronal relationship.

First, dedications testify to models of financial sponsorship besides the one-off rewards described above. Michael East declared in the dedication of his *Sixt Set of Bookes* to the Bishop of Lincoln, John Williams, that he published the collection in response to being granted a lifelong annuity by the dedicatee.¹⁷ East might also have received a separate sum for this dedication, but the reciprocal offering of the publication in response to ongoing financial support suggests that their patronal relationship had a different financial model from that of the unsolicited dedications described above. Another model can

¹² David C. Price, *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1981), 185. Andrew Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music*, vol 4., (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1991), 198.

¹³ David Mateer, 'William Byrd, John Petre and Oxford, Bodleian MS Mus. Sch. E. 423.', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 29 (1996): 29.

¹⁴ Murray incorporates a reward of £10 per dedication into her conjectural income for Thomas Morley, acknowledging this 'average' reward as an assumption. Murray, *Thomas Morley*, 109.

¹⁵ John Dowland, *The Second Booke of Songs*, (London: Thomas East for George Eastland, 1600), Sig. A_{ii}^r.

¹⁶ Thomas Vautor, *The First Set Beeing Songs* (London: Snodham, for Lownes and Browne, 1619), Sig. [A₂^r].

¹⁷ 'But your Lordships Beneficence was both great and good. For it was an Annuity for my life; and it was done so, that it had in it all that can commend a good deed.' Michael East, *The Sixt Set of Bookes* (London: Thomas Snodham, for Matthew Lownes and Alice Browne, 1622), Sig. [A₂^r].

perhaps be seen in the case of Byrd's *Gradualia II*, which David Mateer claimed might have been financed by a loan granted to Byrd by John Petre, to whom Byrd subsequently dedicated the collection.¹⁸ Tessa Murray, who favoured the single payment model suggested by the Eastland case, likewise admits that Thomas Morley had acknowledged financial support for publishing his *Consort Lessons* of 1599.¹⁹

Besides acknowledgement of pre-existing financial sponsorship, many letters of dedication allude to other forms of patronage extended by dedicatees to publishing composers. Education was acknowledged by John Amner, who used the dedication of his *Sacred Hymnes* to thank his patron, the Earl of Bath, for funding his period of study in Oxford, writing that he 'hath both held me up and bred me to that little learning and living, which I now enjoy'.²⁰ Of course, these words of thanks served not only to express gratitude, but also to emphasise the scholarly credentials of the composer. Travel was described by Walter Porter, who thanked John Digby, Earl of Bristol, for the opportunity of accompanying him on a diplomatic mission to Spain, and this dedication dually acknowledged the generosity of the patron and emphasised the composer's international musical connections.²¹

Hospitality was another form of non-monetary benefaction, for which composers gratefully offered dedications in response to periods of accommodation. Richard Alison's *Howres Recreation* is typical of this custom, commending his compositions with the words 'Receive therefore (Most honoured knight and my worthiest Patron) the frutes of your bounties and the effects of those quiet dayes, which by your goodnes I have enjoyed'.²² William Byrd similarly acknowledged Petre's hospitality in the dedication of his second book of *Gradualia*, observing that 'products of my Night Labours have proceeded as copiously from your house ... as a harvest born from fertile soil'.²³ Authors' dedications and aristocratic hospitality both feature in the accounts of the prevalent gift-giving culture of the time by social historians such as Natalie Davies and Felicity Heal (a culture described in greater detail in Chapter 4), enabling reciprocal gift-giving across boundaries of social class.²⁴

¹⁸ Mateer, 'William Byrd, John Petre', 29.

¹⁹ Murray, *Thomas Morley*, 99.

²⁰ John Amner, *Sacred Hymnes* (London: Edward Alde, 1615), Sig. [A₂^r]. Anthony Greening interprets Amner's acknowledgement of having been 'bred to that little learning' as evidence for the sponsorship of his education in Oxford. Anthony Greening, 'Amner Reconsidered', *The Musical Times* 110 (1969): 1131.

²¹ Walter Porter, *Madrigales and Ayres* (London: William Stansby, 1632), Sig. [A₂^r]. Porter's pride in his continental connections was further stressed in his 1657 *Mottets*, where he claimed friendship with Monteverdi: *Walter Porter: Collected Works*, ed. Jonathan Wainwright (Middleton, Wisconsin: A-R Editions, 2017), ix.

²² Richard Alison, *An Howres Recreation in Musicke* (London: John Windet, 1606), Sig. [A₂^r].

²³ Translation: Philip Brett (ed.), 'William Byrd, Gradualia II' in *The Byrd Edition*, volume 7a. (London: Stainer and Bell, 1997), xxviii.

²⁴ For aristocratic hospitality and gift-giving: Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 70. On dedications: *Ibid.*, 78. Heal cites the Petre family's hospitality towards their tenants as a form of gift-giving which crossed class boundaries: Felicity Heal, *The Power of Gifts: Gift Exchange in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 72.

These acknowledgments of different forms of patronal generosity go some way to challenging Roger Bray's assumption that dedications were 'simply a formal way of extracting an extra fee'.²⁵ Instead, many of these letters imply long-term relationships based on the prevalent culture of gift-giving through references to exchange and reciprocity, actively disassociating themselves from notions of direct payment. Indeed, the letters themselves sometimes make reference to the seasonal occasions which precipitated gift exchange, New Year foremost among them:²⁶ Michael East makes one such offering with the musical contents of the *Second Set*, presenting them with the words 'especially since they come in so seasonable a time, at the very entrance of a new yeare, when usually all gifts are well taken'.²⁷ Nonetheless, these letters are strongly bound by a conformity to a highly stylised rhetorical language, and the supplicatory tone which is pervasive to almost all of these dedicatory epistles is conducive to a perhaps insincere showering of thanks on patrons for past generosity, while the obvious ulterior motives among composers for thanking patrons for sponsorship of activities like education and travel perhaps compound the obscurity of the exact relationship between composer and dedicatee.

The language of gift-giving and financial disinterestedness as required in dedicatory letters created problems for composers, who sought to mask the real exchange of musical compositions for money and patronage with fictions of more honourable exchanges. The remainder of this section highlights several tropes through which composers made artificial offerings of prayers, good will and testimonies of devotion in exchange for patrons' 'protection' of their music. Composers had to moderate their self-deprecating tone to rehearse the commonplace idea that the patron's authority would shield their compositions from unjust criticism, with excessive false modesty risking rejection of their works.²⁸ The general desire to protect printed music from criticism is discussed in greater detail below, but the extent to which patrons actually protected publications is uncertain, and the frequency with which protection was requested suggests this merely aggrandised the role of the patron and disassociated their rewards from notions of payment. The ways in which protection was solicited varied, but Michael East's *Sixt Set* is typical of the way in which composers invited the patron to accept compositions on grounds besides musical merit alone: East requested 'a new favour, in taking them under your Lordships protection', writing 'I know they are not worthy of your Lordships eare, but thankfulness consists not in the meanes, but in the heart of him that for benefits is engaged'.²⁹ Francis Pilkington nominally maintained a pretence of modesty while pointing to the previous encouragement from the patron,

²⁵ Bray, 'England, 1485-1600', 500.

²⁶ Gifts of manuscripts or of the dedications of books were common among authors, who attempted to secure patronage or rewards for the following year: Harold Love, 'Thomas Middleton: Oral Culture and the Manuscript Economy', in *Thomas Middleton and Early Modern Textual Culture*, (eds.) Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 105.

²⁷ Michael East, *The Second Set of Madrigals* (London: John Windet, 1606), Sig.[A₂^r].

²⁸ Gabriëls, 'Reading Between the Lines', 74.

²⁹ East, *Sixt Set*, Sig. [A₂^r].

claiming to be ‘imboldened by your particular acceptation of such former services’, thus implicitly confirming his compositions’ worth.³⁰

In many cases the letters invoke the rhetoric of the ‘Grand Style’, the most complex register in rhetorical theory which employed highly decorated and ornate language, and in so doing they imitated the prefaces of great humanist works of the early modern period which consciously projected this element of Classical rhetorical theory in a public sphere.³¹ The extent to which composers knowingly imitated the rich metaphorical and impassioned tone of this rhetorical style is less certain, with such substantial crossover of content and prevalence of certain stylistic tropes suggesting that many of these letters were copied from each other or were inspired by non-musical printed books rather than being informed by knowledge of rhetorical theory. However, assuming they wrote these letters of dedication themselves, some composers took to peppering them with classical references and rhetorical devices which might have appealed to socially and intellectually aspiring readers, such as those encouraged to use books of printed music by Henry Peacham. Around this time Thomas Morley’s *Plaine and Easie Introduction* and Francis Pilkington’s *First Booke* both invoked the names of Momus and Zoilus, mythological personifications of unjustified criticism;³² these references might have been borrowed from earlier non-music books, or even from continental editions of music, where they appeared more commonly.³³ Likewise, dedicatory texts show how music publishing was sometimes influenced by the literary device of *Specula principum*, or ‘mirrors for princes’, whereby thinly-veiled fictional, biblical or historical accounts of a princely figures identifiable with the dedicatee were held up as a way of offering advice or encouragement.³⁴ In the dedication of *Choice Psalmes* to Charles I, Henry Lawes made explicit comparison between the imprisoned Charles and King David, as author of the penitential psalms set to music in the collection, writing ‘Your Majesties condition, is lively described by King David’s pen’.³⁵ The implementation of these recognisable rhetorical mannerisms and literary devices was undoubtedly intended to influence the reception of printed music beyond the addressee of the letter, giving the impression that the composer was learned and bolstering the edition’s cultural capital.

³⁰ Francis Pilkington, *The Second Set of Madrigals and Pastorals* (London: Thomas Snodham, for John Browne and Alice Browne, 1624), Sig. [A₂^r].

³¹ Kevin Dunn, *Pretexes of Authority: The Rhetoric of Authorship in the Renaissance Preface* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1994), 7.

³² Thomas Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke*, (London: Peter Short, 1597), Sig. [A₂^v]. Pilkington, *The First Book of Songs* (London: Thomas East, 1605), Sig. [A₂^r].

³³ Stephen Rose, ‘Publication and the Anxiety of Judgement in German Musical Life of the Seventeenth Century’, *Music & Letters* 85 (2004): 24.

³⁴ Nele Garbriëls refers to this device by its German name, Fürstenspiegel. Gabriëls, ‘Reading Between the Lines’, 75.

³⁵ Henry Lawes, William Lawes et al., *Choice Psalmes put into Musick* (London: James Young for Humphrey Mosley, 1648), Sig. A₃^v.

The heavily decorated Grand Style rhetoric encouraged composers to use rich metaphors to voice their ideas about musical creativity and explain their motivations in seeking patronage, although this sometimes came into conflict with the self-deprecating tone expected before patrons and the wider readership of published letters of dedication. Composers voiced perceptions of music having divine origins as a part of natural creation, ascribing an element of musical authorship to the Christian God: Walter Porter exemplified the awkward treading of the boundary between modesty and praise when he stated in his dedication to the Earl of Bristol that ‘God himself is entitled to Musique, it being even his owne spirits most sweet inspiration’, contrasting this in the letter to the reader with the ‘poore talent which God hath given me’.³⁶ Patrons might also be implied to have some responsibility as co-creator with the composer: Richard Alison argued that ‘as the glory of a new finisht house belonges not so much to the Worke man that built it, as to the Lord that owes it, so if any part of this worke of mine can excite commendation, the grace is chiefly yours, though the labour mine’.³⁷ Thomas Campion implied that the total ownership of his music by his patron arose from his receipt of hospitality: ‘ev’ry note of Musicke is your due, Whose House the Muses pallace I have knowne’.³⁸

Others were franker with their reasons for selecting their patron, with several composers explaining their choice on grounds of geographic proximity. Michael East dedicated his *Fourth Set* to Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, whose seat at Chartley Manor in Staffordshire was near to East’s home in Lichfield, writing ‘for like a Shrubbe under a Cedar, my poore dwelling, is so neere your Lordships house, that you might have the first noyse of their voyces, when they were brought forth’;³⁹ this metaphor is clearly intended to provoke an idea of shelter akin to the supposed patronal protection of musical works. Thomas Tomkins claimed to have dedicated his *Songs* to the Earl of Pembroke because he was born in the county of the earldom’s title.⁴⁰ Like those dedications which acknowledge hospitality and the patron’s right to ownership of the music published, these ideas echo feudal relationships, and the occasional invocation of horticultural imagery likens the music to natural produce growing on dynastic land.

Some dedications of sacred music more firmly align themselves with the religious contents of the book, with religious symbolism being built into the decorated literary style of the prefatory material. The offering of the promise of prayers for the dedicatee was a common trope in music books of both a sacred

³⁶ Porter, *Madrigales*, Sig. [A₂^r], Sig. [A₂^v].

³⁷ Alison, *Howres Recreation*, Sig. [A₂^r].

³⁸ Campion, *Two Bookes of Ayres* (London: Thomas Snodham, for Matthew Lowne and John Browne, [c.1613]), Sig. [A₂^r].

³⁹ Michael East, *The Fourth Set of Bookes* (London: Thomas Snodham, for Matthew Lowne and John Browne, 1618), Sig. [A₂^v]. Vernon Snow, *Essex the Rebel: The Life of Robert Devereux, Third Earl of Essex* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1970), 45.

⁴⁰ Thomas Tomkins, *Songs of 3. 4. 5. and 6. Parts* (London: Thomas Snodham, Matthew Lowne, John Browne, 1622), Sig. [A₂^r].

and secular nature, often designed to emphasise the poverty of the composer and thus incline the dedicatee towards ideas of financial sponsorship.⁴¹ Nonetheless, this ploy is found much more commonly in collections with sacred contents: Dowland invoked the idea of prayers only in *A Pilgrimes Solace*, his sole collection to contain songs of a devotional and moral nature, offering them with the words ‘In the mean time you shall haue a poore mans praiers for your Lordships continuall health and dayly increase of Honor’.⁴² Likewise, Michael East offered prayers for the patron in his *Fourth Set* and *Sixt Set*, while none of his four entirely secular collections invoke this idea.⁴³ Thomas Tomkins offered prayers for the Earl of Pembroke in life and death and drew on musical metaphors by wishing him ‘Harmony in the whole course of [his] life’, before commending him to ‘Musicke of the angels hereafter’.⁴⁴ These references to angelic or heavenly music are themselves a common literary motif: William Byrd suggested in the dedication of *Gradualia I* that sacred words which are used to sing the praises of God and the saints should be fitted with ‘heavenly music, to the extent that we can attain it’.⁴⁵ The prefatory hymn in praise of God in Robert Tailour’s *Sacred Hymnes* concludes with an expression of hope for a place in heaven, ‘With Angels, where triumphant wee shal ay thy praises sing’;⁴⁶ the effect of concluding this paratextual accompaniment to Edwin Sandys’s psalm paraphrases with a reference to heavenly choirs is doubtless an attempt to sacralise or sanctify the volume’s contents and relate their performance to angelic song.

Religious symbolism might also be built into more practical elements of the dedication, with Byrd’s dedication of *Gradualia II* showing the composer’s manipulation of the date of the dedicatory letter to instil meaning in the offering of the collection to a fellow Catholic. Dedicatory letters in English printed music were usually left undated, perhaps to enhance the longevity of the edition, but Byrd’s dedication to John Petre disregards this precaution and concludes with a valediction dated 3 April 1607.⁴⁷ In Old-Style dating, this day was Good Friday in 1607, implying that the compositions are the penitential Lenten labours of a devout composer and possibly even aligning the plight of recusant composer and dedicatee with the suffering and passion of Christ.⁴⁸

⁴¹ Richard Alison commends *An Howres Recreation* with the words ‘I will onely assist you with a poore mans bounty, I meane my many humble prayers to the highest protector’. Alison, *Howres Recreation*, Sig. [A₂^r].

⁴² John Dowland, *A Pilgrimes Solace* (London: Matthew Lownes, John Browne and Thomas Snodham, 1612), Sig. [A₂^r].

⁴³ East, *Fourth Set*, Sig. [A₂^r]. East, *Sixt Set*, Sig. [A₂^r].

⁴⁴ Thomas Tomkins, *Songs*, Sig. [A₂^r].

⁴⁵ Translation: Brett, *The Byrd Edition*, 7a, xxviii.

⁴⁶ Robert Tailour, *Sacred Hymns* (London: Thomas Snodham, 1615), Sig. A₂^v.

⁴⁷ ‘Vale. Tertio Die Aprilis, Anno reparate salutis humanae. 1607’ (‘Farewell. On the Third Day of April in the year of man’s salvation restored, 1607.’). William Byrd, *Gradualia seu cantionem sacrarum, liber secundus* (London: Thomas East, 1607), Sig. [A₂^r]. Translation: Brett *The Byrd Edition*, 7a., xxviii.

⁴⁸ Christopher Cheney, *A Handbook of Dates for Students of English History*, Revised edition by Michael Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 230. For the catholicity of the Petre family: David Price, *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 83-91.

Occasionally, books with sacred music emphasised the religious convictions of the dedicatee. Richard Alison's *An Howres Recreation* is one such collection where the contents and dedication were possibly intended to offer public character rehabilitation for the dedicatee, Sir John Scudamore, through both the musical contents and also an explicit association in the letter of dedication with Martin Luther. Scudamore's family had been notable recusants in the late sixteenth century, and while his own personal religion is disputed, his activities as Hertfordshire's commissioner for the muster of recusants would suggest that he took a public stance of political conformity.⁴⁹ Initially appearing as a miscellany of songs of different genres, *An Howres Recreation* emphasises religious conformity with three sacred works, including a 'prayer for the long preservation of the King and his posteritie', and a 'thanksgiving for the deliverance of the whole estate from the late conspiracie' which are advertised on the title page.⁵⁰ Such musical commemorations of the failure of the Gunpowder Plot are not unique, and John Amner's anthem 'In memorie of Gunpowder Day' offered a similar tribute in his *Sacred Hymnes*.⁵¹ However, the connotations of political loyalty in Alison's case are heightened and imbued with religious significance when read through the lens of the dedicatory letter, which quotes exchanges between Martin Luther and Ludwig Senfl regarding the virtues of music. Here, Alison highlights Luther's praise of music as 'next to Theologie', while also dwelling on Luther's assertion that 'Musicke ... to Divels we know is hateful and intollerable';⁵² the implication here is that Scudamore's acceptance of the dedication associates him with the purity of Lutheranism and disassociates him from 'devilish' religion.

The extent to which the choice of dedicatee affected the selection of repertoire is unclear, although in a few cases the published contents appear to have been matched with the interests or character of individual patrons. If Michael East's aforementioned claim that he published his *Sixt Set* in response to the bestowal of an annuity can be taken at face value, then the exclusive selection of sacred music for his ecclesiastical benefactor, John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, represents one instance where a pre-determined dedicatee dictated the contents of the volume; for although a small number of anthems were included in his *Third Set* and *Fourth Set*, this collection was the composer's only publication limited entirely to sacred contents.⁵³ Similarly, the separate parts of Thomas Campion's *Two Bookes of Ayres* are dedicated to a father and son respectively, with the sacred and moralistic first book supposedly representing the Earl of Cumberland and the light-hearted and romantic words of the second book representing the nature of his son, Lord Henry Clifford.⁵⁴ This separation of repertoire gives the

⁴⁹ John Scudamore's father had been a lifelong Catholic, and his religion was testified to by his will: Ian Atherton, 'Scudamore family (1500–1820)', ODNB. On continuing suspicion of the Scudamore family for Catholic sympathies: Diana Poulton, *John Dowland*, 2nd edition (London: Faber, 1982), 427. Christopher Thomas, 'Some English Composers and their Religious allegiances 1550-1650', *Churchman* 103 (1989): 327.

⁵⁰ Alison, *Howres Recreation*, Sig.[A₁^r].

⁵¹ Amner, *Sacred Hymnes*, no. 18.

⁵² Allison, *Howres Recreation*, Sig.[A₂^r].

⁵³ The sole exception is the canzonet 'You Meaner Beauties', excluded from the table of contents and probably added later (as with 'Hence Stars' in Morley's *Triumphs of Oriana*, described above).

⁵⁴ Campion, *Two Bookes of Ayres*, Sigs. [A₂^r], H^r.

impression of the collection having been conceived with the intention of honouring these two patrons, although the ploy of having two patrons might have simply been an excuse to present gifts to two wealthy figures and to display a range of repertoire.

In some editions of sacred music, the dedication might aggrandise the publication through association with an ecclesiastical patron, accruing some element of spiritual authority or religious orthodoxy. George Wither's two collections of canticles and hymns, which were printed in the psalm book tradition and set to two-part music by Orlando Gibbons, were offered to religious figures in this way: *Songs of the Old Testament* (1621) was dedicated singularly to the Archbishop of Canterbury and plurally to the entire English clergy, while the *Hymnes and Songs of the Church* (1623) was offered to James I in a dedication which emphasises his role as Supreme Governor of the Church of England and his responsibility for encouraging his subjects' religion.⁵⁵

The role of dedicatees in offering prestige to an edition therefore emphasises the public nature of the act of dedication and the contents of these letters. Musicologists and historians of the book have frequently remarked on the way in which the public witnessed the act of dedication: Kate van Orden describes the public as 'tacit' spectators, while Nele Gabriëls goes further in saying that the tone of the dedication was intended not just to flatter the dedicatee into generosity, but that the public observation of composer's 'mirroring' of an idealised description of the dedicatee's generous character meant that the patron was subsequently compelled to live up the reputation by offering a suitable reward.⁵⁶ Michael East made the most explicit acknowledgement of the public nature of the dedication, writing to John Williams 'Yet it would be some content to me, if I were sure, that as many eyes would looke upon this Epistle, as it may be there will be eares to heare the Songs I present';⁵⁷ however, many letters acknowledge their silent audience when composers justify publication by claiming that they wished to make a public testimony of their devotion towards a particular patron.⁵⁸

These increasingly prominent acknowledgements of the reader as the observer of the dedication parallel the growing prominence of the letter to the reader in printed music, with stationers and others involved in publishing apparently aware of the need to assuage concerns over the accuracy or execution of the edition and encourage positive reception of the music among a broader audience than just the dedicatee

⁵⁵ George Wither, *The Songs of the Old Testament* (London: Thomas Snodham, 1621), Sig. A₂^v. George Wither, *Hymnes and Songs of the Church* (London: Assignees of George Wither, 1623), Sig. A₂^v. Page number here (and hereafter) taken from the quarto edition.

⁵⁶ Kate van Orden, *Music and the Cultures of Print* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 2000), x. Gabriëls, 'Reading between the lines', 75.

⁵⁷ East, *Sixt Set*, Sig. [A₂].

⁵⁸ John Bartlet, for example, wrote to Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford that he 'could not divert my purpose from publishing to the world the zeale I beare to thankfulnessse'. John Bartlet, *A Booke of Ayres* (London: John Windet for John Browne, 1606), Sig. [A₂^v].

alone. Potential readers and purchasers of printed music were called to witness all of these rhetorical ploys described above, and Van Orden's idea that purchasers effectively re-dedicated books to themselves when they purchased them goes some way to capturing the ways in which letters of dedication were intended to influence the reception of the edition by convincing the reader that they were party to the elite culture on display.⁵⁹ The rhetoric of gift-giving associated the editions with gentility and honourable exchange; Classical references gave the impression of a learned composer; declarations of faith and religious allegiance were intended to encourage readers in the belief that editions of sacred music were fit for devotion or conceived as acts of faith, while offerings of music directly to God in the dedication encouraged 'readings' of the music whereby the performances were dedicated to God also.

⁵⁹ Kate van Orden, *Music and the Cultures of Print*, x.

Letters to the reader

For some composers and publishers, acknowledgement of the public in the letter of dedication and reliance on the dedicatee's authority as the sole means of allaying criticism were insufficient means for shaping the potential reception of their text. A preface in the form of a letter to the reader, as was common in printed books at large, was often used as an opportunity to assert the credentials of the composer, defer criticism by stressing the virtue of the compositions and attacking the credentials of the critic, and promote a favourable reading of the musical text through a separate paratextual address which was, supposedly, less confined by the necessity for rhetorical gesture in the interest of appeasing a patron. Some commentators like Kate van Orden have characterised the letter to the reader or preface as an emerging feature of the modern music book which became increasingly common and slowly supplanted the letter of dedication, and this trend fits the common narrative of the seventeenth century as seeing increasing market forces replace the traditional role of patronage.⁶⁰ The veracity of this trend across sacred music in early Stuart England is questionable because of the low number of such letters in editions with some sort of sacred contents, being fewer than ten;⁶¹ however, letters to the reader became marginally more prominent (in frequency, length and detail) in the publications of Charles I's reign, as well as being concentrated among composers like Byrd, Dowland and Robert Jones who had serialised publishing projects and had perhaps encountered criticism in their previous work.

The letter to the reader was most likely rarer in its appearance than the letter of dedication because of where it was typically printed, often competing for space with the table of contents. Later portions of this chapter outline the practicalities of printing paratextual material and the use of space and design to influence readers' interpretation of the musical text, but it suffices to say that a letter to the reader in a typical set of partbooks printed in quarto (and most larger books in folio) would be printed on the reverse of the second leaf (Sig. A₂^v), directly following the letter of dedication. Dedicatees would almost certainly have been presented with collated and bound copies of the volume offered to them, the letter of dedication appearing to patrons upon first turning over the title page and its prominent position and precedence over the letter to the reader asserting their seniority over the paying public. Purchasers of books who browsed music in booksellers' shops did not necessarily engage with printed editions in this way. Although inventories of some provincial and second-hand booksellers like John Foster detail individual copies of each title and occasionally describe their bindings, London stationers who dealt in the wholesale trade more likely displayed printed sheets unbound and unfolded, before charging

⁶⁰ Van Orden, *Music and the Cultures of Print*, xi.

⁶¹ The editions considered for this chapter are Giovanni Croce's *Musica sacra*, Robert Jones's *Muses Gardin*, William Byrd's *Psalmes, Songs and Sonnets*, John Dowland's *Pilgrimes Solace*, Thomas Campion's *Two Bookes of Ayres*, Walter Porter's *Madrigales and Ayres*, John Barnard's *First Book* and Henry Lawes's (et al) *Choice Psalmes*.

additionally for the customer's choice of binding.⁶² That sheets of music were not necessarily folded immediately after printing has been evidenced by Jeremy Smith's observation that partbooks of Byrd's *Gradualia* (British Library K.2.f.8.) contain wormholes which penetrate every other leaf, meaning that copies were collated but not assembled for a long time after printing.⁶³

The evidence that music books were sold as unbound sheets gives new significance, not previously noted by scholars, to the position of these letters to the reader, which in a pile of unbound sheets would appear on the 'up-side' of the first sheet, alongside the title page. Sitting adjacent to the title page, possibly at the top of a pile of unbound sheets, a letter to the reader might draw in prospective purchasers and address them directly in the printing shop, commending the contents of the edition and asserting the critical worth of the publication. As is suggested above, the letter to the reader often competed with the table of contents for this position on the same face of the sheet as the title page, and the obvious marketing benefits of a table's ability to display the contents of the edition to purchasers meant that in many cases printers opted to include this in place of the letter to the reader; this perhaps goes some way to explaining their rarity relative to the dedication.

This section hereafter outlines the function and content of the letter to the reader, detailing the way composers or editors made these public addresses to their wider paying readership, responded to their critics and fulfilled their apparent need to justify their decision to have their works published. These concerns, which mostly concern the fulfilment of rhetorical obligations and submission to typical stylistic tropes, are followed with a description and analysis of the apparently more sincere content: the acknowledgement of potential mistakes, the promotion of a 'correct' reading and acknowledging the possible benefits publishing held for accurate recording of compositions and the creation of an enduring musical legacy. Letters to the reader in the English publishing tradition are heavily influenced by the elements of literary culture which were described by J. W. Saunders as relating to the so-called 'stigma of print'.⁶⁴ While Saunders's ideas of stigma stem from the notion that aristocratic authors spurned print and preferred to circulate their literary works among friends and a limited number of social equals, his argument observes the permeation of this culture by professional authors and poets who relied on print to achieve recognition for their works and patronage of their careers, and thus pursued rhetorical distancing between themselves and publishing in their addresses to their readers as a way of appearing akin to more gentlemanly authors.⁶⁵ Composers invoked the same rhetorical tropes to distance

⁶² The sale of unbound sheets has argued to have been the norm for most books in England, as well as for continental music books: Kevin Sharpe and Steven N. Zwicker (eds.), *Reading, Society and Politics in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 5. Bernstein, *Scotto Press*, 933.

⁶³ Smith, 126.

⁶⁴ J. W. Saunders, 'The Stigma of Print: a note on the Social Bases of Tudor Poetry', *Essays in Criticism* 1 (1951): 139-164.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 159.

themselves from negative connotations of print, using letters to manipulate readers' reactions to publication as much as they encouraged a positive critical reception of their music.

Composers addressed their readers in a range of terms. While John Dowland, Thomas Campion and Henry Lawes chose to begin their epistles with the neutral and indiscriminate salutation of 'To the Reader', other composers addressed their letters to a smaller, select group in the hope of encouraging all purchasers to identify with an idealised readership.⁶⁶ Although it was common to stress the musicophilic credentials of readers as a way of emphasising their benign and positive nature, Byrd's restriction of his letter to 'all *true* lovers of Musicke' in his 1611 *Psalmes, Sonnets and Songs* suggests that acceptance of his compositions is indicative of genuine love and appreciation of art and thereby discerning taste.⁶⁷ Likewise, the editor's letter in Croce's *Musica sacra*, which emphasises the devotional opportunities of the collection, restricted or idealised its musicophilic readership as '*vertuous* Lovers of Musicke'.⁶⁸ Walter Porter went further in alluding to the semi-professional nature of his audience through the salutation 'to the practitioner', while Robert Jones restricted his to discerning and well-meaning critics with the words 'To the friendly Censures', a group with whom he subsequently demonstrated a poor relationship.⁶⁹ John Barnard's *First Book* is unique in labelling the letter 'The Preface', possibly signifying an attempt to appeal to learned cathedral authorities with classical education who would recognise the formal designation of purpose. These addresses to readers as being to a smaller and more discerning group than the wider paying public may also have echoed the tradition of manuscript circulation among the select and friendly audience surrounding gentlemanly authors, attempting to capture the social capital of this more rarefied form of dissemination.⁷⁰

For all that the dedication was supposed to shield printed compositions from negative comment, composers allude in letters of dedication to the failure of this system and indulge in extensive rhetorical portrayals of this time as an epoch of poor reception. The editor of Croce's *Musica sacra*, whose abbreviation of his name to the initials 'R.H.' can be seen as imitating the anonymity of gentleman poets who did the same, describes a 'curious age' where even carefully considered compositions fall victim to 'ridged censure', thereby alluding to the unnecessarily narrow expectations of some readers.⁷¹ In some cases this led to 'knee-jerk' responses, even threats, from sulky composers which display an overt dissatisfaction with publication, even if their issuing of subsequent editions suggests an implicit

⁶⁶ Dowland, *Pilgrimes Solace*, Sig. [A₂^v]. Campion, *Two Bookes of Ayres*, Sig. [A₂^v]. Henry Lawes (et al.), *Choice Psalmes*, Sig. [A₄^r].

⁶⁷ Italics added for emphasis. Byrd, *Psalmes, Sonnets and Songs*, Sig. [A₂^v].

⁶⁸ Givoanni Croce, *Musica sacra* (London: Thomas East, 1608), Sig. [A₂^r].

⁶⁹ Porter, *Madrigales*, Sig. [A₂^v]. Robert Jones, *The Muses Gardin* (London: The Assigns of William Barley, 1610) Sig. [A₂^v].

⁷⁰ For the limited circle surrounding gentlemanly authors: Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 180.

⁷¹ For publication under initials: Saunders, 'Stigma of Print', 143. Croce, *Musica sacra*, Sig. [A₂^r].

satisfaction. Robert Jones typified this attitude in *The Muses Gardin* with his threats to give up composing and publishing if he is treated poorly and subjected to criticism, writing that he will thus ‘prevent your censures, and defie your malice, if you despise me’.⁷²

Composers frequently attacked the credentials of critics as a way of silencing dissenting amateurs and identifying readers who disliked their music with unlearned or indiscriminating censure. Croce’s editor ‘R.H.’ decried the ‘Supercilious Critick’;⁷³ likewise Walter Porter characterised censure as coming from ‘they that understand least most sharply’.⁷⁴ Other composers and editors were more calculating and specific in their criticism, with John Dowland focussing on two groups of musicians who he claimed disapproved of his previous publications: firstly, ‘cantors’ or singers whom he criticised for their ignorance of the methods of setting music in parts and their limited understanding of tonal harmony; secondly, ‘young men, professors of the Lute’, who, while possibly holding university degrees like his own, failed to defend the lute’s status as the most revered instrument or to uphold English expertise against the slurs of foreign lutenists.⁷⁵

As has been described already in this chapter, composers often gave reasons for publishing in the dedication, but the classic idea invoked by Michael East (among others) of the desire to create a testimony of devotion and loyalty to a patron are likely just rhetorical justifications for associating the aristocratic name of the author with the more common medium of print. For all that the non-gentlemanly status of most composers might suggest they had no need to defer to rhetorical justification for publication in the letter to the reader and instead offer a genuine reflection on their decision to have their music published, most explicit acknowledgements of motivations for publishing resound as common tropes asserting the modesty and gentlemanly nonchalance of the composer.

Composers often claimed to have been encouraged to have their works published by others, a common theme across European publishing, as a way of feigning reluctance to enter into print. This is most common in first-time publications or the beginnings of serialised editions, such as Thomas Campion’s *Two Bookes of Ayres*, which resorts to the recurrent claim of being published ‘at the request of friends’.⁷⁶ Claims of pressure to publish by knowledgeable friends could encourage a positive critical reception in the reader, and Croce’s editor takes advantage of this opportunity when describing being ‘encouraged thereunto, by some Skillful in this Arte’.⁷⁷ Rhetorical commendations by friends were mirrored in some

⁷² ‘Otherwise I will vow never to set, sow, plant or graft, and my labours henceforth shall cease to trouble you, if you will needs mislike, I care not’. Robert Jones, *Muses Gardin*, Sig. [A₂^v].

⁷³ Croce, *Musica sacra*, Sig. [A₂^r].

⁷⁴ Porter, *Madrigales*, Sig. [A₂^v].

⁷⁵ Dowland, *Pilgrimes Solace*, Sig. [A₂^v].

⁷⁶ Campion, *Two Books*, Sig. [A₂^v]. On the supposed encouragement of friends to publish: Saunders, ‘Stigma of Print’, 145.

⁷⁷ Croce, *Musica sacra*, Sig. [A₂^r].

editions which appeared with forewords or other paratextual material from friendly commentators, as in William Leighton's *Teares* and Henry Lawes's *Choice Psalmes*. These feature epistles and poems from gentlemanly authors and renowned court poets, no doubt included to show that the contents of the volumes had already met with positive critical acclaim from qualified arbiters of taste and to ground the collections in the rarefied court culture to which paying readers might aspire.⁷⁸

Experienced composers with an existing profile in print reframed this idea by claiming they had been encouraged by the public when their past efforts were well received, William Byrd among them when he described his 'Being excited by your kinde acceptance of my former travailes in Musicke'.⁷⁹ As well as encouraging purchasers of the quality of the music they were about to buy, notions of the acceptance of past editions might also guide readers in their reception of later volumes by allowing them to ally themselves with existing critical judgement, thus reassuring them of their own erudite tastes. John Dowland similarly adhered to this ploy, emphasising his publishing record across Europe and contrasting the supposedly negative and arbitrary critical environment in England with the positive reception he found in different continental cities;⁸⁰ indeed, he flaunted the appearance of his compositions in anthologies protected by publishing privileges from the Holy Roman Emperor as a way of showing that they have found positive critical reception among socially elite audiences.⁸¹

These printed letters would probably not reach those performers who spurned publications entirely, instead being included to reassure existing readers that their engagement with printed matter was not tainted by any social inferiority arising from a stigma surrounding print. Some composers' letters thus alluded to the possible negative reactions that the public might have to printed music, characterising them as unreasonable. Thomas Campion is one composer who attacked public rejection of print by giving examples of famous Classical texts which were of no lesser intrinsic value for being published, writing that 'others taste nothing that comes forth in Print, as if Catullus or Martials Epigrammes were the worse for being published'.⁸² Walter Porter admitted that the act of publication might be construed as presumptuous, but asks the reader not to blame his good intentions.⁸³

⁷⁸ The commendatory poems of *Choice Psalmes* are described at: Andrew Robinson, "'Choice Psalms": A Brother's Memorial' in *William Lawes (1602-1645): Essays on his Life and Work*, ed. Andrew Ashbee (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 178.

⁷⁹ Byrd, *Psalmes, Songs and Sonnets*, Sig. [A₂^v].

⁸⁰ 'since some part of my poore labours have found favour in the greatest part of Europes, and beene printed in eight most famous Cities beyond the seas. Viz: Paris, Antwerpe, Collein, Nurenburge, Franckfort, Liepsig, Amsterdam, and Hamburge'. Dowland, *Pilgrimes Solace*, Sig. [A₂^v].

⁸¹ 'yea and some of them also authorized under the Emperours royall priviledge'. Dowland's music was included in anthologies such as Valerius Otto's *Neue Paduanen* (RISM O285), which Alexander Silbiger noted to have quoted his 'Frog Galliard', which was printed under privilege and to which Dowland probably referred when claiming his music to have been printed in Leipzig: Alexander Silbiger, [untitled review], *Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America* 43 (2006): 85.

⁸² Campion, *Two Books*, Sig. [A₂^v].

⁸³ Porter, *Madrigales*, Sig. [A₂^v].

Saunders argued that the stigma of print, and the image of similar gentlemanly behaviour projected by poets and authors when addressing their readers, fostered a culture whereby aristocratic and professional authors avoided openly creating an enduring, posthumous reputation for themselves.⁸⁴ While expression of concern for the preservation of one's own compositions for future generations was seemingly acceptable in German-speaking lands, prevalent notions of stigma appear to have discouraged English composers from airing such sentiments for fear of appearing immodest.⁸⁵ However, it was acceptable for editors to allude to the creation of a legacy on behalf of a composer whose music they collated or adapted. Henry Lawes, for example, expressed the intention of creating a testimony to his brother's musical achievements: 'his works as are here published, may be received as the least part of what he hath compos'd, and but a small testimony of his greater Compositions, (too voluminous for the Presse)'. Just as John Barnard's dedicatory letter in the *First Book* defends the act of publication by expressing the concern that the compositions will be lost to 'manuscript obscurity' if they are not published, Henry Lawes wrote of a fear that his brother's compositions would be, 'disperst into private hands', and 'chance hereafter be lost'.⁸⁶ Such explicit acknowledgements by editors of the power of print to shape legacies for composers thus clearly demonstrate a contemporary awareness of this benefit of publishing, and an awareness of these benefits might be even be inferred on the part of composers who did not address issues of legacy in collections of their own compositions.

These same editors combined their commendation of the legacy of publishing with concerns for the possibility of textual corruption during the printing process. Interestingly, both Croce's editor and John Barnard mitigated the threat of inaccuracy in their editions by placating their potential critics with the same rhetorical ploy, namely by encouraging readers who identified mistakes to emulate the nonchalance of idealised readers of education or good manners. Croce's editor suggested that 'the gentle will winck at small faults where they spie them'.⁸⁷ John Barnard suggested that mistakes should 'offend the eye, rather than the eare', and his stipulation that such faults will be 'by the judicious singer easily corrected' suggested that they should be obvious to any educated or professional musician, and that quiet implementation of these corrections elevates the reader to his position of editorial prowess and musical understanding.⁸⁸

Finally, these concerns over accurate transmission in print and posthumous legacy for the composer were also combined with concerns over inaccurate performance. As this chapter hereafter turns to the instructions for interpretation designed to ensure accurate performance, it should be noted that some

⁸⁴ Saunders, 'Stigma of Print', 153.

⁸⁵ Schein openly embraced the potential of print to preserve his own compositions for posterity: Rose, 'Anxiety of Judgement', 26.

⁸⁶ Barnard, *First Book*, Sig.[A₃^r]. Lawes, *Choice Psalmes*, Sig. [A₄^v].

⁸⁷ Croce, *Musica sacra*, Sig. [A₂^r].

⁸⁸ Barnard, *First Book*, Sig.[A₃^r].

composers weaponised inaccuracy by pleading rhetorically with potential critics to give accurate renditions of their music. Byrd entreated performers of his 1611 *Psalmes, Sonnets and Songs* to ‘be but as carefull to heare them well expressed, as I have been both in the Composing and correcting of them’, and in claiming that ‘well expressing of them, either by Voyces, or Instruments, is the life of our labours’, he confronted the amateur critic by asserting that composers like himself are professional musicians for whom the honing of performance skills has been a lifelong task.⁸⁹ Walter Porter similarly demeaned amateur performances by asking those who perform his compositions ‘not to howle and bawle them, and scrape in steed o playing’.⁹⁰ Such allusions to amateur performances should not be taken as sincere estimations of the musical abilities among the market for printed music, but instead show how composers derived authority through the assertion of their professional credentials, an image greatly reinforced by offering detailed performance directions to attain a ‘true’ performance.

⁸⁹ Byrd: ‘Only this I desire; that you will be but as carefull to heare them well expressed, as I have been both in the Composing and correcting of them. Otherwise the best song that was ever made will seem harsh and unpleasant, for that the well expressing of them, either by Voyces, or Instruments, is the life of our labours, which is seldome or never well performed at the first singing or playing’. Byrd, *Psalmes, Songs and Sonnets*, Sig. [A₂^v].

⁹⁰ Porter, *Madrigales*, Sig. [A₂^v].

Guidance to performers

Alongside attempts to attain financial reward, encourage sales and shape through rhetoric of a positive critical reception of the musical text, the paratextual elements of early Stuart editions sometimes also sought to encourage performance of the musical contents in a particular manner of the composer's choosing, or indeed saw the composer sanction different possibilities for performance. It should here be stressed that these intentions for performance upon the publication of a 'completed' musical composition are entirely different from the supposed intentions of an author which might be held before the composition of a poetic or other literary text, a feature of literary criticism and heavily contested since being decried by Wimsatt and Beardsley in 'The Intentional Fallacy'.⁹¹ Instead, the intentions of composers referred to here concern their aspirations for the realisation of their music from the printed book, and thus could be aligned with literary and bibliographical scholarship via the concepts of different 'readings' of texts described by Roger Chartier (as outlined in the thesis introduction and discussed further in Chapter 4).

Chartier's writings offer different responses to the complex issue of authorial 'intentions'. In 'Figures of the Author', his description of intentions as 'providing the impulse to produce the text' seemingly aligns intentions with the pre-compositional textual aspirations rejected by Wimsatt and Beardsley.⁹² However, his description in 'Texts, Printing, Readings' of different readers' responses to a text as variant 'readings', and the attempts by authors to use paratexts to prevent some interpretations, demonstrates a view of intentions whereby authors sought to ensure an intended meaning for their text.⁹³ It is in this latter sense of the word that musicologists have debated the validity and usefulness of authorial (or compositional) intentions. Most heavily debated is whether the intentions of composers have relevance to the way in which pre-Classical music is performed in the present day, and the way in which such intentions are used among the historically-informed performance movement: Richard Taruskin has argued that such intentions are unknowable and irrelevant, while Andrew Parrott has attempted to rehabilitate the idea of intentions by demonstrating that composers themselves invoked notions of such intentions, attempting to control performances of their music.⁹⁴ Notwithstanding the fact that many of the expressions of intentions quoted by Parrott are identifiable with the recycled rhetorical tropes described already in this chapter, a similar trend of composers expressing their intentions is identifiable in early Stuart editions and described hereafter: William Leighton's *Teares* is

⁹¹ Wimsatt and Beardsley criticised judgement of literary works based on the success with which they executed their pre-compositional intentions, instead advocating judgement on the completed text alone. Wimsatt and Beardsley, 'Intentional Fallacy', 468-488.

⁹² Chartier, 'Figures of the Author', 28.

⁹³ Chartier, 'Texts, Printing, Readings', 155.

⁹⁴ Richard Taruskin, *Text and Act* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 164-172. Andrew Parrott, 'Composer's Intentions, Performer's Responsibilities', *Early Music* 41 (2013): 37-43.

shown to describe the ‘author’s intention’ in relation to the singing of multiple verses, while Walter Porter’s request that those playing his compositions ‘sing and play them true, according to my meaning’ makes plain the composer’s desire to control performances of his music.⁹⁵

The first half of this section considers composers’ use of paratexts to negotiate with the reader and to influence specific or general ‘readings’ of musical compositions in light of their supposed intentions. Thereafter, it turns to an examination of some of the terminology composers used to describe their music, particularly such genre descriptions as ‘motet’. Genre indications in the context of the printed book are considered here in conjunction with better-known and commonly cited treatises of Thomas Morley and Charles Butler in the hope of broadening the source base used to define such terms and clarify elements of their meaning. While these paratextual descriptions of genre may be problematic because of their uncertain authorship and likely commercial motives, interpretation of composers’ uses of these terms relating to musical genre have the clear advantage of being related to specific musical compositions, offering a point of comparison which is often lacking in the definitions of genre found in treatises.

Walter Porter’s instructions include his rhetorical pleading for good performances that will dissuade criticism (see above) and his specific directions for realisation of notation.⁹⁶ Stephen Rose has argued that composers in German-speaking lands in this same period frequently invoked the notion of authorial intentions when describing the realisation of incomplete notation, particularly in relation to figured bass and ornamentation, and these two aspects are here shown to be a particular preoccupation of Porter.⁹⁷ Addressing the prefatory letter directly to the professionalised ‘practitioner’, Porter described the intended realisation of notational elements like the figured bass of the continuo part book: ‘I have exprest in the part of the Harpsechord, the major and minor sixes, by Flats and Sharpes, the figures I have put over the note as neere as I could’.⁹⁸ Such explanations were common among editions that exhibited novel or unprecedented notational experiments and a parallel example can be found in the roughly contemporaneous *Siren coelestis* of William Braithwaite, which required a table or notational ‘key’ to explain symbols unknown among public readers.⁹⁹ However, Porter’s concerns over the alignment of the figures with the notes on the stave draws attention to technical difficulties encountered in printing figures from moveable type, and implies it is the reader’s responsibility to discern the composer’s meaning.

⁹⁵ Leighton, *Teares*, Sig. [A₂^v]. Porter, *Madrigales*, Sig. [A₂^v].

⁹⁶ Porter, *Madrigales*, Sig. [A₂^v].

⁹⁷ Stephen Rose, *Musical Authorship from Schütz to Bach* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 204.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Braithwaite, *Siren coelestis*, [iii].

Porter also instructed performers to realise the continuo part in manuscript, probably in the form of an organ book score: ‘what shall be wanting as through Bases, for the other Instruments, which is to be used to make up the body of Musicke, according as I have set downe, thou must take a little paines to write out, as I have taken a great deale to make them, and to have them printed’.¹⁰⁰ This represents something of a negotiation between composer and performer, for although the copying dictated by his instructions reflects the printed book’s inability to display the notes as his readers would find easiest, Porter implies that he introduced figures specially to a previously unfigured bass so all the pitches he intended to communicate are present in the edition. He thus lays out his labour as a way of persuading readers to recreate the harmonic accompaniment, and not disregard it entirely.

Readers were also discouraged from unwanted performance conventions or bad habits when Porter stipulated that the untexted passages of the continuo part were not to be sung: ‘I have made the singing Base also a thorow Base, where you are not to sing but where there are words or this signe ::|: of Repetition’.¹⁰¹ His worry possibly refers to bass singers copying the words found in other partbooks, but more likely stems from a concern that singers who were presented with untexted words would resort to a ‘dittied’ or textless performance.¹⁰² As with the explanation of the *trillo* ornament, Porter goes on to describe his use of Italian performance terms when he explains *Tace* or the names of the interludes (‘*Toccatos*, *Sinfonias* and *Rittornellos*’) as an indication for the voices or instruments to cease playing or singing, and weaves their function into his stylised description by claiming them to be ‘good for the respiration of the Voyce’.¹⁰³

The prescriptive and musically detailed nature of these directions allows some certainty in claiming that the letter to the reader in Porter’s *Madrigales* was written by the composer, a claim strengthened by his manuscript interference with the surviving copies.¹⁰⁴ Yet while the detail of the letter implies that the composer held strong intentions for the way in which his music should be performed, other elements of the publication allow for some flexibility in instrumentation: Jonathan Wainwright has noted the possibility offered by the title page of using viols instead of violins, and together with the inclusion of the lute among the list of continuo instruments suggests this to be an attempt to broaden the appeal of the collection to a public market.¹⁰⁵ Detailed instructions in the preface and open-ended opportunities for instrumental performance might be considered in opposition, with one expressing the composer’s true intentions and the other a flippant concession to the paying public, or even representing separate performance directions by the composer in the preface and stationer on the title page.

¹⁰⁰ Porter, *Madrigales*, Sig. [A₂^v].

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² For ‘dittied performance’, see Chapter 5.

¹⁰³ Porter, *Madrigales*, Sig. [A₂^v].

¹⁰⁴ These annotations are described in Chapters 1 and 4.

¹⁰⁵ Wainwright, Preface, xviii.

While the practical nature of Porter's instructions appears to transcend the rhetorical manipulations described earlier in this chapter, their attempts to preoccupy the reader with correctly realising Porter's intended performance are perhaps part of a rhetorical strategy in themselves, seeking to add value (in multiple senses) to the edition. Porter's letter to the reader appears heavily influenced by Caccini's address in *Le nuove musiche* (1602), which lays down similarly detailed instructions for the performance of the *trillo* ornament, figured continuo parts and other elements of *stile nuovo* composition, and which similarly describes compositions as being 'spoiled' when such details are ignored;¹⁰⁶ indeed, Ian Spink has suggested that Porter translated Caccini's preface for John Playford's *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick*.¹⁰⁷ The result is that Porter's prescriptive instructions, like Caccini's, associate the edition heavily with the specialist knowledge of professionalised performance and disassociate the repertoire from a printed text which might easily be realised by amateurs.

Instructions for musical performance sometimes strayed outside the letter to the reader, and William Leighton's *Teares or Lamentacions* demonstrates the possibility of a rhetorical address to the reader (in this case given in verse) being supplemented by the following practical note for performance at the end of the large collection of prefatory material:

Note that this Muscalle Booke inserteth onely the first staffe of the Hymne or Psalme: but it is the Authors intention that in the practise of this heavenly harmonious exercise, someone in the company should out of his other Printed booke read the other staves [strophes] to them that play and sing.¹⁰⁸

This additional note of clarification directing performers to Leighton's full text of 1613 probably arises from similar grappling with the limitations of print, in this case insufficient space to display all verses in tablebook format, while parallels might be drawn with other cases where the expression of performance details might be beneficial to the book trade if the purchase of a previous volume of text was required. Yet in this case it is particularly pertinent to note that the idea of 'the Authors intention' was related to the way in which music was to be performed by the public after it was removed from its creator's sphere of control, and that these directions explicitly attempted to influence 'readings' or performances of the music by exerting ongoing moral rights of the author.

When Thomas Campion described the music of his *Two Bookes of Ayres* as representing two distinct characters of grave religiosity and secular lightness, this was, by his own admission, an attempt to appeal

¹⁰⁶ Caccini's preface translated at: Oliver Strunk, *Source Readings in Music History from Classical Antiquity to the Romantic Era* (London: Faber and Faber, 1952), 377.

¹⁰⁷ Ian Spink, 'Playford's "Directions for Singing after the Italian Manner"', *Monthly Musical Record* 89 (1959): 131.

¹⁰⁸ Leighton, *Teares*, Sig. [A₂^v].

to different audiences: ‘For hee that in publishing any worke, hath a desire to content all palates, must cater for them accordingly’.¹⁰⁹ However, the cultivation of commercial appeal also appears to have been a factor in the composer’s flexible attitude to the performance of his music, to the point where he not only encouraged different readings of his music, but fully notated his own different versions of the same compositions and allowed readers to perform whichever they preferred. Campion revealed to his reader that the compositions of the volume were originally composed as songs for a single voice and lute or viol accompaniment, but that he subsequently filled them with inner vocal parts ‘which who so please may use, who like not may leave’.¹¹⁰ Yet while Campion’s attitude might be seen as being the most liberal stance a composer could take in relation to their compositions, he pointedly observed that ‘when any shall sing a Treble to an Instrument, the standers by will be offering at an inward part out of their own nature; and true or false, out it must, though to the peverting of the whole harmony’.¹¹¹ This remark suggests an element of frustration with the ineffectual improvisation of inner parts by bystanders, and so his own composition of musically coherent harmonies was perhaps an attempt to bring alternative readings of his music back into his sphere of compositional control. Campion also alluded to further performance possibilities available to his readers by condoning sub-octave doubling of the melody, and the phrasing of this and other performance opportunities against a backdrop of theoretical observation of the scale and correct operation of independent inner parts shows his simultaneous wrestling with potential purchasers and critics.¹¹² Thus unlike Porter, Campion appears not to have held restrictive ‘intentions’ for his music that envisaged the recreation of an ideal performance, no doubt reflecting the inherent flexibility of the ayre as opposed to the *stile nuovo* writing of Porter; instead, Campion attempted through extended compositions of different versions of the same pieces to make himself the author of the possible variant readings.

In a similar vein to the realisation of practical elements of performance, composers shaped their audiences’ understanding and performance of their music by encouraging ‘readings’ which were grounded in notions of musical genre. At a time when many pieces were indiscriminately referred to as songs, regardless of their texts or even whether or not they were vocal compositions, composers used the paratextual spaces of the printed book to encourage prospective purchasers to recognise individual pieces as belonging to a particular genre and fulfilling a designated function. This is not to say that sacred compositions described as motets or anthems were necessarily intended for performance in a liturgical setting, rather, that identification with such genres informed prospective purchasers of the

¹⁰⁹ Campion, *Two Bookes of Ayres*, Sig. [A₂^v].

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² ‘Also, if wee consider well, the Treble tunes, which are with us commonly called Ayres, are but Tenors mounted eight notes higher, and therefore an inwards part must needs well become them, such as may take up the whole distance of the Diapason, and fill up the gaping betweene the two extreame parts; whereby though they are not three parts in perfection, yet they yeeld a sweetnesse and content both to the eare and minde, which is the ayre and perfection of Musicke’. Ibid.

music's suitability for particular environments or venues, and encouraged the reading of these compositions in light of these notions of style and genre. The associations between prescribed setting and genre are already established in musicological histories of the seventeenth century, Lorenzo Bianconi having argued that contemporary classifications of musical genres were rooted in systems of literary classification, whereby genres were distinguished by their respective 'decorum'.¹¹³ However, these associations between setting and genre have not been explored in relation to the book trade or the shaping of audience reception of music in print, and the affective associations which composers invoked by their identification of their music with genres such as the motet in the paratextual spaces of the printed book are hereafter explored.

Musicologists have typically deferred to the descriptions of genres in historical treatises as a way of gauging contemporary understanding of their character, with Thomas Morley's *Plaine and Easie Introduction* (1597) being most commonly cited by scholars such as Rebecca Herissone.¹¹⁴ Morley gathers all music of a sacred nature under the umbrella of the motet, and although his description describes it as 'properlie a song for the church', Morley's definition is principally rooted in the 'grave' text to which the music is set.¹¹⁵ His description of the motet thereafter notes the genre's contrapuntal nature and ascribes its sense of 'majestie' to 'discordes and bindings' (suspensions) and long note values;¹¹⁶ his description also places considerable emphasis on the motet as a learned genre which 'requireth the most art'.¹¹⁷

Morley's detailed definition, along with his status as a professional musician give particular credence to his account of the motet's characteristics, and the reprinting of Morley's treatise in the early seventeenth century suggests an enduring influence of his ideas; however, not all treatises promulgated identical descriptions of the motet's character, and Charles Butler's *Principles of Musik* (1636), whose description of the motet is so heavily based on Morley's that it resorts to direct quotation in several places, still manages to give a substantially differing account.¹¹⁸ Like Morley's, Butler's treatise also erroneously ascribes the etymological root of the word motet to the word 'motion', but instead of interpreting this as contrapuntal movement, he interpreted it in relation to the motet's ability to 'move

¹¹³ Lorenzo Bianconi, *Music in the Seventeenth Century*, trans. David Bryant (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 47.

¹¹⁴ Rebecca Herissone, *Music Theory in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 210.

¹¹⁵ Morley, *Plaine and Easie Introduction*, 179.

¹¹⁶ Morley appears to believe the word motet has its origin in 'motion' and establishes its contrapuntal nature ('so did they give the motet that name of moving') through comparison with the opposite form of plainsong. *Ibid.*, 179.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁸ Charles Butler, *The Principles of Musik* (London: John Haviland for the author, 1636), 1-5. All passages of Butler's *Principles* are transcribed here in modern spelling on account of the edition's use of an experimental phonetic alphabet which cannot be transcribed directly.

the hearts of the hearers'.¹¹⁹ Butler agreed with Morley that the motet is the genre requiring the most compositional skill, but his description is totally different in that it frames the motet as part of a description of the characteristic of each mode, and that it assigns the genre to the Lydian mode, in contrast to the Dorian mode which is principally used for metrical psalm settings.¹²⁰ Butler's theoretical understanding of music is questionable, particularly when his description cites a performance 'in the Music School' of Tomkins's *When David Heard* as demonstrative of the Lydian mode;¹²¹ however, his description should not be dismissed out of hand, because he described modes based on their affect rather than harmonic construction (indeed, he even spelled the word 'mood[e]'), and in this comparison he clearly attempted to demonstrate the character of the motet through this solemn, elegiac and contrapuntal example. Consensus is reached with Morley through Butler's description of the motet as 'grave, sober, holy'.¹²²

These ideas surrounding the characteristics of the motet pervaded the use of this term to describe certain compositions in editions of sacred music. While John Amner's *Sacred Hymns* lacks a letter to the reader to shape audience expectations, each of the compositions in the volume is introduced with a heading which either describes the piece as 'A Motect' or 'An Alleluia' (Figure 3.1). The criteria for designating each piece is not clear-cut: each of the so-called alleluias conclude with a chorus of this word, but this is also the case in two of the motets.¹²³ The designation is perhaps inspired by the textual distinction described by Morley whereby motets were perceived to have 'grave' or otherwise serious texts: the 'Motet' texts contained in Amner's collection adhere to this description, among them settings of words from the penitential psalms or the litany.¹²⁴ Figure 3.1 also demonstrates the way in which Amner's designation of motets might be identified with stylistic elements of Morley's definition, with the long note values and continuous chains of suspensions characterising the motet as different from the alleluia.¹²⁵ Likewise, Amner's motets are overwhelmingly minor in their tonality and imitative in their polyphonic texture, but these compositional choices were perhaps inevitable in light of the words they were set to. Thus, for Amner, the approximate designation of the motet genre seemingly stems from a mixture of the text, texture and tonality, which jointly differentiate it from the more joyful 'Alleluia'.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 5.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 1, 5.

¹²¹ Ibid., 5. This piece is a confusing example with various modulations, and Donna di Grazia has observed that a literal reading of the otherwise disregarded key signature and assumed final of C suggest that this piece might be in a form of Lydian mode: Donna Di Grazia, 'Funerall Teares or Dolefull Songes? Reconsidering Historical Connections and Musical Resemblances in Early English 'Absalom' Settings', *Music and Letters* 90 (2009): 580. Jessie Ann Owens has argued against clear-cut concepts of mode in England in this period. Jessie Ann Owens, 'Concepts of Pitch in English Music Theory', *Tonal Structure in Early Music*, (ed.) Cristle Collins Judd (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1998) 183-246.

¹²² Butler, *Principles*, 5.

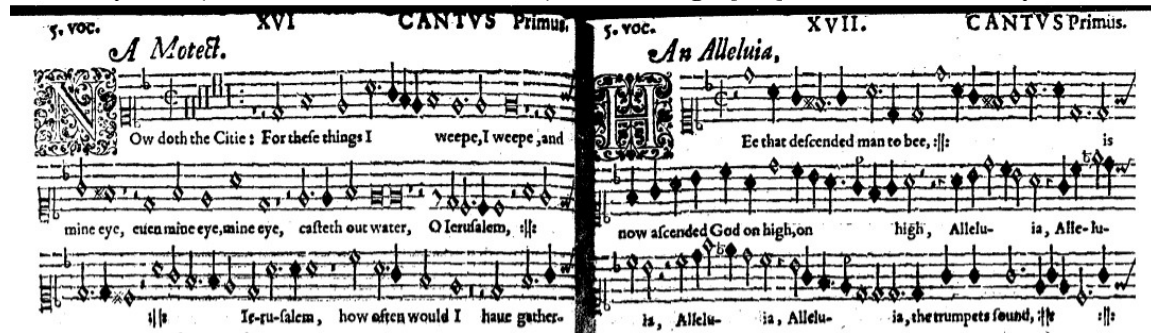
¹²³ Amner, *Sacred Hymns*, nos. 1 and 4.

¹²⁴ 'Woe is me' is a setting of Psalm 120; 'Remember not, Lord, our offences' the litany of the Book of Common Prayer. Ibid., nos. 12 and 13.

¹²⁵ This example at: John Morehen, 'John Amner: Sacred Hymnes', *The English Madrigalists* 40 (London: Stainer and Bell, 2000), 53.

In this respect, Amner's use of quasi-liturgical terms was not to ascribe any sort of liturgical function, but sought to establish for his readers a binary division of music of different moods, akin to Byrd's division of his *Psalms, Songs and Sonnets* (1611) as 'some solemne, others joyfull'.

Figure 3.1: Amner's compositions designated either as an 'Alleluia' or 'Motect'. John Amner, *Sacred Hymnes* (London: Edward Allde, 1615), Cantus, Sigs. [C₄^v] – D^r. British Library K.3.h.2.



The term 'motet' is also twice used by Michael East in his dedicatory letter to John Williams in the *Sixt Set*, to refer both to past compositions which Williams is supposed to have heard and to the sacred works contained within the same volume: 'It was done upon hearing of some motects of mine'; 'I have hastened these few Motects'.¹²⁶ East's use of this term is inconsistent with the stylistic basis for Morley and Amner's, being applied to verse anthems which contrast buoyant verse sections for soloists and instrumental accompaniment with *stile antico* polyphonic choruses. His description of the compositions as motets is evidently related to the religious nature of the texts he set, but perhaps also to the scoring for lower combinations of clefs which are inherently associated with liturgical choirs and performance.¹²⁷ East most likely raised this designation of genre as a way of distinguishing the *Sixt Set* from both the character and variety of contents in his previous collections, predominantly of secular compositions, whose tables divided up the contents by assigning such genres as pastorals, fancies, Neapolitans and so forth.

Other composers held stronger associations between the motet genre and the grave and austere mood which allowed for the demonstration of technical skill and musical learning through contrapuntal complexity. The title of Martin Peerson's *Mottects or Grave Chamber Musique* (1630) was clearly intended to reflect the genre in these respects alone:¹²⁸ the texts set by the composer are in no way sacred, but instead a sequence of poems which have been interpreted by Richard Rastall (in line with the earlier assessment of Michael Foote) to comprise a treatise on human love.¹²⁹ The intellectual nature

¹²⁶ East, *Sixt Set*, Sig. [A₂^v].

¹²⁷ Richard Turbet, *William Byrd: A Research and Information Guide*, 3rd edition (New York: Routledge, 2012), 135.

¹²⁸ Martin Peerson, *Mottects or Grave Chamber Musique* (London: William Stansby, 1630).

¹²⁹ Richard Rastall, Introduction to 'Mottects or Grave Chamber Musique', *Martin Peerson, Complete Works*, 4 (Moretonhampstead: Antico Edition, 2011), iv.

and serious character of the texts give good reason to recognise these compositions in relation to Morley's characterisation of the motet as being principally defined by the appropriate setting of a 'grave' text. Indeed, Peerson's incorporation of this word in the title gives further indication for his rationale in associating the collection with the motet genre, and the announcement on the title page that the collection was 'Composed according to the Rules of Art' emphasises the learned nature of compositions that assume this style or decorum.

These uses of the term motet in paratexts, titles and headings by Amner, East and Peerson illustrate some of the ways in which composers associated their music with the far-reaching genre of the motet. More implicit identifications with this genre's mood or style are perhaps offered by Thomas Campion, who describes the first part of his *Two Bookes* as having 'Grave words' in the dedication, and the editor of Croce's *Musica sacra*, who argues that the text or 'dittie' is responsible for stirring up emotions when united with music, and specifically cites 'Gravitie' as one of these moods.¹³⁰ Thus, the associations with the motet, both explicit and implicit, were harnessed by composers who wished to alert their audiences to the affective mood of the music contained within a publication. In doing so, composers guided audiences in their purchasing, either by advertising the variety of musical genres and styles contained within a volume by contrasting the motet with the other contents, or in cases where a volume was solely comprised of such music, by alerting potential purchasers to the serious nature of the compositions and pre-empting critics through the genre's association with a solemn compositional style.

¹³⁰ Croce, *Musica sacra*, Sig. [A₂^r].

Peritexts: paratexts surrounding music

Besides the dedication and letter to the reader, editions of the early Stuart era contained various other content which sought to influence readers' engagement with the music. Titles, illustrations, and tables literally and figuratively surrounded the main corpus of the musical text, while spacing, layout and typography shaped the way in which music would be read as much as they shaped the notes on the page. Intangible configurations of the ordering of pieces of music within a collection according to their musical or textual characteristics also allowed for the framing of readings through the order instilled by the book. Moving beyond the elements of the printed music book which are prefatory in nature, that is to say communicated verbally before the main contents (literally *prae-fari*, or 'spoken before'), this section examines the other paratextual components which physically and implicitly surround the musical text as it appeared to readers, and which guided readers to the intended reading. With regards to the surrounding of text with paratext, Gérard Genette coined the term 'peritext' to describe all paratexts which accompanied a text on publication, as distinction from the 'epitext', or supposedly paratextual features which might be associated with a text after publication, such as interviews, reviews or commentaries.¹³¹ This section adopts his term 'peritext' for employment in a more literal sense (peri-meaning 'about' or 'around'), referring to the paratextual elements which physically surrounded or supported the musical text as it appeared in print, and considers the way in which such peritexts were used in relation to music and sacred music more specifically nature.

A significant problem with the application of Genette's ideas regarding printed books at large to the early Stuart music book is that he assumes a significant part of the peritextual deployment to have been controlled by the publisher, encompassing his description of all 'spatial and material' elements under the umbrella description of 'publisher's peritext'.¹³² In early seventeenth-century printed music, such elements cannot necessarily be ascribed to the stationer and are likely to have varied enormously between publications: Dowland cannot have had any personal input into the printing of his *Second Booke* while he was abroad in Denmark, but other composers who supervised the printing process might well have discussed layout and other publishing practicalities with the stationers they collaborated with.¹³³ The extent to which a handwritten copy text, such as the manuscript of the *Second Booke* sold to Eastland by Dowland's wife, acted as a mock-up of the intended layout of the printed edition is

¹³¹ Genette, *Paratexts*, 5.

¹³² Ibid., 16.

¹³³ Gibson, 'Authorial Self-Fashioning', 47. The role of some composers in supervising the printing process is discussed in Ch 4.

uncertain, although contemporary examples of similar manuscripts have survived from German-speaking lands.¹³⁴

Genette suggests publishers had control over the bibliographic format, a term he uses in relation to the paper collations of quarto and octavo, noting the connotations of each;¹³⁵ however, in Stuart England the use of these forms appears to have been dominated by convention, with vocal music being printed in quarto and lute books or table books being printed in folio. Moreover, typographic formats such as tablebooks were an imitation of the formats existing in manuscript culture, already holding connotations for particular repertoire, and in the cases of less musically literate stationers like William Stansby and Edward Griffin it seems unlikely that they would have had the capacity to drastically reformat the layout of a copy text. Stationers were thus unlikely to be privileged with any great choice when deciding on formats, and even their ability to control the ‘graphic realisation of the text’ through typesetting, as Genette describes it, can be called into question in the cases of Braithwaite’s *Siren coelestis* and Barnard’s *First Book* described in Chapter 1, where the unprecedented typographic designs were probably dictated by the editor.¹³⁶ Experimentation with novel techniques like engraving was often motivated by musical content which demanded its use, such as *Parthenia* and Notari’s *Prime Musiche Nuove* (both issued in score), or might otherwise have been the result of special commissions of luxury editions which were intended for limited circulation among an elite audience. More widely, printers were constrained in their choices as many lacked multiple sets of music founts (see Chapter 1).

Nonetheless, notwithstanding reservations over the extent to which stationers determined them, bibliographical formats and spacing undoubtedly held considerable influence over the ways in which musical compositions were read and performed. Tablebooks forced physical positioning of performers; interspersed lute and vocal lines allowed for performance by one musician; and the printing of additional stanzas of strophic verse for one voice only, as in Leighton’s *Teares*, might well have influenced the extent to which all parts were sung with words.¹³⁷ Issues of their originating party aside, specialist typefaces such as that employed in Barnard’s *First Book* would have borne considerable influence on readers’ understanding of the music and the appropriate contexts or settings for performance, contributing to their sense of the music’s appropriate ‘decorum’.

The title page is also ascribed to the publisher’s sphere of peritextual influence by Genette, and while he also accounts for titles chosen by the author, he acknowledges and supports arguments of Leo H.

¹³⁴ A manuscript draft of the title page of Schutz’s Becker Psalter (1628) is described at: Stephen Rose, ‘Protected Publications: The Imperial and Saxon Privileges for Printed Music, 1550-1700’, *Early Music History* 37 (2018), 261, 273.

¹³⁵ Genette, *Paratexts*, 17.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 34.

¹³⁷ For example: Leighton, *Teares*, Sig. B₂^v.

Hoek that the title, a tool for reception or comment, is separated arbitrarily from the wider iconographic and graphic elements of the frontispiece.¹³⁸ In Stuart England, some titles offered little more than a description of the genres of the contents (eg. *Madrigales and Ayres, Choice Psalmes*) or were functional in outlining a place in a series (*Third Set of Bookes*). These descriptive titles, which offered prospective purchasers a clear understanding of the contents, would also have built associations with individual genres as a way of guiding readers towards performance of music in appropriate settings, whereas the numbered but otherwise nondescript titles given to Michael East's 'sets of books' imply miscellaneous contents appropriate for performance in different contexts. Others like Croce's *Musica sacra* and the editions of Amner and Tailour entitled *Sacred Hymns* made obvious reference to the suitability for their contents in acts of devotion, while also implicitly aligning themselves with the near-ubiquitous publication of motets under the title *Cantiones sacrae*.

Besides titles themselves, many individual phrases or comments lodged on title pages such as Peerson's 'Composed according to the Rules of Art' attempted to encourage positive reception and justify the price of the edition to potential purchasers, but across the range of sources, two other formulaic claims were employed consistently. The first was the claim of royal privilege described in Chapter 2, and whereas in the sixteenth century such claims enhanced the status of individual composers whose music had been given royal assent as the chief exponent of English music, the passage of the privilege to stationers in the seventeenth century meant this phrase probably carried stronger connotations of the professional execution of the printing. The second was the assertion of composers' credentials through listing their positions of employment or university degrees, a common tool testifying to the authority of the composer.¹³⁹ In both secular and sacred editions, the credentials stressed were often ecclesiastical and related to the Chapel Royal or cathedrals, but the relation of these positions on the title pages of editions of sacred music was perhaps suggestive of the collection's representativeness of the music performed in these institutions.

The stationer's peritextual contribution also encompassed the widespread use of visual decoration and illustration, although the relationship between decoration and the musical text was often opaque. Woodblock depictions of the coats of arms of dedicatees were commonly reproduced opposite the dedicatory epistle, and besides contributing significant visual interest to the first sheet of the book, these armorial displays aggrandised the patron's protective powers to dissuade critics while also enhancing the personal value of the gift of the book in the act of dedication.¹⁴⁰ But while some letters and dedications offered paratextual comment on the main musical text, and some heraldic devices might

¹³⁸ Genette, *Paratexts*, 55.

¹³⁹ Kirsten Gibson, 'Author, Musician, Composer: Creator?', in *Concepts of Creativity in Seventeenth-Century England*, ed. Rebecca Herissone and Alan Howard (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2013), 78.

¹⁴⁰ For an example of printed arms of the dedicatee: Amner, *Sacred Hymns*, Sig. [A₁^v].

have emphasised the positioning of secular settings of courtly verse on the fringes of aristocratic culture, armorial illustrations bore little relation to the content of books of sacred music. Greater influence over readers' interpretation of sacred music was possibly exerted by decoration incorporated into the printing of the music, which occasionally reflects the text. A series of woodblocks used to decorate the initial letters of some pieces in *Gradualia I* depicts various apostles holding their instruments of martyrdom and the evangelists alongside their representative devices (Figure 3.2), and in the context of a clandestine Roman Catholic publication like *Gradualia*, these images carry obvious connotations of martyrdom and adherence to true religion. Nonetheless, these blocks were interspersed with decorative initials for other pieces which depicted classical scenes, and the same blocks have been showed by Jeremy Smith to have been used in earlier unrelated publications.¹⁴¹

Figure 3.2: Woodblock depictions of evangelists and martyrs in *Gradualia*. William Byrd, *Gradualia ... liber primus*, reissue of East's 1605 presswork (London: Humphrey Lownes and Richard Redmer, 1610), British Library K.2.f.7. Depicted clockwise from top left are St Luke (Medius Sig. [C₄^v]), St John (Medius, Sig. [B₄^r]), St Paul (Medius, Sig. E₂^v), St Thomas (Bassus, Sig. B_{ii}^v), St Mark (Bassus, Sig. [C_{iii}^r]) and St Andrew (Bassus, Sig. [D_{ii}^r]).

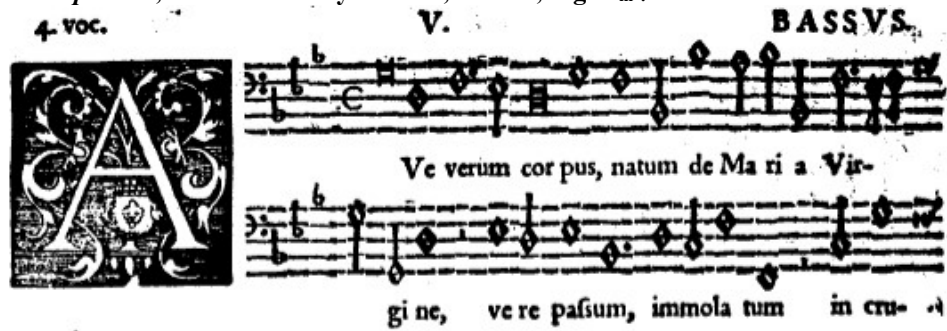


More obvious and deliberate alignment of decoration and textual content might be ascribed to the woodblock initial of Byrd's *Ave verum corpus*, a eucharistic motet from the propers of Corpus Christi, where the capital incorporates a cup or chalice (Figure 3.3), which appears never to have been previously considered in studies of *Gradualia*. The use of this decorative initial is unusual in that it is not taken from a set which is otherwise used in this collection and its employment here might have been the result of opportune borrowing from another set. The reflection of the textual content of the motet in the decoration is unusual among printed sources, but the seemingly deliberate attempt to match illustration with the music has ample precedent in manuscript tradition. The iconography of such initials has been described most extensively in relation to the 'Alamire' manuscripts, Bonnie J. Blackburn

¹⁴¹ Smith, 50.

having interpreted different scenes of patrons at prayer in front of the saints invoked by the motets they decorate, while Vincenzo Borghetti has argued that these miniatures created a performative experience and conjured the sounds of motets through singing faces which bring to life the visual scenes depicted in these initials.¹⁴²

Figure 3.3: Depiction of a cup or chalice in woodblock initial of *Ave verum corpus*. Byrd, *Gradualia ... liber primus*, British Library K.2.f.7., Bassus, Sig. Biii^r.



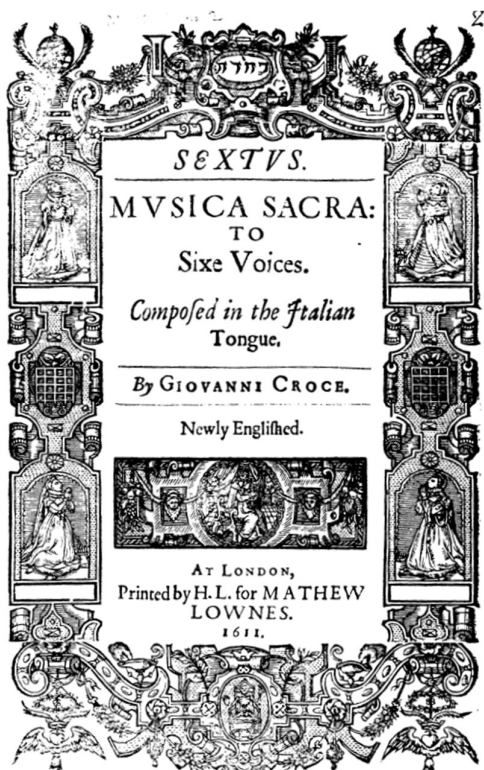
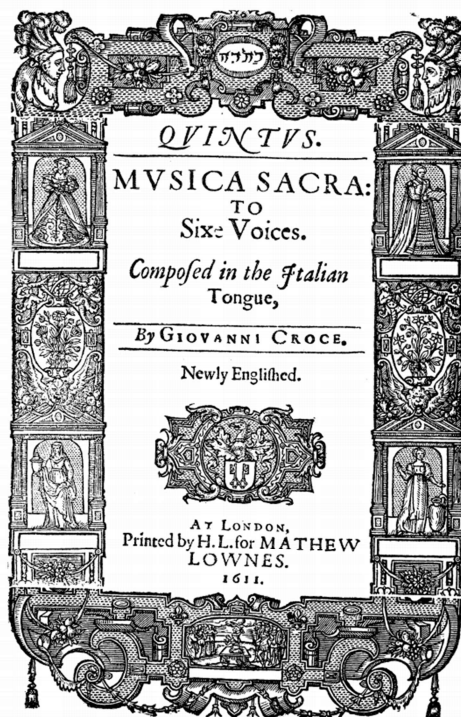
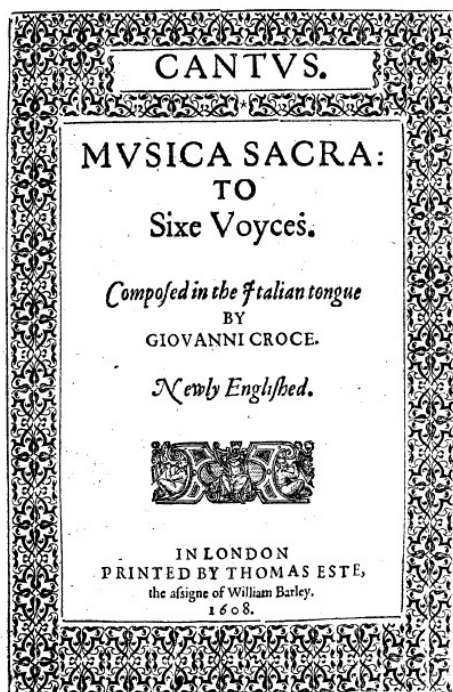
Some stationers were undoubtedly aware of how peritextual illustration might assist in communicating the content or purpose of the edition to the reader. One example which shows sensitivity among stationers to the benefits of illustration can be seen in the various title pages of three issues of Croce's *Musica sacra*. Thomas East's original edition of the English translation was printed in 1608 with a simple quatrefoil fleuron border which was typical of his musical publications and printed music paper (Figure 3.4).¹⁴³ By 1611 East's printed sheets were in the possession of Matthew Lownes, one of the original partners in the Music Stock, who commissioned his brother Humphrey Lownes to produce a new frontispiece for East's presswork. Two extant versions of the revised 1611 frontispiece survive with variations in the woodblock border, and although it is not clear which came earlier, one has considerably stronger relation to the devotional character and textual basis of the collection. Both 1611 frontispieces are topped with the Tetragrammaton, or four-letter Hebrew word equating to Yahweh, but the version of the frontispiece pictured third in Figure 3.4, which is found in Cambridge University Library, includes four additional images of women kneeling in prayer along the side borders, while a depiction of King David holding a lyre appears under the words 'Newly Englished' instead of the device with a pair of keys. The kneeling women are self-evidently representative of the devotional purpose of the collection, but the depiction of King David specifically refers to the psalm paraphrases Croce set, and anticipate the assertion that King David was the author of the psalms in the first sentence of the letter to the reader overleaf, where he is described as the 'Sweete Singer of Israel'. Thus, this

¹⁴² Bonnie J. Blackburn, 'For whom do the Singers Sing', *Early Music*, 25 (1997): 594. Vincenzo Borghetti, 'The Listening Gaze: Alamire's Presentation Manuscripts and the Courtly Reader', *Journal of The Alamire Foundation* 7, Issue 1 (2015): 53.

¹⁴³ Morehen, 'Thomas Snodham', 100. Katherine Butler, 'Printed Borders for Sixteenth-Century Music or Music Paper and the Early Career of Music Printer Thomas East', *The Library*, 7th Series, 19 (2018): 177.

frontispiece was reconfigured to emphasise the devotional purpose of the collection and the Biblical origin of the text; in so doing, it echoes the intentions of the anonymous editor, R.H., who stressed a desire that the edition be used devotionally, and works together with the editor's epistle to direct the reader towards the intended reading of the text.

Figure 3.4: Reissued title pages of Croce, *Musica sacra*: top left, 1608 original at Henry Huntington Library, 13102; top right, British Library Harley MS 5927/68; bottom, Cambridge University Library Syn6.61.17. Second version accompanied with devout women and depiction of King David playing the lyre.



Readings of the musical compositions contained in a printed edition could also be influenced by the sequence in which the pieces were ordered when assembled together as a published collection. Kirsten Gibson's analysis of Dowland's *First Booke* is founded in part on the idea that printed collections instilled a sense of order on their contents through multiple means, one being the sequence in which compositions appeared, and that these implied senses of order could invite new readings of existing compositions when published together.¹⁴⁴ Editions containing or devoted entirely to sacred music from early Stuart England might be organised by a number of means, and while the sixteenth-century continental practice of organising musical editions by mode appears to have fallen out of fashion, many organisational schemes were musically-defined:¹⁴⁵ almost all collections were organised by the number of voices in each piece, progressing from fewer to more parts through the collection, while liturgical compositions were typically organised in accordance with manuscript tradition, with full anthems being followed by verse anthems (an organisational rule followed by Barnard but not in East's *Sixt Set*).¹⁴⁶ Ordering systems might also reflect the basis of texts in the Bible or liturgy: collections of psalms or psalm paraphrases were typically ordered according to the numbering of the psalms, as was the case in Croce's *Musica sacra*, Tailour's *Sacred Hymnes* and Child's *First Set of Psalmes*; Byrd's *Gradualia* was organised according to the liturgical year. However, some scholars have also argued that the ordering of compositions within printed editions deliberately sought to create recognisable narratives, with Dowland's *First Booke* and Peerson's *Mottects* being claimed by Gibson and Richard Rastall respectively as examples of this practice, and the positioning of music to accommodate such narratives might be understood as another form of textual organisation in this respect.¹⁴⁷

Sacred and secular texts were often separated under the ordering schemes imposed in editions of this period and, contrary to the integration of texts found in the better-known collections of William Byrd, the separation of a single devotional piece at either the beginning or end of an otherwise secular collection appears to have been a reasonably common practice which has attracted little scholarly comment. Examples of this practice exist in John Bartlet's *Booke of Ayres*, Walter Porter's *Madrigales* and Francis Pilkington's *Second Set of Madrigales*, while Alison's *Howres Recreation* and Tomkins's *Songs* each conclude with a couple of sacred compositions gathered towards the end of the volume.

¹⁴⁴ Kirsten Gibson, 'The order of the book: materiality, narrative and authorial voice in John Dowland's *First Booke of Songes or Ayres*', *Renaissance Studies* 26 (2012): 14, 24.

¹⁴⁵ Duffin suggested that Byrd's 1589 and 1591 motets followed on organisational scheme according to mode: Ross Duffin, 'New light on Jacobean taste and practice in music for viols and voices', in *Le concert des voix et des instruments à la Renaissance*, ed. Jean-Michel Vaccaro (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 1995), 602. Jessie Ann Owens argues that English concepts of mode were insufficiently prescriptive to warrant such organisational schemes. Owens, 'Concepts of Pitch', 186.

¹⁴⁶ Byrd's *Gradualia I*, organised according to the liturgical calendar, was alone in progressing from more to fewer voices; this ultimately led to binding errors: Philip Brett, 'Prefaces to *Gradualia*' in, *William Byrd and his Contemporaries: Essays and a Monograph*, (eds.) Joseph Kerman and Davitt Moroney (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 173, 197.

¹⁴⁷ Gibson, 'Order of the Book', 25. Rastall, Introduction to '*Mottects*', v.

These isolated sacred compositions themselves might be interpreted in light of the paratextual conventions of the early modern book, imitating the function of a preface or an epilogue by positioning themselves against the main body of the collection. The opening piece of Bartlet's *A Booke of Ayres*, 'O Lord, thy faithfulness I will with viol sing', is one such piece which grounds musical performance in devotional practice, and thus introduces the remainder of the collection under this comparison.¹⁴⁸ The positioning of devotional pieces in this way possibly echoes contemporary practices of opening and closing recreational activity with prayer, perhaps evidenced by the conclusion of Alison's *Howres Recreation* with 'The sacred quire'. This piece is similarly self-referential to musical performance, with images of the tuning of voices implying a metaphorical tuning or union of music and prayer, while also alluding to the tuning which takes place at the beginning of musical activity: 'Weele tune our voices to the lute and instrument of sweetest sound, no tong shall in thy prayse be mute that dost thy foes and ours confound'.¹⁴⁹ The consistent positioning of these pieces suggests that, rather than simply being included sporadically to appeal to purchasers who appreciated miscellaneous assortments of styles, these pieces fulfilled a deeper function of grounding recreational performance in notions of music being related to devotion; indeed, they also echo the rhetorical expressions of divine authorship of music and the union of earthly song with heavenly choirs voiced in dedications and prefaces (as outlined earlier in this chapter).

Rarer, but more closely identifiable with the peritextual elements of the printed book, are puzzle canons printed in the opening pages of a small number of publications. Two examples, found in Campion's *First Booke of Ayres* and Leighton's *Teares*, are representative of this integration of decorative illustration and supplementary musical material (Figure 3.5).¹⁵⁰ These canons are entirely distinct from the other elements of the collection: in Campion's edition the music of the canons is inconsistent with the language, text and genre of the other pieces and the inclusion of the initials 'JP' suggests a different author from the composer; the canon in Leighton's edition, probably written by Thomas Weelkes, is the only music in the collection to be untexted, and while this anthology contains the music of various composers, the edition as a whole is united by Leighton's authorship of the text throughout. These two peritextual illustrations form musical paratexts, which being external to the main text of the collection are positioned alongside the other paratextual content and seek to influence readers' interpretation of the whole volume.

¹⁴⁸ Bartlet, *Booke of Ayres*, no. 1.

¹⁴⁹ Alison, *Howres Recreation*, no. 24.

¹⁵⁰ Campion's *First Booke* is an earlier variant of *Two Bookes of Ayres* (RISM C626) which exists only in the Folger Library (Call no. STC 4547).

Figure 3.5: Left, puzzle canon in Thomas Campion, *The First Booke of Ayres*, reverse of title page. Image from Folger Shakespeare Library, STC 4547. Right, puzzle canon in William Leighton, *Teares*, reverse of title page. British Library, K.1.1.9.



In Campion's *First Booke*, four canons with Latin words from Psalm 149 ('Praise ye the Lord: Sing unto the Lord a new song') surround a depiction of King David.¹⁵¹ The combination of this text and image make obvious reference to the moral virtue and biblical precedent of praising God in song, and these themes are not wholly unlike the opening or concluding devotional compositions described above which mirror the content of prefaces in commending music for its divine origin and edifying function. By contrast, the canon found in Leighton's *Teares* poses an intellectual challenge to the reader to decode as a way of reinforcing the intellectual prowess and scholarly credentials of the anthology's various contributors (whose degrees are listed above their names), while its combination of music with the heraldic emblems of the dedicatee, Prince Charles, aligns it with the traditional depiction of a dedicatee's coat of arms and the supplicatory offering of music in the letter of dedication.

This examination of the peritextual features of the book demonstrates some of the further-reaching extents of the paratextual devices and their function alongside verbal paratexts of mediating between composers, stationers and readers. Ranging from illustration to more implicit control exerted through

¹⁵¹ English translation, King James Version.

ordering schemes, these peritextual elements drew distinctions between sacred and secular compositions and used visual imagery or the positioning of devotional music as a tool to influence readers and echo the religious themes commonly expressed in the prefatory passages of the edition. Further peritextual features of the editions of this period appear elsewhere in this thesis, principally in Chapter 5 where examples including a canon combined with Charles I's portrait and short Latin mottos at the end of motets demonstrate attempts to direct readers in devotional practice.

Conclusion

Informed by perspectives from literary criticism (including debates about authors' supposed 'intentions', the alleged stigma of print, and theories of 'paratexts' as devised by Gérard Genette), this chapter has scrutinised the prefatory writings of printed music books to search out their implications and significance for music publishing. In identifying and decoding common rhetorical frameworks it has shown how the different paratextual materials of printed music acted as intermediaries between the individuals involved, principally between composers and purchasers, but also publishers, editors, patrons and would-be critics, shaping the reception of texts in the hands of those who read (or in this case, performed) them.

Close analysis of paratextual material has allowed this chapter to reveal the formulaic language which acknowledged the different types of transactions which existed between composers and patrons and, the attempts of composers to appear learned by employing literary devices or tropes recycled from their peers, or to give the impression of gentlemanly nonchalance. Moreover, this chapter has shown the ways in which the rhetoric of prefatory letters adapted common rhetorical frameworks to link the contents of sacred editions with rich religious metaphors and themes, how composers' language reinforced concepts of genres of sacred compositions in relation to performance environments or 'decorum', and the role of decoration and ordering schemes in emphasising divides between sacred and secular compositions. While such lofty attempts by composers to supervise reactions to their music beyond their immediate sphere of control might be seen as a panicked reaction to protect their compositions from fear of criticism, this wider influencing of readers has been shown here to form part of the efforts to attract purchasers and ensure an edition's commercial success.

This examination of paratexts' role in directing performances of music stands as an appropriate bridge in this thesis between the printing and publishing of sacred music described in Chapters 1 and 2 and the descriptions of readership, engagement and influence which follow. As Chapter 4 will show, these aspirations of close control over readers' interpretation of texts and books were often entirely misplaced. Chapter 5 also reflects on this chapter's discussion of paratexts as a mechanism of control between publishing and reading, considering the attempts made in printed music to encourage readers towards specific religious or devotional outcomes in the changing religious climate of early Stuart England.

Chapter 4 - Afterlives of printed music books: emendation, ownership and scribal copying

Books' afterlives loom large in the understanding of the historical significance of printed music, offering perspectives on its production and dissemination, as well as the ways in which owners interacted with it and perceived it. The adaptation and alteration of musical texts in printed books over subsequent stages of their history might relate to shortcomings of the music's transmission, a misalignment between the aspirations of composers, stationers and purchasers, or even an understanding of book ownership grounded in a prevailing culture of physical and textual appropriation, whereby books' owners felt no obligation to respect the integrity or appearance of music they had purchased in printed forms.

Adaptation of music books might partly have arisen from the limitations of print to represent music as it was performed, and Tim Carter and Kate van Orden are among those to have contemplated the gulf which existed between printed notation and sounding music. Van Orden offers sixteenth-century examples of French collections edited by Fabrice Marin Caietain which imitated the music of the Académie de la Poésie et de la Musique, where elaborate rhythms formed the foundation of compositions intended to recreate Greek music, but which she claims were flawed in their attempts to recreate the Académie's music because they forced the rhythms into existing mensural schemes.¹ Carter exposes this divide between printed text and performance in the context of the earliest Italian editions of music in the *Stile nuovo*, highlighting the paradox whereby a multiplicity of notational signs were required to represent music of this style, but composers and performers of this period cast doubt onto the ability of the notation to fully represent the virtuosic performances which were given.² Carter claims the printing of more 'mainstream' repertoire suffered from similar tensions, with partbooks of polyphonic vocal music of the sixteenth century omitting detail or stipulations which might make the music seem less adaptable to different ensembles.³

Chapter 1's discussion of Walter Porter, who annotated copies of his *Madrigales and Ayres* to introduce visual aids for the *trillo* ornament which could not be represented in type, shows how printed music might be adapted upon leaving the press to better represent the performances it was supposed to help recreate. However, this disparity between the composer's expectations for performance and the musical text printed is also paralleled by a disparity between the stationer's supposed intentions, or sometimes

¹ Kate van Orden, *Music, Authorship, and the Book in the First Century of Print* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014), 152.

² Tim Carter, 'Printing the "New Music"', in *Music and the Cultures of Print*, ed. Kate van Orden (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 2000), 23.

³ *Ibid.*, 22.

those of an editor or separate publisher, and the ways in which the books were used after they were sold. Purchasers of printed music often left clear evidence that they made it their own, regardless of any prescriptive instructions that were given by composers, editors or stationers. While all manuscript additions to a printed volume constitute something of an act of appropriation, turning a printed book into a hybrid of print and manuscript, the repurposing of the blank spaces of their pages could occasionally run jarringly at variance with the book's expected purpose: introduction of manuscript alterations or unrelated repertoire into a supposedly 'authorised' version of a single composer's compositions could detract from such a volume's pretensions to textual authority; symbolic volumes intended to convey associations of courtly prestige or a sense of devotional or intellectual mystery might be demeaned by childish scribbling.⁴

Some manuscript annotations also reveal the way in which readers not only appropriated the material being of books for themselves, but also adapted musical texts. An example from the 1590s highlighted by David Greer sees the words of Morley's secular madrigal *Say gentle Nymphes* changed throughout to a set of devotional lyrics beginning 'Say glorious Saintes', while this process of sacralisation happened in reverse when a Jacobean book owner changed Byrd's *Rejoice, rejoice, with heart and voice* (a Christmas carol) into a song about the Gunpowder Plot.⁵ Such appropriations might thus undermine the considerable emphasis placed at this time on elegant text setting as an aspect of compositional skill.

Ideas of textual appropriation by readers have been pioneered by cultural historians, Roger Chartier foremost among them.⁶ The implications of the notion that readers create their own 'readings' of a text, and that these readings might be further complicated by the widespread practice of reading aloud by an intermediary to an audience, have been discussed by musicologists including Van Orden, who has discussed not only how performers create various interpretations of musical notation, but also the role of listeners in creating subjective readings of musical texts.⁷ Readers' interactions with musical texts on the printed page and the changes they implemented when copying from printed books offer a glimpse of the different readings they created. Likewise, the way in which music books were adapted to include additional repertoire can cast light on the way in which owners viewed that which was printed.

⁴ Greer, 53.

⁵ These examples are taken from a British Library copy of Morley's *Madrigalls to Foure Voyces* (K.3.i.13.) and the University of London copy of Byrd's *Songs of Sundrie Natures* (Littleton 7SR), and are discussed by David Greer: *Ibid.*, 36. The adaptation of this final work in Morley's collection was possibly an attempt at imitating the Jacobean printed collections which often concluded with sacred music in otherwise secular anthologies (see Chapter 3).

⁶ Roger Chartier, 'Texts, Printing, Readings' in *The New Cultural History*, ed. Lynn Hunt (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 154-175.

⁷ Kate van Orden, Introduction to *Music and Cultures of Print* (New York: Garland Publishing, 2003), xi.

This chapter therefore examines the way in which the afterlives of printed music books illuminate several such gulfs in music publishing. The first section scrutinises cases of systematic manuscript correction made to printed music in the publishing house, considering the way in which composers and stationers negotiated the gap between presswork and an 'ideal' or accurate text. Thereafter, an examination of marks of ownership and provenance enables a thematic analysis of the diverse social profile of purchasers, as well as highlighting how music books derived disparate meanings from their ownership or interaction with other books in a personal collection. A third section investigates the ways annotation and inscription connected printed books with existing practices in manuscript culture. In light of this thesis's focus on sacred repertoire, this section considers the way in which the perceived gulf between manuscript and printed culture is reinforced by ideas of the former belonging to professionalised ecclesiastical institutions and the latter as resources for the recreation of amateurs and enthusiasts. By exploring evidence of the copying of music from printed sources and the influence of the liturgical tradition on the printed book, this chapter considers the possibility of cross-fertilisation between print and manuscript cultures and challenges restrictive associations of either medium with particular levels of professionalism.

Printing House Corrections and Emendations

The exact point at which the production of a book was finished and its ‘afterlife’ began can be pinpointed to a number of different stages, which might not necessarily occur in the same order in the case of each publication: the final impression, the end of the correction process, the binding of the book and the transaction of sale all offer plausible events from which to measure completion. These stages surrounding printing and sale might variously happen with the involvement of the printer, composer, a separate bookseller and the book’s first owner, and therefore this discussion of the afterlife of an edition follows on from the opening chapters’ discussion of production and retail to examine amendments made after the initial print-run was complete. While the focus here on manuscript corrections stems from the chapter’s overarching theme of music books’ manuscript afterlives, it is worth noting that this was only one of several methods available to printing houses for the purposes of correction: the insertion of cancel leaves (a fully reprinted page to replace a defective one) and pasting of cancel slips over errors were among the other methods of correction available to printing houses.⁸

Foremost among musicological literature in relation to the correction and proofreading of music in the printing house is the bibliographical analysis undertaken by John Milsom in relation to Tallis and Byrd’s 1575 *Cantiones ... sacrae*, printed by Thomas Vautrollier.⁹ In his article, Milsom explored the many different states of individual printed sheets (correlating to the printer’s ‘formes’) within this edition, shedding light on the correction process with regards to the dispersal of different formes between the surviving copies: he concluded not only that these corrections were made when the press was halted during the printing process, but also that the sheets were subsequently assembled randomly with no attempt to keep the newest or most accurate ones together, and thus a single copy might contain one sheet with the most revisions and another which had gone entirely uncorrected. While Milsom’s detailed analysis related mostly to ‘stop-press’ corrections rather than the manuscript alterations discussed in this chapter, its wider implications for the proofreading process offer invaluable context to the following descriptions of the correction process.

Milsom suggested in his discussion of Tallis’s and Byrd’s *Cantiones ... sacrae* that the stop-press corrections and the subsequent manuscript emendations were instigated by the composers.¹⁰ However, besides this historically unusual collection, printed with an atypically meticulous attention to the

⁸ For a description of this process across the book trade: Percy Simpson, *Proof-Reading in the Sixteenth, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1935), 19. For a description specific to music: John Morehen, ‘Thomas Snodham and the Printing of William Byrd’s “Psalmes, Songs and Sonnets” (1611)’, *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 12 (2001), 111.

⁹ John Milsom, ‘Tallis, Byrd and the ‘uncorrected’ copy: some cautionary notes for editors of early music printed from moveable type’, *Music and Letters* 77 (August 1996): 348-367.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 359.

correction of errors and known historical association between the printing process and the composers, the involvement of composers in processes of editing and proofreading cannot be assumed, and musicological scholarship is divided and non-committal with regards to the identity of print house correctors. Examples of the involvement of composers in the correction process are presented here alongside counterexamples where such direct involvement was impossible, and it appears likely that there was a variety of approaches in operation during this period.

Byrd's *Psalmes, Sonets & Songs* (1588) absolved the printer of any errors, with the composer declaring that 'If there happen to be any jarre or dissonance, blame not the Printer, who ... here deliver to thee a perfect and true Coppie', while lamenting that 'it is more easie to finde a fault than to amend it'.¹¹ No such clear claims of proofreading in the printing house were made for Byrd's 1611 sequel, although he did mention his pains taken 'composing and correcting'.¹² Daniel Bamford argued that John Barnard was the proof-reader for his *First Book* on the basis of the printers' musical illiteracy, a suggestion supported by Barnard's description in the collection's preface of 'Collationing, Correcting, revising this that is already done with such wearisome trudging up and downe to the Presse'.¹³ Jonathan Wainwright's suggestion that Walter Porter himself made the manuscript improvements to *Madrigales and Ayres* offers another example of authorial involvement, in this case explicitly at the manuscript correction stage.¹⁴

Book historians more widely cite specific examples of authorial involvement in processes of correction, but maintain more doubt with regards to proof-reading on the whole. Percy Simpson offers evidence for authors and editors such as Jasper Heywood and Ralph Brooke receiving proofs of their work, and even instances where authors must have proofed printed revisions of their work.¹⁵ D. F. Mackenzie's essay 'Printers of the Mind' summarises and mediates between the wide-ranging theories of Fredson Bowers, Charlton Hinman and W. W. Greg about the proofing of Shakespeare's First Folio, highlighting the struggle to reconcile processes of proofing with the search for 'ideal' copy text in cases where such emendations in a posthumous publication were indisputably distanced from authorial intention.¹⁶ Likewise, the proofreading and correction of music must have varied from one situation to another and the composer cannot always have offered the specialist skill necessary to check printed music as it emerged from the press: posthumous publications cannot have been checked by their authors and

¹¹ William Byrd, *Psalmes, Sonets & Songs* (London: Thomas East, 1588), Sig. [A⁴v].

¹² Willaim Byrd, *Psalmes, Songs and Sonnets* (London: Thomas Snodham, 1611), Sig. [A³v].

¹³ Daniel Bamford, 'John Barnard's *First Book of Selected Church Musick*: Genesis, Production and Influence' (PhD diss., University of York, 2009), 224.

¹⁴ Jonathan Wainwright, Introduction to *Walter Porter: Collected Works*, ed. Jonathan Wainwright (Middleton, Wisconsin: A-R Editions, 2017), xv. See Chapter 1 also.

¹⁵ Simpson, *Proof-Reading*, 4, 6.

¹⁶ D. F. Mckenzie, 'Printers of the Mind: Some Notes on Bibliographical Theories and Printing-House Practices', *Studies in Bibliography* 22 (1969): 24

composers living outside London, such as Michael East, may have struggled to provide continuous editorial oversight at the press. The case of the publication of Dowland's *Second Booke*, where Dowland was in Denmark and his part in the whole process is supposed to have ended when his wife sold the manuscript to George Eastland, must have involved other musically literate figures to enable proofreading. Thomas East himself gave evidence in the court case brought against him by Eastland over the *Second Booke* which referred to his 'gatheringe collaconinge and mendinge foure faulte(s) in the copie booke & not known of till the book was fully finished', although Jeremy Smith suggests that these faults, which arose from a pre-print copy created by the composers John Wilbye and Edward Johnson, were exaggerated by East to allow him to charge for the unnecessary labour of correcting them.¹⁷

David Greer's catalogue of inscriptions in printed music can serve as a starting point for detecting where printed music may have been systematically corrected. Besides John Coprario's secular *Songs of Mourning* and earlier editions which fall out of the scope of this thesis, Greer's study identified Byrd's *Psalmes, Songs and Sonnets* (1611) and Robert Tailour's *Sacred Hymns* (1615) as two publications with sacred contents which bear identical corrections in all or a large majority of copies, and therefore presumably were altered by hand in the printing house.¹⁸

The corrections made to Byrd's *Psalmes, Songs and Sonnets* were minor in comparison with some examples from the middle of the century. Morehen documented the insertion of five paste-over cancel slips in this collection, as well as four instances of erasure (where the mistake is effectively scratched off the page), and a couple of handwritten additions to the edition as a last resort where the previous two methods were not possible.¹⁹ The corrector's preference for cancel slips and erasure over the quicker but messier practice of crossing out and rewriting by hand greatly reduces the visual impact of these corrections, and perhaps avoided undermining the reader's confidence in the accuracy of the edition.

Corrections to Tailour's *Sacred Hymns* were fewer still. Greer's detection of systematic emendation is restricted solely to the example of the word 'which' being changed to 'with', with the crossing out of the incorrect word in ink and its handwritten replacement being far more noticeable than the corrections observed by Morehen.²⁰ While Greer was the first scholar to note that this edition had been subjected to this sort of print-house correction, he did not recognise that this was one of only three emendations made by hand. The printers inadvertently placed a superfluous 'z' in the word 'rach'd' (reached) in

¹⁷ Margaret Dowling, 'The Printing of John Dowland's *Second Booke of Songs or Ayres*', *The Library*, 4th Series, 12 (1932): 374. Smith, 41.

¹⁸ Greer, 25.

¹⁹ Morehen, 'Thomas Snodham', 112.

²⁰ Robert Tailour, *Sacred Hymns* (London: Thomas Snodham, 1615) 37. Greer, 25, 72.

Psalm 44, which was subsequently scribbled over.²¹ Of greater consequence is the unnoticed erasure of a note of lute tablature in Psalm 130, which demonstrates that Tailour's publication was subject to musical as well as textual correction.²²

Regarding the aforementioned emendations to Porter's *Madrigales and Ayres* (suggested by Wainwright as work of the composer), identification of whether the corrections were made in the printing house is difficult as the full set of partbooks in the British Library is complemented by only one extant Tenor part in the Folger Shakespeare Library, leaving the other parts without any other exemplar for comparison. Thus, smaller additions in the other parts which are not substantial enough to be conclusively identified as in the composer's hand might be the work of subsequent owners. Moreover, Jonathan Wainwright has shown that the slurs provided by the composer to indicate use of the *trillo* technique are not consistently replicated in both partbooks, with the slur outlining the *trillo* on Sig. [A₃^v] of the British Library's Tenor partbook demonstrating one such example of inconsistency.²³ But, as is shown in the examples of the Lawes brothers' *Choice Psalmes* below, attempts at systematic correction or improvement could easily be compromised by error.

Wainwright lists all these annotations in his critical edition of Porter's music.²⁴ The annotations claimed as Porter's are perhaps better described as additions rather than corrections, for although some rectify errors by the insertion of missing sharps or other detail lacking from the edition as printed, the majority convey additional musical meaning with ties, slurs or indication of ornamentation. However, Wainwright's critical commentary does not include all examples of interference with the edition, particularly where a change was effected by deletion rather than manuscript inscription, and these changes are perhaps less concretely identified as Porter's work. An unrecorded example of seemingly systematic erasure is shown in Figure 4.1, where a minim on 'wee' has been mistakenly printed as a crotchet and the centre of the note head has been hollowed out by scratching away the paper. This erasure, replicated in both surviving copies of the Tenor partbook, can be identified by the rounded space at the centre of the note head, distinct from the square in other minims in the same typeface, and the fact that no ledger line passes through it.

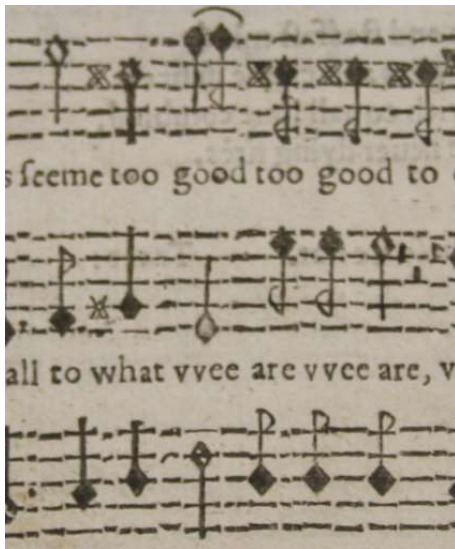
²¹ Tailour, *Sacred Hymns*, 44.

²² This deleted note can be found in the second 'measure' of the second lute part. Ibid., 124.

²³ Wainwright notes that this slur is present only in the British Library copy and includes it in his edition (bar 79 in his edition of 'O Praise the Lord'). Wainwright, *Walter Porter: Collected Works*, xv.

²⁴ Wainwright's description of correction is mostly related to Porter's own involvement, listing 'handwritten annotations and additions' rather than correction by deletion. Ibid.

Figure 4.1: Use of erasure on note head of the minim on word ‘wee’, which can be compared with the printed minim below (present in British Library and Folger Shakespeare Library exemplars). Walter Porter, *Madrigales and Ayres*, (London: William Stansby, 1632), Tenor partbook, Sig A₄^r. British Library, K.8.f.20.



Although the lack of a second extant copy of the relevant partbooks makes it impossible to verify their systematic implementation, similar examples of erasure which are not recorded by Wainwright can be seen in the Canto and Quinto partbooks (Figure 4.2), while a further example of erasure in the tenor partbooks was used in conjunction with a manuscript alteration of pitch (Figure 4.3). Whether these deletions are also Porter’s own work is questionable: this is partly because they concern textual accuracy rather than the additions of musical detail which are more typical of his involvement, partly that there is no way of identifying them as being in Porter’s hand, because the corrector passes over other obvious opportunities to employ erasure when correcting, and because erasure was a skilled technique which required even greater expertise on the thin paper pages of printed books.²⁵ These unobserved corrections possibly testify to the involvement of others in the process of correction, but at the very least highlight the extent to which the edition was corrected as much as it was improved beyond the limitations of printing technology by scribal means.

²⁵ An example of Porter or the edition’s corrector passing over erasure can be seen in the Basso Continuo partbook, on Sig. B₂^r, where a pitch correction from G to B flat makes no attempt to erase the original note. For erasure as a skilled practice: Morehen, ‘Thomas Snodham’, 115.

Figure 4.2: Use of erasure in note heads to correct crotchets to minims. Walter Porter, *Madrigales and Ayres*, Canto Sig. [E₄^v] (left) and Quinto B₂^r (right). British Library, K.8.f.20.

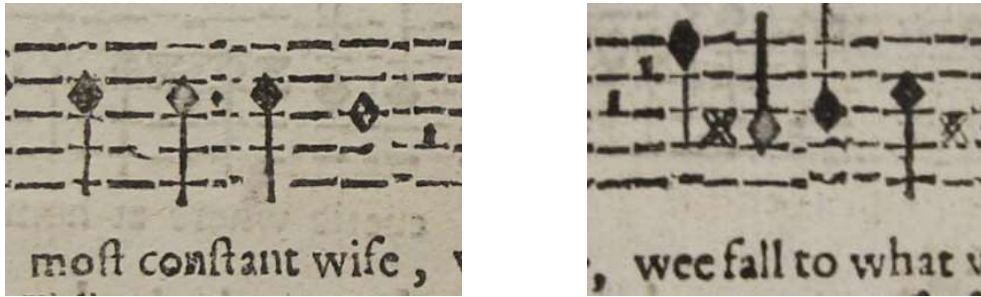
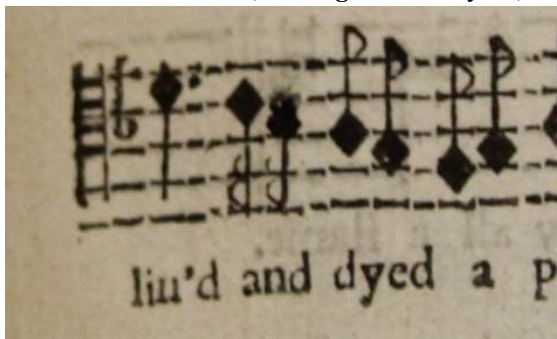


Figure 4.3: Further example of use of erasure in the Tenor book to correct pitch of semiquaver B-flat. Walter Porter, *Madrigales and Ayres*, Tenor Sig. B^r. British Library, K.8.f.20.



Greer's survey of manuscript inscriptions runs to 1640, thus omitting Barnard's *First Book* and the Lawes brothers' *Choice Psalmes*. Daniel Bamford has shown that the former was revised extensively, containing not only large paste-down cancels, but also a significant number of manuscript print-house corrections, including 34 in the Bassus Cantoris partbook alone.²⁶ This chapter therefore looks in some detail at *Choice Psalmes*, detailing the never heretofore recorded manuscript emendations which were made throughout multiple copies of the edition, providing evidence that this publication was also the subject of extensive print-house corrections.²⁷ As such it builds on Wainwright's observation of one widespread manuscript correction of both text and music, which he discovered when editing the 'Divers Elegies' which comprise the middle section of *Choice Psalmes*; he argued that its appearance in large number of copies and in only two hands meant that this annotation was made in the printing house.²⁸ Furthermore, the following examination of these manuscript corrections contributes to debates

²⁶ Bamford, 'Barnard's *First Book*', 226.

²⁷ While manuscript emendations alone are considered in this chapter, the volume appears to have been subject to a small amount of stop-press correction, an example of which can be seen in the removal of the superfluous second 'a' in 'Wiliaam Lawes' on G₃ of Cantus I, which is present in British Library C.1.10 but has been removed for K.3.h.18.

²⁸ Jonathan Wainwright (ed.), *Divers Elegies, set in Musick by sev'rall Friends upon the death of William Lawes* (York: York Early Music Press, 2017), v, n.15.

surrounding the proofreading of early English music and helps challenge some present understandings of this process.

Table 4.1 shows the revisions to *Choice Psalmes*, which are considerably more extensive than those in Byrd's *Psalmes, Songs and Sonnets* and Tailour's *Sacred Hymns*, as identified through their consistent appearance in a selection of seven copies held in London. While a survey of all extant copies of this edition was unfeasible on account of the fact that the remaining copies are now held in several countries, this study takes its lead from John Morehen's suggestion that the presence of identical corrections in several copies might constitute substantial enough grounds for believing that they are contemporaneous with the edition.²⁹ Andrew Robinson's analysis of *Choice Psalmes*, which is broadly textual rather than bibliographical and makes no mention of the manuscript print-house corrections, was based on a similar examination of a limited number of copies.³⁰ The basis for the following comparison was British Library K.3.h.18., which was almost clear of manuscript interference besides the alterations common to the other volumes. However, as can be seen from the list of emendations detailed below, the partbooks of this set omit a small number of corrections consistently found in other copies, and the sporadic omission of occasional corrections across the corpus of copies examined suggests a careless implementation of what may have been intended as a systematic process of emendation. Table 4.1 lists the manuscript corrections in K.3.h.18. and the extent to which they were replicated in other exemplars, as well as some additional manuscript corrections not found in K.3.h.18. which are common among other the other copies.

²⁹ Morehen, 'Thomas Snodham', 116.

³⁰ These are the six London copies besides the three in Oxford and two in Paris: Andrew Robinson, 'Choice Psalmes: A Brother's Memorial', in *William Lawes (1602-1645): Essays on his Life, Times and Work*, ed. Andrew Ashbee (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 194.

Table 4.1: Manuscript emendations in selected copies of Henry and William Lawes's *Choice Psalmes* (London: James Young for Humphrey Mosley, 1648).

Sig.	Description of emendation	BL K.3.h.18.	BL C.110.	BL R.M. 15.f.1 (7)	Senate House [Littleton 5 SR]	RAM Lawes 2	RCM C52	RCM C53
Cantus Primus								
B ^r	Dot following minim C on final line moved up one space in word 'endeavours'.	X			X			Partbook lacking
[B ₄ ^r]	# sign added in first line.	X			X			
C ^v	Pitch alteration for two quavers on fifth line.	X	X		X	X	X	
D ^r	Pitch alteration to final note (redundant tail added in K.3.h.18. only).	X	X		X	X	Other alteration. ³¹	
D ^v	Pitch alteration to final note (redundant tail added in K.3.h.18. only).	X	X		X	X	X	
D ₂ ^r	Pitch alteration to final note of final line.	X	X		X	X	X	
D ₂ ^v	Quaver tail added to C in final line on word 'and'.	X	X		X	X	X	
[D ₃ ^r]	Pitch adjustment for two notes in fourth line.	X	X		X	X	X	
[D ₃ ^v]	Line added to correct final note.	X	X		X	X	X	
[F ₃ ^v]	Various pitch correction, slurring and tails added in sixth line.	X	X		X	X	X	
[G ₄ ^r]	Addition of two quaver tails in third line.	X (Also a third tail and pitch correction)	X		X	X	X	

³¹ This correction is missing, but the sharp sign before final A has been deleted by erasure and added to preceding G).

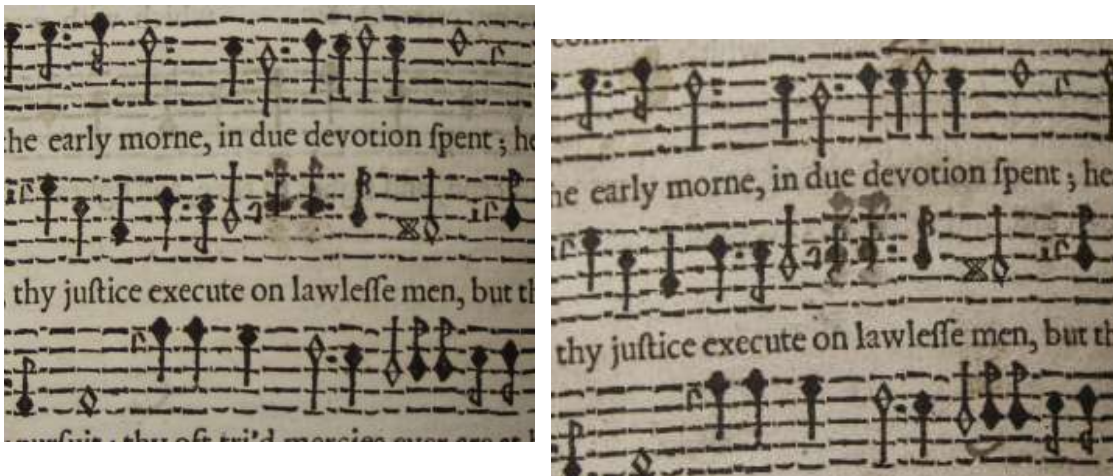
K ₂ ^v	Pitch correction on semibreve 'cry'. (Not in K.3.h.18.).		X		X	X	X	
[L ₃ ^v]	Two missing notes and text added to the end of the fourth line.	X	X		X	X	X	
Cantus Secundus								
M ₂ ^v	Deletion of # sign in front of C in second line and added in MS to previous note.	X			X	Deletion without addition	X	X
N ^r	Erasure of stem on fourth/last B flat of first line.	X	Line through stem		X	X		X
[N ₃ ^v]	Missing B and word 'their' added to the final line	X	B added without word		Word added without note	X	X	X
O ^r	Circle, direct and cross marking a disputed note on sixth line.	X						
[S ₄ ^r]	Two pitch corrections at end of the second line (Not in K.3.h.18).		X		X	X	X	X
T ₃ ^r	Pitch alteration and stem alteration on word 'saints' in third line	X	X		X	X	X	X
[T ₃ ^v]	Missing ledger line added for G in fifth line.	X	X		X	X	X	X
V ^v	Pitch alteration and stem extension on final line. (Not in K.3.h.18).		X		X	X	X	X
V ₂ ^r	Pitch alteration on second line on word 'aide'. (Not in K.3.h.18).		X		X	X	X	X
Bassus								
Y ^v	Pitch correction to first note.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

Y ₂ ^v	Pitch alteration and added slur in first line.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
[Y ₃ ^r]	Pitch alteration in second line.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
[Y ₄ ^r]	Two sharps added in second line and two deleted.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
[Y ₄ ^v]	Two key signatures added to third line to rectify mistake.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
[Aa ₄ ^v]	Two notes in third line lowered and missing quaver tail added to second.	X	Page missing	X	X	X	X	X
Cc ₂ ^v	Pitch alteration in first line.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Dd ₂ ^r	Missing notes and text added to end of third line.	X	X	X	X		X	X
[Dd ₃ ^r]	Rests added to third line and pitch correction in fourth line.	X	X		X		Rests added but no correction	X
[Ee ₃ ^r]	Pitch alteration in first line.	X	X	X	X		X	X
Ff ₂ ^v	Pitch alteration in second line.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Gg ^r	Pitch alteration in fifth line.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
[Hh ₃ ^r]	# sign added in fifth line.	X	X	X	X	X		X
Thorow Base								
[Kk ₄ ^v]	Quaver G in third line deleted/erased.	X	X		X	X	X	Partbook lacking
[Ll ₂ ^r]	Text incipit added.	X						
[Nn ₃ ^r]	Pitch alteration in third line.	X	X		X	X	X	
[Nn ₄ ^v]	Breve converted to semibreve in first line.	X	X			X	X	
Oo ^r	Pitch alteration in second line.	X	X			X	X	

The inconsistency between the copies, which might not be expected of systematic correction, can be defined by grouping into two categories. As this list records the annotations against the mostly unmarked copy in the British Library rather than any hypothetically ‘perfect’ copy, it includes a small number of annotations which were evidently not part of the initial corrections, such as the corrected note on Sig. O^r which was replicated nowhere else.³² However Table 4.1 also shows single instances of non-correction in copies which are otherwise amended, suggesting that the implementation of the correction process was not entirely thorough or comprehensive. Indeed, the three consecutive missing corrections in the bassus partbook of the Royal Academy of Music copy offer one example where a string of omissions was made in an otherwise corrected copy, as if a corrector lost their place when working from a list of errata.

Figures 4.4 to 4.9 demonstrate the way in which the same corrections were effected in two of the copies held in the British Library, K.3.h.18. and C.110. There are no examples of cancel slips being pasted into the surviving copies, and therefore in most cases where the music or text was incorrectly printed, as opposed to simply lacking, the deletion of the printed error was achieved through an erasure. Figures 4.4, 4.5, 4.6, 4.8 and 4.9 demonstrate the occurrence of this practice, where erasure has invariably been used in the first copy of each; however, Figure 4.6 shows the corrector opting not to delete the incorrectly printed music, while in Figure 4.8 they have also resorted to the faster, but untidier method of ink deletion.

Figure 4.4: Consistent erasure and replication of two quavers a third higher in British Library K.3.h.18. (left) and C.110 (right). Henry Lawes et al, *Choice Psalmes*, Sig. C^v.



³² The survey of the annotations in K.3.h.18. did not record obviously anachronistic slurring or bar lines, but the above list does include all revisions which could be contemporary.

Figure 4.5: Consistent erasure and reapplication of final note a third higher in British Library K.3.h.18. (left) and C.110 (right). Henry Lawes et al, *Choice Psalmes*, Sig. D₂^r.

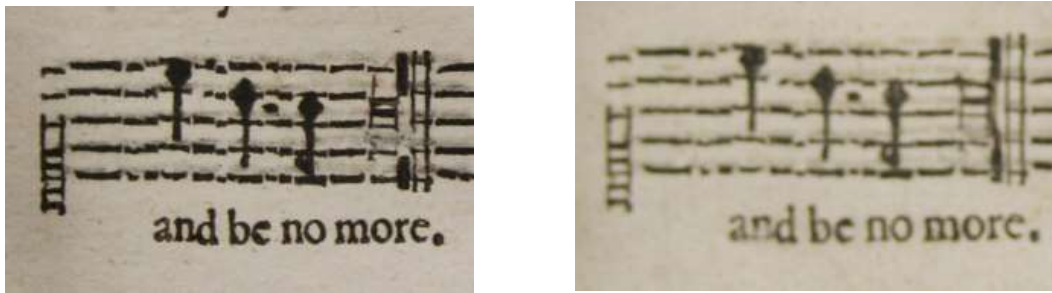


Figure 4.6: Correction of a run of quavers in in British Library K.3.h.18. (above) and C.110. (below). Note that the former also incorporates an element of erasure, and that the introduction of the two 'upper' slurs found in each may have been included by the corrector. Henry Lawes et al, *Choice Psalmes*, Sig. [F₃^v].

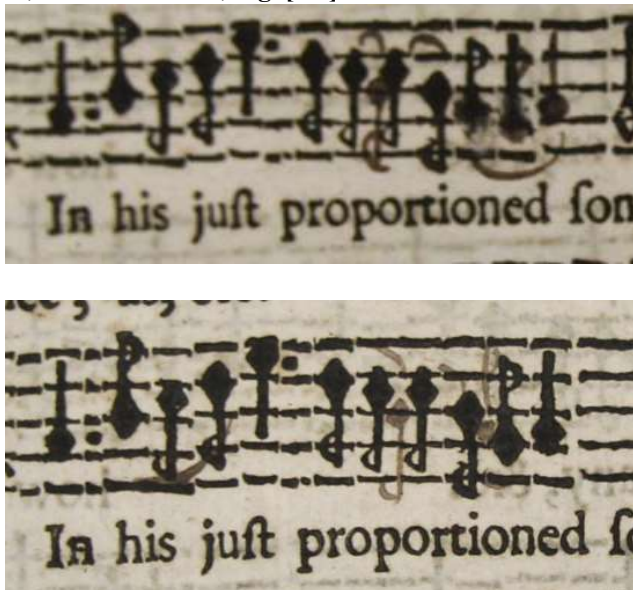
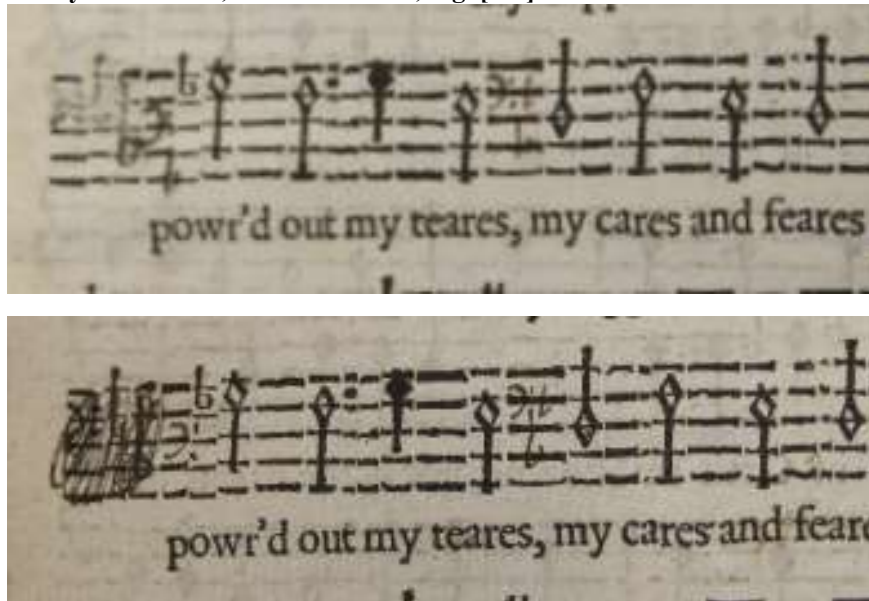


Figure 4.7: Addition of missing text and music in two hands. British Library K.3.h.18. (left) and C.110. (right). Henry Lawes et al, *Choice Psalmes*, Sig. [L₃^v].



Figure 4.8: Alteration of key signatures in British Library K.3.h.18. (above) and C.110. (below). Henry Lawes et al, *Choice Psalmes*, Sig. [Y⁴].



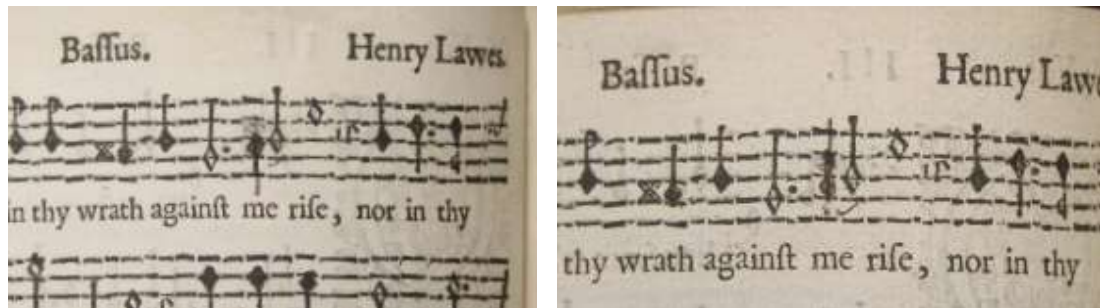
As stated above, Wainwright identifies two hands responsible for the correction he identified on Sig. Dd₂^r of the Bassus partbook, which are perhaps reflected in the two hands providing additional musical material in Figure 4.7. Here, the former hand seen in K.3.h.18. seeks to imitate the founts used to print both underlay and music in the edition, while the latter hand of C.110. supplies the text in the corrector's own script, but still makes some effort to imitate the diamond-shaped musical notation.

It was noted by Andrew Robinson that a higher than average proportion of the annotations in the surviving copies are contained in the pieces by Henry Lawes, although Robinson was seemingly unaware that some of these corrections were made in the printing house.³³ Discounting the four corrections from K.3.h.18. which are not widely replicated (Sigs. B^r, [B₄^r], O^r, Ll₂^r), and including the corrections common to other exemplars, a total of 20 out of 36 of the supposedly print-house corrections are found in the opening pieces by Henry Lawes. While not overwhelmingly weighted towards this section, this represents a stronger than average representation in Henry Lawes's compositions when the fact that they comprise about a third of the music is taken into consideration. This margin is probably too slight to be taken as substantial proof that this composer, who had survived his brother and played a clear part in compiling the edition, was involved in the proof-reading process and was therefore more sensitive to the errors in his own compositions, although it does strengthen this hypothesis. Furthermore, some amendments suggest that the corrector was knowledgeable of musical performance, as various corrections of pitch are supplemented by additional musical details. Figure 4.9 displays one such correction where a misprinted *c* that had to be lowered by a third was also always corrected to include

³³ Robinson, 'Brother's memorial', 189.

a slur to clarify the anacrusial underlay, suggesting an element of musical insight beyond that probable in by a printer making corrections from a list of errata.

Figure 4.9: Pitch correction in British Library K.3.h.18. (left) and C.110. (right). Henry Lawes et al, *Choice Psalmes*, Bassus, Sig. Y₂^v.



Alongside the inconsistent application of these corrections stands the complete lack of any correcting in some partbooks. British Library R.M.15.f.1.(7) lacks corrections in all parts besides the Bassus (perhaps suggesting it was formerly from another original set of parts). In many cases it would appear that Wainwright's list of extant copies containing the correction in the Bassus partbook can be taken as a list of the sets of partbooks which have been corrected throughout.³⁴ However, the fact that British Library R.M.15.f.1. (7) should feature in Wainwright's list when only the Bassus partbook has been corrected highlights the hazard of taking his list of corrected copies as representative of whether other corrections are present. Subsequent examination of all remaining copies would be necessary to ascertain whether all copies on Wainwright's list have been corrected throughout, and indeed whether the copies not listed by Wainwright for containing this Bassus amendment have been corrected in other places.

The total absence of corrections in some partbooks and the near comprehensive application of them in others would suggest that copies of *Choice Psalmes* were corrected after they were collated or bound. This is contrary to general assumption in bibliographical scholarship that print-house corrections were made before collation, although the corrections in *Choice Psalmes* have a striking contemporary counterpart in the Barnard's *First Book*: Bamford has shown that the British Library's copy of the Bassus Cantoris and Lichfield Cathedral's copy of the Tenor Decani partbooks are uncorrected in their entirety, prompting his theory that Barnard was not involved in the proof-reading until a later stage and perhaps that the book was rushed to sale in the rapidly changing political climate.³⁵ The publication of *Choice Psalmes* in an equally troublesome time and the collection's strong associations with Charles I might have prompted similar haste, but it should also be taken into consideration that the edition names

³⁴ For this list: Wainwright, *Divers Elegies*, v, n.15.

³⁵ Bamford, 'Barnard's *First Book*', 231.

multiple booksellers on the title page as selling the edition, and it might have been the case that these traders had differing standards or values of textual accuracy and the visual appearance of the publication.

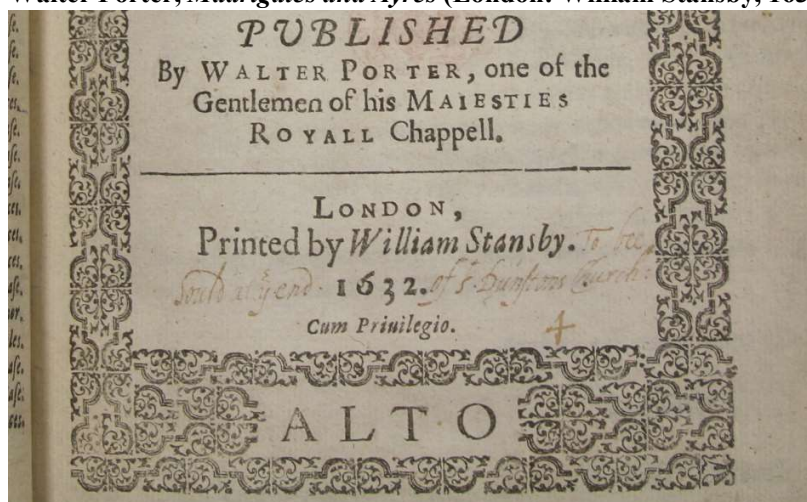
This analysis of manuscript emendation has thus offered a range of new evidence to inform understanding of correction practices. While the unilateral involvement of composers in proofreading has been questioned, the cases of Porter's *Madrigales* and the Lawes brothers' *Choice Psalmes* both offer examples where processes of correction which likely involved the composer were combined with the inclusion of new material to supplement the printed text. Thus, these systematic additions of slurs to indicate the *trillo* or elucidate complicated underlay perhaps reflect the tensions described in Chapter 1 between changing musical styles and the limitations of printing technology. The examination of patterns of correction in *Choice Psalmes* has concluded that these copies were corrected in the printing house after collation, running contrary to the understanding described above of the correction process promoted by Milsom's study of *Cantiones ... sacrae*, which observed a random dispersal of corrected sheets throughout all surviving copies. While standards of proofreading in *Cantiones ... sacrae* were unusually high, the greater reliance on crude manuscript correction in these later examples outlined above perhaps also ties this chapter's evidence into Chapter 1's arguments pertaining to declining technical skill and publishing expertise: just as John Barnard and Henry Lawes had never before worked with publishing houses, their printers, Edward Griffin and James Young, had no previous experience of printing music. The result described here thus suggests not only a reliance on less refined methods of correction, but also points to their inconsistent application.

Purchase and ownership

While print-house corrections represent an element of book culture closely aligned to processes of production, later manuscript inscriptions found in printed music books document the history of their sale, circulation and use. This section continues to draw on manuscript inscriptions to trace some of the earliest movements of printed music as it left the press: briefly considering the annotations which offer insight into retail and purchase, this discussion examines evidence of initial or early owners to explore the reception of printed music and cast light on aspects of transmission and use. Building on the catalogue of annotations assembled by Greer, this section offers a thematic analysis of such inscriptions and their purposes. Besides the social profile of the owners of printed music books, this section considers the giving of books as gifts, the collections they formed, the acquisition of printed music by women, the geographical spread of owners, and the beginnings of institutional ownership.

Whereas print-house corrections illustrate the role of those involved in the printing process, other manuscript inscriptions testify to the activities of booksellers or independent publishers, illuminating the transactions which underpinned the publication of printed music. One notable example can be seen in the aforementioned British Library copy of Porter's *Madrigales and Ayres* (K.8.f.20.), where the composer, who probably acted as a self-publisher, annotated the title pages of the partbooks to indicate a point of sale not otherwise printed on the title page (Figure 4.10).³⁶ Greer and Wainwright alike noted that four of these partbooks bear the manuscript addition of 'To bee sould at y^e end of St. Dunstons Church:' in the same position on the title page under the printed words 'Printed by William Stansby'.³⁷

Figure 4.10: Manuscript addition of location of sale added to frontispiece of Alto partbook. Walter Porter, *Madrigales and Ayres* (London: William Stansby, 1632). British Library, K.8.f.20.



³⁶ Wainwright, *Walter Porter: Collected Works*, xv.

³⁷ Present on Canto, Alto, Tenor and Quinto partbooks. Greer, 94. Wainwright, *Walter Porter: Collected Works*, 241.

This inscription probably does not refer to Walter Porter's home, for although the location of his house has never been recorded, it would seem likely that a self-publishing composer would have taken the opportunity to have the location of their house on the title page if that were the only place it were intended to be sold. Instead, this annotation more plausibly refers to a separate bookseller's premises, and possibly testifies to continued activity of the shareholders in the Music Stock in between the release of new editions by the two music publishing partnerships. As described in Chapter 2, John Browne operated his bookshop from the churchyard of St Dunstan's-in-the-West, so this location might refer to continued operation of a shop by his widow Alice, or perhaps early involvement in that business of nearby Richard Hawkins. Hence, this example may testify to a self-publishing composer employing or engaging a bookseller as a third party agent tasked with selling copies on a contractual basis on his behalf, or that Porter sold off stock to retailers. Regardless of the precise identity of the bookseller or their contractual arrangement as implied here, this annotation reflects the way in which the financial arrangements surrounding the sale and retail of printed music might be uncertain at the time of printing. This manuscript inscription describing a point of sale is the only such extant annotation of its kind to be listed in Greer's survey, although it might testify to more prevalent practices in the sale of printed music.

Handwritten prices appear on many printed music books, although it is broadly uncertain that these figures relate to initial sales of new copies. While Greer noted that these prices equate roughly to those recorded in the Cavendish family's accounts (as transcribed by David Price) and the hypothetical prices suggested by Tessa Murray which were derived from the number of sheets, his own description of these figures was matched with some scepticism that such marks were worthy of interpretation.³⁸ However, it is perhaps important to note that no music in the early Stuart era bore printed prices, and while this might in part be because such a valuation might appear distasteful to an aristocratic dedicatee or devalue the cultural capital of these editions among socially-aspiring bourgeoisie musical enthusiasts, their absence no doubt reflects the need among stationers and other publishers to sell printed music at different prices to different clients and in both bound and unbound states (as was the norm in other sectors of the book trade). The absence of printed prices on music is in keeping with the rest of the book trade, and manuscript prices are unlikely to be the work of booksellers because they are relatively uncommon and there is no evidence of their systematic use. By contrast, some owners consistently recorded the prices they paid for books or estimated their worth, with Thomas Hamond's tractated copy of the Lassus *Receuil* and Tallis and Byrd *Cantiones ...sacrae* offering one example of consistent noting of prices when buying separate books in the years 1635 and 1652.³⁹

³⁸ Greer, 39. David C. Price, *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1981), 113. Tessa Murray, *Thomas Morley, Elizabethan Music Publisher* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2014), 104.

³⁹ Greer, 39.

Whereas these manuscript inscriptions testify to commercial purchases, others show that owners acquired music books as gifts. Although it seems likely that most donors bought the printed editions in the first place, some music books were given directly by composers or figures otherwise associated with the publication of the book, and these physical offerings from printed music's creators can be aligned with the symbolic offering made in the act of dedication (see Chapter 3). Gift-giving has been argued to be ubiquitous across early modern society, and following the anthropologist Marcel Mauss, scholars such as Natalie Zemon Davis have argued that many gifts were underpinned by social expectations of reciprocity.⁴⁰ While gift-giving crossed social boundaries, obligations of reciprocal exchange could also reinforce partitions between classes by bringing together people of similar financial means and status. In a study of Lutheran Germany, Matthew Laube has recently considered the various ways in which music was offered as gifts in scenarios ranging from the presentation of manuscripts and musical works before patrons to the friendly exchanges commemorating friendship between amateur musicians which are evidenced by manuscript inscriptions in books.⁴¹

These arguments surrounding gifts and social boundaries or commemorative culture are an essential context for dedications and presentation copies. Greer identifies presentation copies from this period which are marked with additional manuscript material, as seen in the British Library copy of Tobias Hume's *Poeticall Musicke*, and the fact that composers considered such additions necessary where a printed dedication was already present furthers Chapter 3's arguments that printed letters of dedication were as much about public spectacle and attracting the attention of readers as they were about communicating with the patron.⁴² Greer also observes the initials of two of the several dedicatees of Ravenscroft's *A Briefe Discourse* on surviving copies, and describes one containing an additional manuscript letter to the recipient.⁴³ This is easily comparable with Walter Porter's practice of writing individual letters of dedication into the copies of his *Mottets of Two Voyces* he sent to separate dedicatees of the different pieces, identified by Jonathan Wainwright through the multiple surviving dedication copies.⁴⁴ These copies which were altered by hand thus formed the physical basis of the gift, with handwritten additions personalising the symbolic offering of the publication. Given that the names of the individual dedicatees were printed in the volume, these manuscript appropriations might have been intended from the outset of the production of the printed edition, reflecting the inability of the printed book to serve as the dedicatory copy to each of these individuals in this way. By contrast, Greer

⁴⁰ Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 200), 4.

⁴¹ Matthew Laube, 'Materializing Music in the Lutheran Home', *Past and Present* 234 (2017): 135

⁴² Greer, 13. Tobias Hume, *Captain Hume's Poeticall Musicke* (London: John Windet, 1607), Sig. [A₁^v]. (Annotation in British Library, K.2.g.11.). Although this copy is dedicated to Queen Anne, others, such as Folger Shakespeare Library STC 13957.2 were dedicated to the Earl of Arundel.

⁴³ Greer, 14.

⁴⁴ Wainwright, *Walter Porter: Collected Works*, xii.

notes the existence of possible presentation copies of *Musica transalpina*, Gibbons's *First Set of Madrigals* and Peerson's *Mottects or Grave Chamber Musique* which were not the subject of manuscript inscription, but which can be identified from binding associated with their owners.⁴⁵ The reference in the Duke of Buckingham's accounts to Thomas Vautor as the 'musition that presented a sett of bookes' gives the impression that physical copies were offered as gifts in person.⁴⁶

A more substantial physical gift of sacred music is the British Library copy of Leighton's *Teares or Lamentacions*, claimed by Alec Hyatt King to be a presentation copy given to Charles I as Prince of Wales on the basis of the extravagant vellum binding which bears the prince's arms embossed and gilded on each cover (Figure 4.11).⁴⁷ However, this binding was probably added after its presentation, as other books from Charles's collection have similar bindings, such as Diego Ufano's *Artillerie* published in the same year as Leighton's *Teares or Lamentacions*.⁴⁸ In addition, this exemplar bears unique manuscript decoration, with ruled borders surrounding the music and text of this edition; this is not known to be matched in other volumes from Charles's collection and was more likely added before the volume's presentation. While some corrections made to the music appear to have been made to multiple surviving copies, the unique nature of the decoration in Charles's copy suggests an attempt to enhance the appearance and status of the presentation copy as a physical gift to parallel the dedicatory offering of the volume's contents.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ Greer, 15. London Victoria and Albert Museum Clemm SS20, Oxford Christ Church Mus. 708-12, New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library M1549.5 P375.

⁴⁶ Price, *Patrons and Musicians*, 185. See Chapter 3.

⁴⁷ Alec Hyatt King, 'The Royal Taste' in *The Musical Times* Vol. 118, no 1612 (1977): 461-463.

⁴⁸ Charles's copy of Ufano's book is at British Library C.47.i.12.

⁴⁹ Some corrections are consistent between Folger Shakespeare Library STC 15434 and Royal College of Music D29, but are not present in British Library K.1.i.9.

Figure 4.11: Binding and manuscript decoration to frontispiece of presentation copy. William Leighton, *Teares or Lamentacions* (London: William Stansby, 1614). British Library, K.1.i.9.



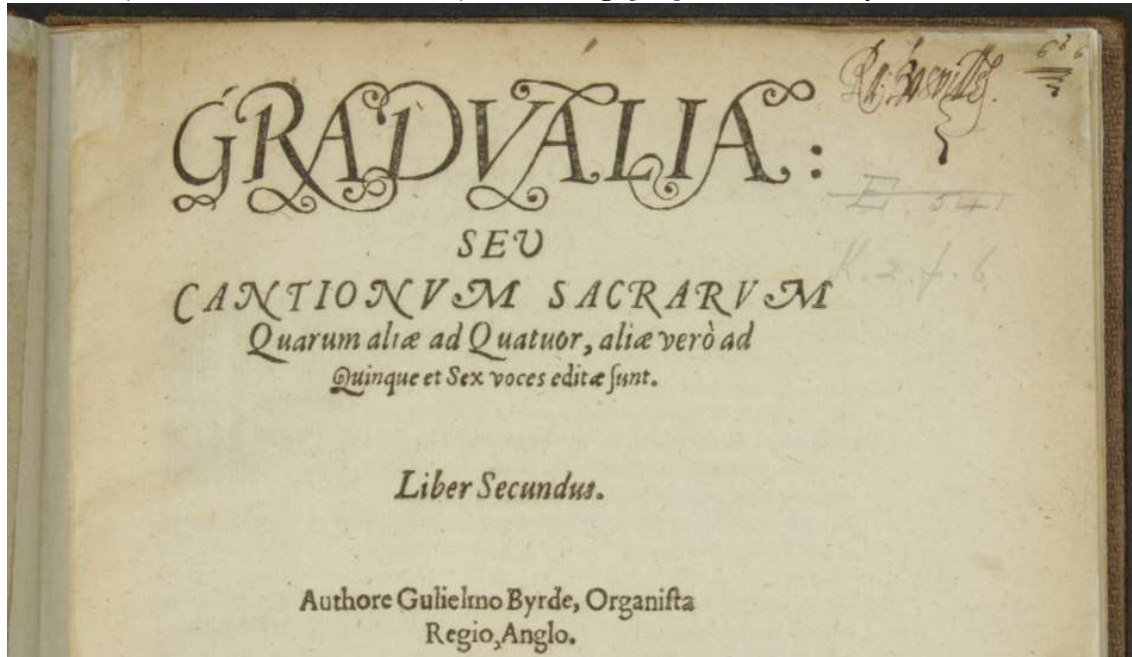
Greer also comments on the well-known inscription made by Ralph Bosville on *Gradualia ... liber secundus*, which reads ‘Mr William Byrd his last sett of songs geven me by him. Feb. 1607’, suggesting the possibility of a gift from the composer to this country gentleman who had been knighted at the time of James I’s accession and pursued a military career.⁵⁰ This inscription testifies to the ways in which some books were perhaps more likely to have been circulated through composers’ networks rather than through commercial channels; however, this set of partbooks might just as plausibly have been bought from Byrd as donated, as the price of 6s6d appears to be in the same hand as Bosville’s adjacent signature, suggesting an ambiguity over Bosville’s description of the books being ‘geven’ (Figure 4.12).⁵¹ Likewise, this annotation might show how some of Byrd’s music circulated among small, private groups who were not necessarily Catholic, but had personal connections with the composer: whether this gift or purchase had any religious undertones is uncertain as Bosville’s religious inclinations are the subject of some debate, for although one of his relatives was a Roman Catholic

⁵⁰ British Library K.2.f.6., Bassus partbook. Greer, 15. John Harley, *The World of William Byrd: Musicians Merchants and Magnates* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 186.

⁵¹ The ‘6’ in the price matches that in the date on the flyleaf, while the price is underlined in a similar manner to the signature. Greer does not record this price, see: Harley, *World of William Byrd*, 143.

priest, there is no evidence that he was a recusant himself.⁵² Nonetheless, Bosville is well-documented as a musical enthusiast, and in this context of composers' musical networks facilitating book distribution, Bosville's rather neutral description of this clandestine liturgical resource as a 'sett of songs' suggests an apathy towards its religious significance and that Byrd's gift to Bosville was likely viewed by the recipient as a purely musical one rather than a commemoration of common religious beliefs.

Figure 4.12: Bosville's signature and recorded price on William Byrd, *Gradualia ... liber secundus* (London: Thomas East, 1607), Bassus, Sig. [A₁^r]. British Library, K.2.f.6.



David Greer considers only presentation copies and those emanating from composers as gifts, but his catalogue of manuscript inscriptions testifies to a much greater role of printed music in gift culture. Some gifts were more likely intended to encourage religious devotion or cement family relationships, such as the copy of Tailour's *Sacred Hymns* presented by Nicholas Farrar of Little Gidding to his niece.⁵³ The inscription on this copy reads 'Anna Collett hir Booke given/ by hir most Deare Unckle/ M^r Nicholas Farrar/ 1626', demonstrating her desire not only to mark the book with a sign of her ownership, but also to record her uncle's generosity.⁵⁴ Tailour's psalm settings perhaps have less scope to be interpreted as being given purely out of musical interest in the contents, particularly given the extensive textual commentaries accompanying each psalm setting, and the relative unlikelihood of an explicitly devotional music book with English words being used for non-vocal or textless performance

⁵² Ibid., 187.

⁵³ Glasgow University, Ewing Collection, G.x.9.

⁵⁴ Greer, 77.

(a more common practice with Latin or other foreign language collections).⁵⁵ That this gift was intended to encourage devotion is suggested by the establishment at that time of the Ferrar family's religious community of Little Gidding, where Nicholas Ferrar, ordained by William Laud this same year, would later lead the female members of his family in song at services of daily prayer.⁵⁶

Greer's survey demonstrates Anna Collet's name to be one of relatively few female names added to printed music books in the early Stuart era, with the owners recorded being overwhelmingly male. However, it is interesting to note Greer's identification of another female owner of Tailour's *Sacred Hymns*, Mary Sandys, perhaps suggesting that some music books of a devotional nature were deemed more appropriate for the ownership of women, as was the case in general patterns of book ownership among early modern English women.⁵⁷ Conversely, early owners of seventeenth-century lute books include Sarah Clarke, who owned Hume's *First Part of Ayres*, and Susan Risly, who owned a copy of Dowland's *First Book*, both entirely secular in nature.⁵⁸ The social connotations of women owning lute books were ambiguous, for while there were models in the form of aristocratic ladies for female lute-playing as a respectable practice, it could also be denigrated as something dishonourable and lascivious through its metaphorical associations with prostitution.⁵⁹

The predominantly male ownership of books as implied by the manuscript inscriptions is proportionally mirrored in the gender base for dedications: women were the dedicatees of relatively few music books and of none of a devotional character, which were often dedicated to male clerical or religious figures (as described in Chapter 3). By contrast, physical gifts of sacred music to women might have been seen as encouraging devotion, making women the recipients of theological or devotional instruction and reinforcing male or paternal roles as religious figureheads within the family.⁶⁰ This notion of gift-giving as a form of religious encouragement from older male relatives would seem likely in Ferrar's case, who had become his family's head at this time as well as entering holy orders.

⁵⁵ See chapter 5 for discussion of 'dittied' performance.

⁵⁶ The 1641 pamphlet *The Arminian Nunnery* describes how a visitor to Little Gidding observed that Ferrar 'trolled out the Letanie' and describes 'lip-labour or trolling out the Letanie foure times a day'. [s.n.], *The Arminian Nunnery*, (London: Thomas Underhill, 1641), 6, 9.

⁵⁷ Greer, 162. University of Illinois Library 789.9 T 136S Copy 1. On female book ownership being predominantly, although not exclusively centred on religious books: Edith Snook, *Women, Reading and the Cultural Politics of Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 17.

⁵⁸ Greer is unable to identify Susan Risly, suggesting it could be a shortened form of Wriothseley. Greer, 118, 185. For a possible identification: Edwin H. Risley, *Risley Family History* (New York: The Grafton Press, 1909), 27.

⁵⁹ Julia Craig-McFeely, 'The Signifying Serpent: Seduction by Cultural Stereotype in Seventeenth-Century England', in *Music, Sensation and Sensuality*, ed. Linda Phyllis Austern (London: Routledge, 2002), 300.

⁶⁰ Ian Green describes the role of men in leading families in prayer, with particular reference to clerical households: Ian Green, 'Varieties of Domestic Devotion in Early Modern English Protestantism', in *Private and Domestic Devotion in Early Modern Britain*, eds. Jessica Martin and Alec Ryrie (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012) 11.

A copy of Ravenscroft's *Discourse* owned by Elizabeth Ludlow has a slightly complicated record ownership which perhaps reflects the uncertain extent to which books and other private property were independently owned by married women. Greer records the fact that this book bears the inscriptions 'To y^e right worpp^{ll} my/ singular good Lady/ y^e Lady Elizabeth/ Ludlowe' and 'Elizabeth Ludlowe/ her booke', suggesting that this book became the property of a married woman through presentation as a gift by her husband.⁶¹ However, her husband George Ludlow also added his signature to the copy, which gives the impression that the nominal gift of this book to his wife never put it beyond his control. This gift can be seen against a broader background of joint ownership of music books by families or married couples, which is also reflected in some joint dedications of secular music: besides the wedding gift of *Parthenia* to Frederick V and Princess Elizabeth, John Attey's *First Booke of Ayres* was offered to the Earl and Countess of Bridgewater, while Campion's *Description of a Maske* (1607) is offered to Lord and Lady Hayes.⁶² Familial or marital ownership of music books is perhaps also attested to by Price's description of the collective purchase of music books by the Cavendish family when headed by the dowager Bess of Hardwick, while the fictional banquet described at the beginning of Morley's *Plaine and Easie Introduction* sees the mistress of the house distributing the music books after dinner, implying typical arrangements of mutual control or access to these books in families.⁶³

Despite the music publishing trade's centralised location in London, another trend which can be deduced from Greer's catalogue is that inscriptions on printed music demonstrate ownership both in the capital, the provinces, and moving between the two. Annotations made on music books by the landed gentleman Sir Charles Somerset (1587/8-1665) suggest these copies might have reached his home in Monmouthshire, although an inventory of 1622 shows that these books were kept at that time in his family's London home.⁶⁴ Professional musicians in London like William Heather, a lay clerk at Westminster Abbey and the Chapel Royal, were able to purchase music in person in their home city, although his substantial collection of printed partbooks (described further below) soon found a different home in the new Music School in Oxford.⁶⁵ Whether other members of the gentry with homes in London and the country, such as Ralph Bosville who was active in London and lived in Sevenoaks, kept music in the capital is uncertain, but it cannot be assumed that these books were always kept in one place.⁶⁶

⁶¹ Greer, 145. Newhaven, Yale University Beinecke Library 1975 352.

⁶² While the *Description* has poems to James I and Theophilus Howard, a third poem in this collection to Lord and Lady Hayes celebrating their marriage includes the words 'Accept together, and together view/ This little worke which all belongs to you'. Campion, *Description of a Maske ... Twelfth Night*, Sig. A₃^v.

⁶³ Price, *Patrons and Musicians*, 117. Morley, *Plaine and Easie Introduction*, Sig. B₂^r.

⁶⁴ Michael G. Brennan, 'Sir Charles Somerset's Music Books', *Music and Letters* 4 (1993): 501-518. Greer identifies some copies from this collection by marks of provenance: Greer, 16.

⁶⁵ Heather's music books are listed at: Margaret Crum, 'Early Lists of the Oxford Music School Collection', *Music and Letters* 48 (1967): 24.

⁶⁶ Harley, *World of William Byrd*, 185.

Other provincial collections also appear to have been comprised of London purchases transported by their owners. Bills of sale from Robert Martin show that at least some of the continental books in the music collection of Christopher Hatton III (1605-1670) were acquired in London, and these were likely transferred to his home and library in Kirby Hall in Northamptonshire.⁶⁷ The English printed music in this collection might easily have been acquired in London too given Hatton's connections with the London book trade, while others have been suggested by scholars including Greer to have been presentation copies to the Hatton family.⁶⁸ The presence of a presentation copy for Christopher Hatton II of Gibbons's *First Set of Madrigals* in Christ Church alongside Christopher Hatton III's collection gives credence to the idea that the family's music books from multiple generations were kept together as a library in Kirby Hall, rather than treated as ephemeral.

In other cases, there is a greater likelihood that collections of music books were kept outside London permanently. Conyers D'arcy (1570-1653/4), who is identified by Greer as one of the most prominent collectors of early English printed music, and whose now dispersed collection can be identified by his manuscript signature on the title pages of his music books, was a typical member of the landowning gentry who cultivated musical interests from a rural home in Yorkshire via use of music books which had been printed in London.⁶⁹ His collection included Croce's *Musica sacra* and Amner's *Sacred Hymnes* alongside secular vocal collections from the same period.⁷⁰ How D'arcy acquired these music books while living at Hornby Castle in North Yorkshire is uncertain, and while his admission to Inner Temple in 1593 provides a demonstrable link with London early in his life, all but one of his music books date from after this.⁷¹ Yet it also seems plausible that some of his collection was acquired through provincial retailers like John Foster of York: a slight crossover between D'arcy's collection and Foster's inventory, namely Thomas Weelkes's madrigals and possibly also some English anthologies of Italian madrigals, encourages this possibility, and the fact that the majority of D'arcy's books were not being sold by Foster at the time of the latter's death does not exclude the possibility that he had stocked them previously or was able to source them from London music retailers, with whom he clearly had contact.⁷²

⁶⁷ The possibility that Hatton's music collection was kept here and possibly transported is assessed at: Jonathan P. Wainwright, *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England: Christopher, First Baron Hatton (1605-1670)* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1997), 42.

⁶⁸ Greer, 15.

⁶⁹ D'arcy's role as a music collector was first recognised on account of his eight books in the British Library: Alec Hyatt King, *Some British Collectors of Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), 90. A more detailed account of his collecting was written by Greer with reference to D'arcy's books now held in the Bodleian Library, Folger Shakespeare Library and elsewhere: Greer, 18.

⁷⁰ A table detailing all the books bearing D'arcy's annotations is given at Greer, 19.

⁷¹ John Venn, *Alumni cantabrigiensis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922) part 1, vol. 2, 10.

⁷² Crossover between the inventory of John Foster and D'arcy's library include Thomas Weelkes's *Madrigals* (1598). The 'Two Settes of Italian Songes' described in Foster's inventory might have been *Musica Transalpina* and *Italian Madrigalls Englished*, which were both owned by D'arcy. Greer, 19. Stephanie Carter and Kirsten Gibson, 'Printed Music in the Provinces: Musical Circulation in Seventeenth-Century England and the Case of Newcastle upon Tyne Bookseller William London', *The Library*, 7th Series, 8 (2017): 446.

In the collections of Heather, Somerset, Hatton and D'arcy, music books derived additional significance from the other volumes with which they were kept. Some scholarship of collecting practices, notably that of Susan Pearce, has divided collections into categories such as 'systematic', 'souvenir' and 'fetish', which can be applied to some of the collections observed here: the first of Pearce's categories demonstrates an attempt to collect comprehensively, the second is related to travel and memory, while the third is a collection with as many examples of one sort of thing as possible.⁷³ The extensive unidentified collection of books described by Greer as being marked with a Greek 'sigma' sign, now dispersed across several collections, appears to be an attempt to collect as large a collection of printed music as possible and falls broadly in line with ideas of systematic collecting;⁷⁴ little discrimination of content was made in its assembly, to the degree that it even contains multiple copies of identical partbooks.⁷⁵ Charles Somerset's assembly of music books shows links to 'souvenir' collecting, which Michael Brennan speculated might have been acquired on Somerset's trips to the continent, in the same way that much of the Nonsuch collection brought together by the Earl of Arundel and Lord Lumley had been;⁷⁶ indeed, Somerset's continental music books might even have served as souvenirs of individual performances to display more broadly his connoisseurship of rarefied continental culture. D'arcy exclusively collected English-texted vocal music in partbooks, seemingly with no interest in foreign editions or the considerable number of folio consort music or lute and voice books published in England at this time, and while this perhaps reflects performance preferences rather than 'fetish' collecting of one specific type of object or content, it shows a different attitude from that displayed by the 'sigma' and Somerset collections.

In these different types of collections the meaning of an individual edition like Croce's *Musica sacra*, which is present in each, is entirely different: it is present in the 'sigma' collection because it was available to the collector; it would have complemented Somerset's collection of Italian vocal music; while, to D'arcy the opposite was the case because it met his criterion of being English-texted.⁷⁷ Indeed, none of these possible meanings seems related to the anonymous editor's wish that the publication encourage devotion and that musicians might 'dedicate their divine skill to the service of God'.⁷⁸

⁷³ Susan Pearce, 'Collecting Reconsidered', in *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, ed. Susan Pearce (London: Routledge, 2004): 193-204.

⁷⁴ Greer, 23.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 24.

⁷⁶ Brennan, 'Charles Somerset', 505. John Milsom, 'The Nonsuch Music Library', in *Sundry Sorts of Music Books: Essays on The British Library Collections*, eds. Chris A. Banks, Arthur Searle and Malcolm Tuner (London: The British Library, 1993), 172.

⁷⁷ 'Sigma' copy at University of Illinois IUA 03477, D'arcy's copy held at Washington Library of Congress, M1490 C9 L5 Case.

⁷⁸ This is in the anonymous editor's dedication: Giovanni Croce, *Musica Sacra*, ed. 'R.H.' (London: Thomas East, 1608) [Sig.A₂].

The collections belonging to D'arcy, Hatton, Heather and Somerset all contain a mixture of both sacred and secular music; indeed, no collector is known to have attempted to collect sacred music only. However, the interplay between different publications within one collection is most apparent in tract (or binders') volumes, where multiple editions of music are bound together, typically with each voice-part collated to create composite partbooks in a larger set.⁷⁹ The organisation of different publications into these larger volumes rarely saw any distinction between sacred and secular music, which perhaps implies patterns of joint use in domestic contexts, including recreation, and suggests how little some owners observed the different textual basis for these collections. The practice of organising partbooks into tract volumes has been described by (among others) Kate van Orden, who observes a similar disregard of the boundary between sacred and secular texts in the sixteenth-century French practice of binding together chansons and motets.⁸⁰

Van Orden's general observations on tract volumes mostly concern the physical practicalities of their creation and the subsequent changes in value of the book, hence her focus on them as 'binders' volumes' created by publishers.⁸¹ However, the cultural significance of this sort of anthologising has perhaps been overlooked, both in the sense that the creation of these composite books reflects owners' perceptions of their content and the interrelation of the musical texts they paired, as well as the fact that their creation represents another form of textual appropriation by their owners which might detach them from the expectations of authors and publishers.

Most English sets of tract volumes of partbooks from the early Stuart period are assumed to have been compiled on the initiative of buyers or owners, as suggested by the absence of similar bindings between different tract volumes. However, one example of consistent content across tract volumes which might point towards booksellers putting together sets of partbooks can be seen in the case of two former tract volumes of partbooks which are now broken up but have been identified by David Greer: one on grounds of a continuous series of handwritten page numbers running across nine separate partbooks in the Manchester Public Library, another from a surviving manuscript contents page at the beginning of a British Library copy of Tomkins's *Songs* (K.3.k.7.).⁸² Greer appeared not to notice the remarkably close correspondence between contents, but both volumes contained the same editions of music by Tomkins, Watson, East, Alison, Ward, Lichfield, Pilkington and Byrd in almost identical order. In the absence of extant binders' volumes with similar binding and contents, these two exemplars offer the best insight into the sale of music in batches by booksellers. Although scant, the evidence for these processes of tracting and anthologising has attracted virtually no comment in the English context. Thus,

⁷⁹ On tract or binders' volumes: Kate van Orden, *Materialities: Books, Readers and the Chanson in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 85.

⁸⁰ Van Orden, *Materialities*, 158.

⁸¹ For the effect of binding and anthologising on prices: *Ibid.*, 88.

⁸² Greer, 42, 96.

a couple of examples of the creation of tracted volumes primarily drawn from the libraries of Heather, Somerset and Hatton are here examined to elucidate this practice.

One common practice among owners who had their music books bound into tract volumes was the grouping of one composer's works to make composite collections of their music. Van Orden observes this practice among booksellers in France, particularly where publishers of multiple instalments of a composer's works would also bind the complete series together as a way of increasing the overall worth by creating a sense of 'completeness', or by using the sale of a complete series of a composer's works to raise the appeal of bulk purchase.⁸³ A comparable example of this practice of serialisation in the English context can be seen in the seven successive volumes of Michael East's music. A set of partbooks from Hatton's library contains the first three of East's collections bound together in order, while Charles Somerset's inventory describes the same three editions bound in order, albeit alongside other editions.⁸⁴ A tract volume in William Heather's collection also contains these three publications, which are followed by a copy of his *Sixt Set*.⁸⁵ Although these bindings were not made by the bookseller, they represent the same response to the publisher's commercial strategy of serial publication of a composer's music, and the fact that the first three editions are found here in each case gives credence to the idea that serialised publications were sold together.

Various other tract volumes grouping one composer's music survive from early Stuart England, such as Sir Charles Somerset's copies of the three books of Dowland's songs issued between 1598 and 1602, which were bound together with his copy of *Lachrimae*: these volumes did not appear in Crum's inventory of his music books, but were observed by Greer as having been bound together for Somerset on account of the binding, which bears his initials.⁸⁶ Other tracted volumes mentioned in Somerset's inventory include an anthology dedicated to Morley's publications and a meticulous attempt to curate Byrd's music in one volume, which besides his masses contained *Gradualia*, both books of Latin motets, *Songs of Sundrie Natures* and *Psalmes, Sonets & Songs*, and demonstrates utmost commitment to this collecting practice by including Thomas Watson's *Italian Madrigalls Englished*, presumably incorporated on account of Byrd's two settings of 'This sweet and merry month of May'.⁸⁷ Somerset's

⁸³ For a summary of serial publication of composers' works, see Van Orden, *Materialities*, 12.

⁸⁴ John Milsom's catalogue identifies Christ Church, Music 225-30 as being of Hatton provenance, although Wainwright gives them only 'possibly of Hatton provenance' in his table of the Hatton collection: Christ Church College Library Music Catalogue, by John Milsom and Matthew Phillips, www.library.chch.ox.ac.uk/music/. Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 426. Although not in original binding, the set has been bound together since the early seventeenth century, as evidenced by George Jeffreys's annotation on the front of the Bassus partbook, which lists all three collections: see Milsom catalogue. Brennan, 'Charles Somerset', 511.

⁸⁵ Crum, 'Early Lists', 24.

⁸⁶ Greer, 16. Since Greer's inventory was compiled, this has been moved to Magdalen College Old Library, Arch.D.4.29.

⁸⁷ Brennan, 'Charles Somerset', 512. (Volume no longer extant).

efforts to compile a complete collection of Byrd's compositions were also mirrored in two other dispersed tract volumes identified by Greer, whose contents are now divided in the British Library.⁸⁸

Other tract volumes indicate alternative thematic organisation of music books in the binding process. It was typical to distinguish between the places of origin for music when binding similar volumes, much more so than musical genre, which rarely seems to have been a factor. The collections of Somerset, Hatton and Heather all contained tracted volumes of Italian works which are separated from the equivalent volumes of English compositions in the same genres. Charles Somerset's six volumes of English music were complemented by three volumes comprised almost exclusively of Italian composers' works, a distinction broken only by a smattering of some collections of Peter Philips's editions from Antwerp, who Somerset might have met on the Continent.⁸⁹ The extent to which Hatton's collection has been rebound is uncertain, but some tract volumes of Italian works such as Christ Church Mus. 442-6 were clearly bound together in the early seventeenth century and separated from their English counterparts within the collection;⁹⁰ this particular set contains an annotation by Hatton's musician Stephen Bing which lists the five Venetian partbooks, thus proving their joint provenance.⁹¹ The inventory of Heather's bequest details two large tract volumes of English-texted music, another of Byrd's Latin compositions (seemingly a thematic sub-set in itself), another of Italian music, and a final tract volume of miscellaneous music which, with one exception, was printed in Antwerp by Pierre Phalèse.⁹²

Although scholars such as Kate van Orden describe the motivations for creating tract volumes, and descriptions of individual examples of tract volumes are common in scholarship of publishing and book ownership, tract volumes have a broadly unrecognised significance for the study of music books and texts. Often representing the creation of composite music books or anthologies, which is particularly pertinent when a set of partbooks is broken up such that the constituent parts have a greater physical association with other parts of the same vocal range, their creation involves a largely unrecognised process of anthologising. The examples offered above show that tracting was often driven by content rather than a random assembly of owners' books in durable binding, and this physical reordering of books can be related to the appropriation of texts described by Roger Chartier. The physical appropriation of Croce's *Musica sacra* into tract volumes by Somerset and Heather provides one example of the variant 'readings' or individual textual appropriations of these pieces: to Somerset it

⁸⁸ Greer, 42

⁸⁹ The inventory is reproduced at Brennan, 'Charles Somerset', 510 (Italian volumes from 513).

⁹⁰ Milsom identifies this as the date for the binding in his online catalogue entry for these partbooks.

⁹¹ Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, 33.

⁹² Crum, 'Early Lists', 24. This last volume contains Tallis and Byrd's *Cantiones ... sacrae*, besides chansons by Sweelinck and Verdonck and reprints of Italian madrigals which were all issued by Phalèse: these equate to RISM 1594⁵, 1600⁸, 1575³, P800, 1610¹⁴, M574, F1852. *Ibid.*, 25.

was a book of English vocal music to be kept with English madrigals; to Heather it was a foreign collection to be kept with foreign madrigals and Palestrina motets.⁹³

Regardless of the inclination to bind tract volumes according to content, interspersing of sacred and secular repertoire was seemingly ubiquitous. The presence of religious textual content was a low priority in binding together editions of printed music and entirely secondary to language; indeed, language probably accounts for the few tracted volumes where sacred music was bound together and separated, such as Heather's bound volume of Byrd's motets and *Gradualia*.⁹⁴ This attests to some accepted understandings discussed in Chapter 5 of the lack of distinction in domestic performance between sacred and secular repertoire. Yet, the blurring of sacred and secular in these owners' tracts was not matched by the publishing practices of some stationers, composers and editors, some of whom observed this distinction rigidly: anthologies of William Leighton and John Barnard brought together diverse compositions of many composers with their sacred texts as their unifying characteristic. Likewise, Chapter 5 shows how the editor of Croce's *Musica sacra*, the anonymous 'R.H.' strove to distinguish the sacred compositions he translated into English from secular editions and performance practices.

The above account of owners' marks, collections and tract volumes shows that printed music books were owned overwhelmingly by individuals. David Greer's survey of annotations gives a similar impression of the ownership of music books in the seventeenth century, and although his inventory does not attempt to create a social profile of book owners in this period, the majority of these individuals were members of the gentry and more commonly male. The prominence of individual over institutional ownership of printed music in England at this time is already established: the early catalogues of the Bodleian Library suggest that its intensive collecting of new titles at the beginning of the century seemingly never extended to printed music, and the lack of ecclesiastical ownership of printed polyphony before the Restoration seems evident from study of cathedral archives.⁹⁵ Milsom demonstrated that owners' marks on Tallis and Byrd's *Cantiones ... sacrae* refer only to private individuals rather than clerical institutions, and has observed similar patterns of ownership for Byrd's later publications;⁹⁶ he reinforces his argument that printed sacred music was not owned by most

⁹³ Brennan, 'Charles Somerset', 512. Crum, 'Early Lists', 25.

⁹⁴ Crum, 'Early Lists', 26.

⁹⁵ Absent from the catalogues of the Bodleian described in Chapter 2. Thomas James, *Catalogus universalis librorum in bibliotheca Bodleiana...* (Oxford: John Lichfield and James Short, 1620). Ian Payne's study of ecclesiastical institutions' archives revealed no evidence of the purchase of printed music, although the influence of print on these musical centres is further discussed in this chapter. Ian Payne, *The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music at Cambridge Colleges and Selected English Cathedrals c1547-1646*, (London: Garland Publishing: 1993).

⁹⁶ John Milsom, 'Sacred Songs in the Chamber' in *English Choral Practice*, ed. John Morehen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995): 176.

ecclesiastical institutions for liturgical performance by citing the inability of church choirs of the period to perform music of similar vocal range, length or complexity.⁹⁷

The first concrete evidence of the institutional ownership of early editions of English sacred music is in William Heather's bequest of his collection to the new Music School at the University of Oxford in 1627.⁹⁸ The significance of this benefaction in the history of the printed music book in England has perhaps been overlooked, but it suggests that ownership of printed music by educational institutions preceded ecclesiastical possession in England. Earlier institutional ownership seems plausible in the context of the schoolroom, and this might be demonstrated in future research if some of the private owners named by Greer could be identified as schoolteachers. Links between schoolteachers and printed music are easier to demonstrate with continental editions, as is the case with William Braithwaite, who must have owned a copy of the second edition of *Siren coelestis* (Munich, 1622) on which to base his edition of this publication (see Chapter 5). Likewise, the copy of Cornelius Schuyt's *Il primo libro di madrigali* (Leiden, 1600) which belonged to William Heather appears to have previously belonged to the priest and teacher Thomas Otes, his signature still evident on the titlepages of the Cantus and Bassus parts.⁹⁹ Similar owners of English editions within educational institutions might yet be identified, and this seems the most likely future hope of challenging existing concepts of music books being exclusively owned by private individuals.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 177.

⁹⁸ Crum, 'Early Lists', 23.

⁹⁹ Greer records his name and inscription: Greer, 124. For an identification based on a similar book inscription: Timothy Raylor, *Philosophy, Rhetoric and Thomas Hobbes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 32.

Scribal copying and the influences of printed music

Scribal copying, both into printed music and from printed music, is a central activity by which the legacy of printed music can be judged. Copying serves as a testament to the afterlives of editions of printed music, demonstrating readers' appropriation of books and texts as they wrestled with the printed book's inability to suit the particular needs of all purchasers. Indeed, copying practices offer some of the strongest evidence of the various roles that printed sacred music might play in liturgical, devotional and recreational contexts, with manuscript alteration or reproduction of printed texts crossing the blurred boundaries between these different settings. This section examines copying activity to show how printed music functioned in wider musical culture. Elements of this section mark a departure from some of the more restrictive scholarly opinions which emphasise a polarity of manuscript and print in ecclesiastical musical culture, including Peter le Huray's landmark history which designated all printed editions of sacred music besides Day's *Certaine Notes* and Barnard's *First Book* as 'secular' (in opposition to liturgical) or 'for such "as delighted in music"', and therefore intended for the recreation of amateurs who lacked the contacts or expertise to obtain manuscript copies.¹⁰⁰ Instead, manuscript and printed culture are here examined in light of evidence of their interdependence.

David Greer's systematic study of annotations in printed music exemplars has shown manuscript copying of music onto the blank spaces of printed books to have been an established practice in early modern England, often crossing secular and sacred boundaries implied by the content of editions to introduce interloping music with little relation to that printed. Tallis's and Byrd's *Cantiones ... sacrae* appears to be the printed collection which attracted the most extensive manuscript additions of predominantly secular and English-texted music.¹⁰¹ This volume probably attracted such extensive manuscript copying (Figure 4.13) because blank staves were printed to the end of every page in the edition, regardless of how much of the page had been used, leaving up to seven blank staves at a time when blank printed music paper was a valuable commodity.¹⁰² *Cantiones ... sacrae* therefore serves as a useful precursory example to copying practices of the seventeenth century, not only because the exclusively sacred genre of the printed contents was mostly ignored when further music was added, or even that extant copies are fortuitously abundant to demonstrate the consistency of this practice across a larger sample size than is possible from the early Stuart period, but instead because the copying activity demonstrates the contemporary desire to avoid waste and make use of paper which had been

¹⁰⁰ Peter le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England 1549-1660*, (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1967), 90.

¹⁰¹ Greer lists all markings in extant copies of *Cantiones ... sacrae*, with transcriptions of otherwise unidentifiable music: Greer, 95, 131, 166, 187. Milsom records owners marks, but most annotations are not commented on: John Milsom, introduction to 'Thomas Tallis and William Byrd, Cantiones Sacrae, 1575', *Early English Church Music* 56 (London: Stainer and Bell, for the British Academy, 2014), xxxv.

¹⁰² Seven ruled lines are found on Sig. [G₄^r] of the Contratenor partbook, for example. On the value of printed music paper: John Milsom and Iain Fenlon, "'Ruled Paper Imprinted": Music Paper and Patents in Sixteenth-Century England', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 37 (1984): 141.

paid for. Indeed, this particular instance of printing additional blank staves, possibly out of an awareness of the likelihood of future copying, highlights how the actions of readers could cast influence back on the earlier stages of production. This, together with similar examples presented across this section, offers evidence to reinforce Robert Darnton's idea of a 'communications circuit' of mutual influence among authors, publishers and readers, as opposed to a linear pattern of control following the chronology of book production (see Introduction).

Figure 4.13: Manuscript copying into *Cantiones ... sacrae*, with a piece copied across the blank staves at the end of two separate pieces. Thomas Tallis and William Byrd, *Cantiones ... sacrae* (London: Thomas Vautrollier, 1575), Superius, Sigs.[G⁴]-H'. British Library, K.3.f.9.



Much early seventeenth-century copying into printed books was equally unobservant of a divide between sacred and secular music, and listing each instance of this practice to demonstrate the considerable extent to which copying negated this distinction seems unnecessary. Instead it suffices to moot Conyers D'arcy's collection of music as typical of the way in which printed books might be sympathetically and unsympathetically supplemented with additional repertoire. Occasionally such observations require caution, as books might have been rebound in a way which gives the appearance of music copied onto blank pages of a printed book, whereas collectors or libraries have bound these pages into a volume at a later date. D'arcy's copy of Amner's *Sacred Hymns* serves as one example, being bound together with a manuscript copy he made of Weelkes's *Hosanna to the Son of David* in a manner which implies like-for-like copying of sacred music on blank pages of this devotional collection.¹⁰³ That these manuscript music excerpts (counted as annotations in Greer's survey) are copied onto a different type of paper to the printed book does not necessarily discount their longstanding joint provenance, as booksellers bound blank paper into the back of printed music (see below);¹⁰⁴

¹⁰³ This copy is held in the Bodleian Library, the manuscript pages having been given their own shelfmark (Oxford Bodleian Tenbury MS 309) to distinguish it from the rest of the volume (Oxford Bodleian Tenbury Mus.e.26).

¹⁰⁴ The partbooks are mostly printed on a run of paper with a watermark of the Burgundian arms with the date 1610 (as described in Chapter 1), while the Weelkes manuscript is on paper with a watermark of a pair of columns.

however, the fact that the parts of this manuscript copy are all copied on one page and were not distributed across the separate partbooks of Amner's collection gives the strong impression that this addition was never seen as an extension of the printed parts.¹⁰⁵

The remainder of D'arcy's collection shows a relaxed attitude to the mixing of sacred and secular music. Besides supplementing his copy of Bennet's *Madrigales* with assorted pieces of secular music, D'arcy also copied Byrd's *Look down O Lord* from Leighton's *Teares or Lamentacions*, which now appears only in the Cantus Secundus partbook.¹⁰⁶ Like Tallis and Byrd's *Cantiones ... sacrae*, this edition of 1599 has large numbers of blank staves which might readily be filled with additional music. In another case, D'arcy copied a large number of catches of both a sacred and secular nature into his copy of *Pammelia*, a collection which itself contains catches with both kinds of texts.¹⁰⁷ Here D'arcy introduced additional music which was in keeping with the musical genre of the catch, rather than basing such introductions on an observance of secular or sacred texts. Although this edition lacks the blank staves found elsewhere, it remains well-suited to the introduction of music in its unused spaces, particularly given that the notation of catches would occupy relatively little space and would not require similar spaces to be available in multiple partbooks.

A copy of Tailour's *Sacred Hymns* in the University of Illinois library which was signed by George Iliffe in 1656 saw the expansion of a devotional publication with manuscript music of a similarly pious nature.¹⁰⁸ Additional leaves were added to the beginning and end of this volume to incorporate a large number of simple metrical psalm tunes, and the more certain historical association of the book and the additional leaves is evidenced by the fact that some of the music was also copied onto blank spaces of the original edition such as the back page.¹⁰⁹ This expansion in line with the textual basis of the volume was perhaps intended to provide alternative tunes which were better known to domestic or amateur performers, or to increase the breadth of musical material in a volume which predominantly comprised text and commentary. It was thus distinct from D'arcy's copying activity for being motivated by the book's devotional function rather than musical appreciation. At the end of the manuscript additions are two polyphonic pieces, Edmund Hooper's *Behold it is Christ which was ordained by God* and Byrd's *Lulla, Lullaby, my sweet little baby*;¹¹⁰ although these are not settings of the psalms, the former was a liturgical anthem printed in Barnard's *First Book* and the latter is a devotional song concerning the events in the aftermath of Christ's nativity, such as the Slaughter of the Innocents and Adoration of the Magi. Their addition to this volume, which is explicitly devotional in its original content and in its

¹⁰⁵ Greer, 119.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 170. Washington, Folger Shakespeare Library, STC 1882, Copy 1.

¹⁰⁷ Greer, 99. British Library K.l.e.9.

¹⁰⁸ University of Illinois X 783.9 T136S Copy 2.

¹⁰⁹ Manuscript contents listed at: Greer, 162.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 164.

expanded manuscript form, gives the strong impression that these pieces were intended to be sung in a similar context.

The presence of copying paper bound into printed books has even been traced to initial sales by booksellers. Daniel Bamford's study of Barnard's *First Book* describes sales of this edition at the Restoration, with an itemised bill for Canterbury Cathedral and account book at Westminster Abbey showing that the edition was bound together with ruled paper and sold by John Playford to these institutions from 1660.¹¹¹ Bamford showed that copies of this publication at Gloucester, Hereford and the Bodleian Library were also bound with identical copying paper and argued that they were sold by Playford in the same way, suggesting that his practice of appending ruled music paper, along with binding them and block-stamping the front covers, was intended to maximise their value;¹¹² these actions perhaps reflect Royston Gustavson's ideas about additional value being accrued through every stage in the book's production.¹¹³ The sales of Barnard's *First Book*, which offer atypically rare evidence from the institutional context of purchases and ownership of printed music, show that, in these cases after the Restoration at least, printed music books were sold with the expectation of manuscript expansion from the start. While this might simply reflect the inadequacy of any one printed collection to fulfil the demands of repertoire from England's different choral foundations, it also demonstrates expectations among booksellers and purchasers that volumes of printed music might become a composite resource of printed and manuscript music; this was perhaps particularly likely in the case of Barnard's *First Book*, a printed edition destined to come into contact with the cathedral culture of manuscript copying.

The music which was subsequently copied into volumes of Barnard's *First Book* was in keeping with the liturgical service music and anthems it contained, although the editor's restriction of the contents to the music of deceased composers was not upheld (a distinction elucidated in Chapter 5), marking an appropriation of the book for more functional use.¹¹⁴ One striking element of the copying activities in these volumes is that, as this composite book of manuscript and printed music was created, the perceived integrity of the growing collection as a single entity was typically maintained. This is clearly demonstrated in the case of the Bassus Decani partbook in the British Library, surmised by Bamford to have been purchased by Ripon cathedral at the Restoration, where the printed contents page continued

¹¹¹ Bamford, 'John Barnard's First Book', ii, 281.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 282.

¹¹³ Royston Gustavson, 'Competitive Strategy Dynamics in the German Music Publishing Industry 1530 - 1550', in Birgit Lodes (ed.), *NiveauNischeNimbus: Die Anfänge des Musikdrucks nördlich der Alpen*, (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 2010): 186.

¹¹⁴ Daniel Bamford showed that Barnard's *First Book* was supplemented with liturgical music only. Bamford, 'John Barnard's First Book', ii, 285.

to be expanded by hand as the ruled paper towards the end of the volume was filled, showing a continued interest in maintaining the paratextual elements of the printed book.¹¹⁵

The disparity between the copying activities of Conyers D'arcy, who mixed sacred and secular repertoire freely and expanded books' contents beyond the original scope of the editions he copied into, and these two latter examples of editions of sacred music, which were broadly expanded in line with their contents, is probably attributable to a difference in function. Both Tailour's *Sacred Hymns* and Barnard's *First Book* were published with supporting specific devotional and liturgical musical activities in mind, and the sympathetic manuscript expansions of these printed books bolstered them with more material to meet the same ends; by contrast, Amner's *Sacred Hymns* served no explicit devotional purpose, and would likely have appealed to and been interpreted by musicophilic D'arcy as a collection of music in secular styles for use in the home, in the way that John Morehen suggests the collection was intended.¹¹⁶ That these sympathetic extensions to printed music books more commonly appeared later in the seventeenth century underscores the move described in Chapter 5 from editions which were intended to appear alongside similar books of madrigals or secular songs to books with a stronger devotional character, even if this might only be to inform the expectations of purchasers.

These issues arising from the sometimes ambiguous purposes of printed books of sacred music undoubtedly stem from the historically blurred boundaries between the ways in which sacred music was used in recreational, devotional and liturgical contexts. Alongside Le Huray's delineation of liturgical and 'secular' sources as described above, John Milsom's 'Sacred Songs in the Chamber' has set the tone for much understanding of the performance of sacred polyphony in recreational contexts in the Elizabethan and Jacobean eras.¹¹⁷ However, it is not always acknowledged that Milsom's argument largely concerns the circulation of pre-Reformation Latin service music in the years after the Reformation, and the way in which he outlines the implausibility of performance of Latin polyphony in liturgical contexts, in relation to which he also cites *Cantiones ... sacrae*, is easily conflated with his dismissal of the idea that collectors like Robert Dow and John Sadler had any recusant or religious motivation in collecting this repertoire for their manuscript anthologies. The legacy of these arguments, along with Peter le Huray's classification of all non-liturgical printed music as 'secular', has given rise to a pervading opinion that sacred repertoire in most printed and many manuscript sources was specifically produced for secular domestic recreation only, rather than just the Latin works of the sixteenth century. A case in point is Morehen's assessment of Anmer's *Sacred Hymns*, in which he

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 294. British Library K.7.e.2.

¹¹⁶ John Morehen, 'A Neglected East Anglian Madrigalian Collection of the Jacobean Period', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 11 (1998): 287.

¹¹⁷ Milsom, 'Sacred Songs', 161-179.

describes Edmund Fellowes's assessment of the collection as sacred as mistaken because the music is 'secular' in style and was 'intended for domestic use by skilled amateur musicians'.¹¹⁸

The current thesis does not contest the ideas of Milsom and others regarding the copying of sixteenth-century Latin sacred music. Instead, this study challenges the scholarly attempts of Morehen and Le Huray to suggest that printed music in the early seventeenth century was associated with a purely recreational sphere (termed 'secular' by Le Huray).¹¹⁹ Such an approach is particularly inappropriate in light of the the changing religious culture and practices of the seventeenth century: while the formerly clear-cut distinctions between Protestant and recusant musical circles were gradually eroded, new religious trends divided styles of devotional activity among different factions within the Church of England. Against a backdrop of stronger royal patronage, music publishing from the 1630s increasingly reflected and aspired to court culture, and the sacred repertoire published alluded to more formal devotional activity associated with the Stuart monarchy.

Contemporary literary sources attest to these blurred boundaries between recreational, devotional and liturgical contexts. Although Thomas Morley's description of the motet complains of evidently recreational performances of this music where the words were not sung, he included the anthem in the overarching motet genre and argued that these liturgical compositions, motets being 'properlie a song made for the church', were principally defined by their grave text and contrapuntal writing, and indeed he suggested that their performance in any context drew listeners into a devout and reverent mood.¹²⁰ While Henry Peacham's musical recommendations in *The Compleat Gentleman* were given to guide individuals to make cultural choices to enhance social mobility, he drew a distinction between sacred and secular music in printed collections, as in the case of Byrd, in a way which implied different purposes;¹²¹ his suggestion of Croce's *Musica sacra* as appropriate 'for pietie', for example, suggests suitability for a devotional context.¹²² Even the Puritan John Milton suggested use of sacred music for the building of moral character in *Of Education* (1644), where he commended the 'solemn and divine harmonies' of music for use in an ideal school, a description which might be taken to mean motets in light of Morley's characterisation of this genre as 'grave'.¹²³ Milton especially recommended music set to 'Religious, martiall, or civill ditties', which implies that the texts of sacred music might have been considered an appropriate influence alongside texts encouraging military or civic responsibility, and

¹¹⁸ Morehen, 'Madrigalian Collection', 287.

¹¹⁹ Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, 90.

¹²⁰ Thomas Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke*, (London: Peter Short, 1597), 179.

¹²¹ Henry Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman*, (London: Francis Constable, 1622), 100.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 102.

¹²³ John Milton, *Of Education, To Master Samuel Hartlib*, (s.l.: s.n., [1644]), 7.

that it was not exclusively viewed as being indistinguishable from secular song in the sole performance context of the chamber.¹²⁴

Copying of sacred music out of printed editions reveals these disparate attitudes and suggests varied performance contexts. Manuscript reproduction of printed repertoire is well-documented, with studies such as Craig Monson's *Voices and Viols* giving an impression of the scale of copying of sacred music from printed books. Monson's description of Thomas Myriell's manuscripts illustrates different practices for copying: in the case of his 'Brussels' source for Myriell's copying (MS II.4109), the copyist based almost an entire manuscript on printed books and at times imitated the notation;¹²⁵ with the famous *Tristitiae Remedium* (British Library Add. MSS 29372-7), Myriell worked from a range of sources, both manuscripts and printed editions such as East's *Fourth Set*, from which he directly copied liturgical anthems, as well as adapting the tablebook format for the sixteen pieces taken from Leighton's *Teares or Lamentacions* for his partbook collection.¹²⁶ However, Monson's study is from the outset moulded in Le Huray's binary description of sources as 'liturgical' or 'secular' (with all but two printed sources being secular), and Monson's valuable study including many manuscripts which testify to the porous boundaries between print and manuscript and between recreational, devotional and liturgical repertoire is thus framed as a description of entirely secular manuscript sources which sometimes drew on secular publications.¹²⁷ The remainder of this section challenges the firmness of this divide between supposedly 'liturgical' and 'secular' sources. Beginning with an illustration of the range of attitudes in the copying of sacred music, this section hereafter draws on specific examples which highlight these blurred distinctions between secular, devotional and liturgical source material which are so richly illustrated in the wider musical culture and contemporary literature above.

British Library Add. MS 34800 is another manuscript which was evidently copied from printed books and which demonstrates the extent to which sacred music might be stripped of all its religious significance in the process. Dating from the first half of the seventeenth century, this collection of three partbooks entitled 'Songes of divers Authors' and containing three-part music for viols was clearly copied out of a succession of printed books, including Morley's *Canzonets*, Michael East's *Fifth Set* and Gibbons's *Fantazies*; but besides these secular pieces, some of which were composed for viols, are a series of three-part Latin motets by William Byrd. These are the first four compositions in three voices from *Gradualia ... liber primus*, comprising nineteen different sections which are individually reproduced in this manuscript without their words. These pieces can be clearly seen to have been

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ Craig Monson, *Voices and Viols in England, 1600-1650* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1982), 15.

¹²⁶ Monson, *Voices and Viols*, 15, 24.

¹²⁷ Le Huray's distinction is announced as the basis of Monson's study and remit from the outset: Monson, *Voices and Viols*, 1.

reproduced from the printed edition, as they have no other textual or musical links besides their subsequent appearance in *Gradualia*, and some idiosyncrasies of the printed edition are reproduced in this manuscript copy, such as the unusually antiquated ligatures or the bar lines which are used to separate final sections with a setting of the word ‘Amen’.¹²⁸ Thus, as well as testifying to the heavy and lasting impact that printed editions might have on manuscript culture, this set of partbooks demonstrates the ongoing tradition of copying vocal music in a wordless form suitable for viol or ‘dittied’ performance.

Nonetheless, a range of sacred compositions printed in the first half of the seventeenth century were copied into liturgical manuscripts in this era, and while this chapter makes no attempt to create a list of exact concordances between printed editions and the liturgical manuscripts sharing the same repertoire, it offers some perspectives on the reasons to believe that the latter were occasionally copied from a printed original. These instances of copying from printed editions into manuscripts not only show cross-fertilisation between these two media, but also show how musical repertoire in the confines of a supposedly devotional or recreational publication might transcend the boundary which separated it from the liturgical repertoire.

John Morehen noted in his article on Amner’s *Sacred Hymnes* that four pieces from the collection were copied into the ‘Former Caroline Set’ of partbooks at Peterhouse, Cambridge, and his suggestion must be viewed in light of the fact that he endorses the edition’s claim that the works were ‘newly composed’ on account of the fact that no manuscripts with this repertoire survive from before the 1615 publication date.¹²⁹ The ‘Former Set’ of the so-called Peterhouse Partbooks (Cambridge, Peterhouse MSS 33, 34, 38, 39, 47, 48, 49, copied c.1625-40) testifies to the presence of High Church worship in the college’s chapel under the supervision of the then Master, John Cosin, and the four pieces common to *Sacred Hymnes* appear in direct succession in these sources.¹³⁰ Morehen does not demonstrate the link he perceived between Amner’s *Sacred Hymnes* and the four compositions in the Peterhouse Partbooks through any textual comparison because it does not form part of his bibliographic analysis of the edition.¹³¹ Nonetheless, his conclusion is supported by the fact that these four pieces in the Peterhouse partbooks appear in the same order as they appear in the printed edition, which in conjunction with the similarities between the two sources outlined hereafter, implies that they might have been copied directly.

¹²⁸ An example of both ligatures and ‘Amen’ barlines in *Gloria tibi Domine*: British Library Add. MS 34800 A, f.21^v. These correspond to Byrd, *Gradualia ... liber primus*, Superius Sig. A₁^v (second gathering labelled A).

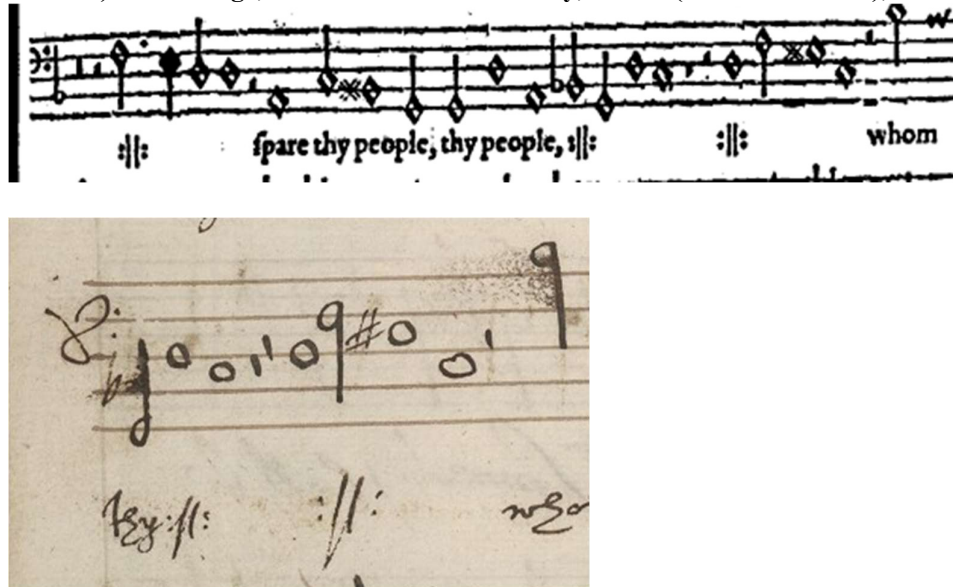
¹²⁹ Morehen, ‘Madrigalian Collection’, 287. The four compositions of John Amner to appear in the ‘Former’ set are ‘Woe is me’, ‘Remember not, Lord, our offences’, ‘Now doth the city sit solitary’, and ‘A stranger here’.

¹³⁰ The only partbook to contain all four is the Cantoris Bass (Peterhouse MS 33), which features these pieces subsequently on ff.150-151.

¹³¹ Morehen, ‘Madrigalian Collection’, 287.

Close inspection of the concordances between the printed edition and the four anthems in the ‘Former’ partbooks show that elements of the transmission reflect some of the irregularities of the printed edition. One clear example of this is a redundant natural (sharp) sign positioned on an E natural of ‘Remember not O Lord our offences’ (Figure 4.14, corresponding to b.26 in John Morehen’s edition), which Morehen notes in the critical commentary as being present on the printed source which formed the basis of his edition.¹³² What is presumably a precautionary accidental is redundant in the sense that it has no recent flat to cancel, and comparison of the printed edition with the Peterhouse manuscript copy shows that the latter source has retained this unnecessary element of the notation.

Figure 4.14: Redundant E natural (sharp) reproduced in the Peterhouse Partbooks from the printed edition. John Amner, *Sacred Hymnes*, Bassus Sig. [C₃'] (copy in British Library, K.3.h.2.). Cambridge, Peterhouse Perne Library, MS 33 (Cantoris Bassus), f.150^v.

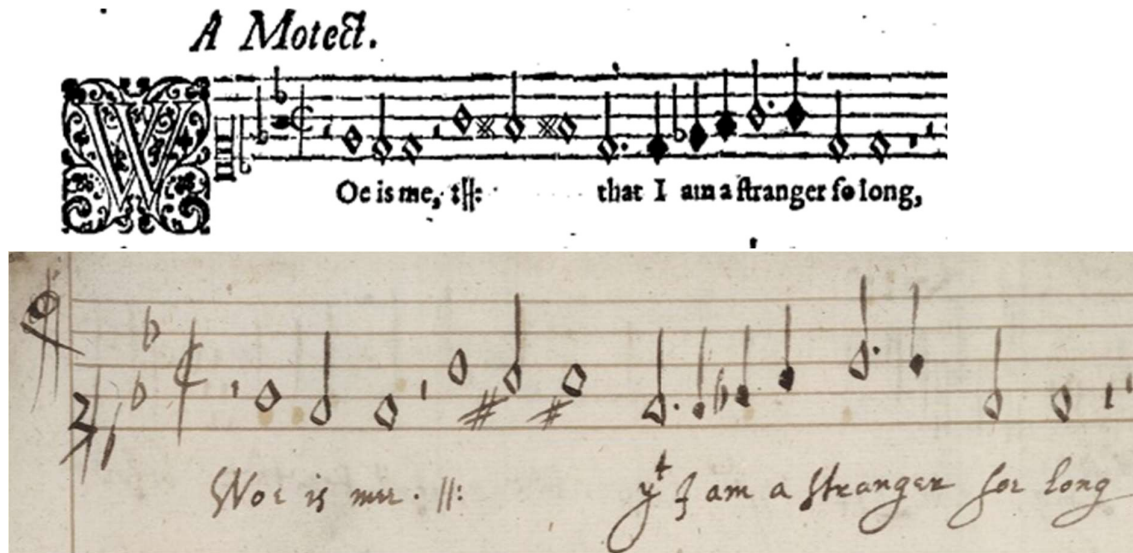


A similar example can be found in the Cantus voice of ‘Woe is me’ (b.4 of Morehen’s edition), also partly arising from uncertain treatment of the submediant in G minor. The printed edition includes multiple accidentals for each F-sharp, as well as another redundant precautionary accidental on the E-flat, which is already stipulated by the key signature (Figure 4.15).¹³³ Both elements of notation are reproduced exactly in the Peterhouse source.

¹³² John Morehen, ‘John Amner: Sacred Hymnes’, *The English Madrigalists* 40 (London: Stainer and Bell, 2000), 141.

¹³³ This redundant E-flat accidental does not appear in the similar rising scales in the Cantus Secundus or Bassus, either in print or manuscript.

Figure 4.15: Unnecessary repetition of sharp signs and redundant E-flat reproduced in the Peterhouse Partbooks from the printed edition. John Amner, *Sacred Hymnes*, Cantus Primus Sig.C2^v. British Library, K.3.h.2. Cambridge, Peterhouse Perne Library, MS 47 (Decani Medius), f.154^v.



The repetition of this irregular orthography, and the fact that the Peterhouse Partbooks contain the Amner anthems in the same order as they appear in the printed edition, give the strong impression that the music was copied directly from print to manuscript.

Amner himself copied the multi-sectional ‘O ye little flock’ (nos. 19-21 in *Sacred Hymnes*) into the other set of Peterhouse Partbooks, the ‘Latter’ set, in the 1630s, but Morehen showed that these were not copied from the printed edition because they transmit the composer’s own later reworking of the piece.¹³⁴ However, the Latter set might instead have ties to the printed editions of Michael East. These partbooks contain four of East’s anthems (‘Blow out the trumpet’, ‘Awake and stand up’, ‘O clap your hands’ and ‘O Lord of whom I do depend’), of which the first two are common to his *Sixt Set* and the second two are common to his *Fourth Set*.¹³⁵ Comparison between the Peterhouse copies of these pieces against the printed text of East’s compositions proves inconclusive, particularly in the absence of a critical modern edition whose critical commentary can be used as a basis for studying errors in transmission. The printed and manuscript texts are broadly concordant, with the latter transmitting some of the idiosyncratic spelling found in the printed edition, such as ‘alarum’ for alarm in *Blow out the*

¹³⁴ Morehen, ‘John Amner: Sacred Hymnes’, vii.

¹³⁵ These pieces are present in all seven surviving vocal partbooks, where they appear in the same order after East’s service in D minor. Peterhouse MSS 35 (ff.84^r-88^v), 36 (ff.F1^r-F5^r), 37 (ff.E5^r-E7^v), 42 (ff.I4^r-K2^v), 43 (ff.L4^v-M1^r), 44 (ff.I5^r-K2^v), 45 (ff.57^r-59^v). In the Decani Tenor and Decani Contratenor partbooks (MSS 35 and 42), these compositions have been interspersed with others copied onto the blank pages in between pieces.

Trumpet.¹³⁶ However, the comparison is undermined by the fact that these pages of the partbooks were inexpertly copied and often inconsistent between themselves: in ‘Awake and Stand Up’, for example, five partbooks share the spelling of ‘quarell’ which is consistent with the printed edition, while two transmit ‘quarill’.¹³⁷ The copy-text for the Peterhouse versions is further brought into question in the case of the last of these pieces, ‘O Lord of whom I do depend’, because the short verse chorus is repeated to the words ‘and in thy church and house of saints sing praise to thee always’, which is not found in the original print. This does not appear to be a different version of the piece, rather the scribe’s repetition of the existing verse section which introduces words reflecting the High Church veneration of the saints at Peterhouse; in this respect it reflects a textual appropriation of the composition, rather than a physical appropriation or customisation to a copy of a printed book.

Anthems of Michael East, which were printed in his *Third Set*, *Fourth Set* and *Sixt Set* are commonly found in other liturgical manuscripts. John Morehen showed considerable crossover between Gloucester Cathedral MS 93, a bassus partbook dating from about 1641, and the printed repertoire of the time, including Michael East’s ‘When Israel came out of Egypt’.¹³⁸ Likewise, three of East’s anthems are found in early seventeenth-century manuscripts in the Durham Cathedral library, and all three of these anthems were part of his printed corpus.¹³⁹ Other sources testify to the continued circulation of these printed compositions besides extant cathedral manuscripts: James Clifford’s *The Divine Services and Anthems...*, a collection of the texts of anthems which were sung in the Chapel Royal and English cathedrals after the Restoration, shows that anthems such as East’s ‘O clap your hands’ and ‘When Israel came out of Egypt’, and Amner’s ‘Remember not, O Lord, our offences’, continued to be performed.¹⁴⁰

While study of the ownership of printed music demonstrates a surprising longevity of circulation and use, study of the interaction between manuscript and print shows that copying culture continued to be influenced by the contents and composition of printed music books of the early Stuart period well into the Restoration. This continued crossover of printed music and manuscript copying is aptly demonstrated in a music book of Durham provenance, British Library Add. MS 30478. This tenor cantoris partbook is a large folio volume with a grangerised title page (taken from an unidentified

¹³⁶ For an example, see Peterhouse MSS 35, f.85^r.

¹³⁷ Decani Medius, Cantoris Medius, Cantoris Tenor, Decani Bass and Cantoris Bass (Peterhouse Perne MSS 36, 37, 43, 44 and 45) read ‘quarrell’, and Decani Contratenor and Decani Tenor (Peterhouse Perne MSS 35 and 42) read ‘quarill’.

¹³⁸ John Morehen, ‘The Gloucester Cathedral Bassus Part-Book MS 93’, *Music and Letters* 63 (1989): 190.

¹³⁹ The three anthems are listed, with the manuscripts in which they appear, in the composer index of Brian Crosby’s catalogue: Brian Crosby, *A Catalogue of Durham Cathedral Music Manuscripts*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 139.

¹⁴⁰ James Clifford, *The Divine Services and Anthems Usually Sung in His Majesties Chapell, and in all Cathedrals and Collegiate Choirs in England and Ireland, The Second Edition, with large Additions* (London: W[illiam]. G[odbid]., 1664), 193, 216, 327.

printed book) describing the collection as representative of the repertoire used in Durham Cathedral, which Daniel Bamford identifies as a presentation manuscript given to the Durham cleric George Davenport in 1664.¹⁴¹ The volume is a hybrid of print and manuscript, with spare gatherings of John Barnard's *First Book* interspersed with the manuscript pages (Figure 4.16).

Figure 4.16: Hybrid of print and manuscript based on Barnard's *First Book*. British Library Add. MS 30478, ff.30^v-31^r.



In this instance, Barnard's volume had a clear influence on the appearance of the manuscript, with the scribe's notation and text-hand emulating that of the printed page. It has already been suggested by Daniel Bamford that the diamond notation used in the *First Book* was based on Durham manuscripts, so it must be acknowledged that manuscripts of this general appearance in Durham predate Barnard's edition;¹⁴² nonetheless, the copyist clearly intended the two media of print and manuscript to match, having maintained notational consistency of clefs and stem directions, besides the obvious visual imitations of the script and decoration of the large, decorated initial letters. The addition of alternative page numbering and addition of the word 'Printed' to the description of the left hand page as the conclusion of the volume's full anthems shows the need to modify paratextual elements of the printed pages as they were appropriated for this composite book, but the separation of the manuscript contents of this volume into full anthems and verse anthems in accordance with the distinction observed in the printed gatherings demonstrates the influence of the ordering of Barnard's collection over the whole layout of this source.

¹⁴¹ Daniel Bamford, 'John Barnard's *First Book*', ii, 329.

¹⁴² Bamford, 'Barnard's *First Book*', i, 170.

The repertoire in the manuscript sections of Add. MS 30478 seems also to have been influenced by Barnard's edition, as Daniel Bamford suggests that some of this was copied directly from the *First Book* to sit alongside other compositions of a local Durham provenance.¹⁴³ Bamford's argument aligns this manuscript with other collections of the 1660s which he found to have been copied directly from the *First Book*, such as the Bing-Gostling partbooks.¹⁴⁴

Barnard's *First Book* was an exceptional project by the standards of the time, and the atypically common copying from its pages was most likely because the edition was targeted at musical centres with strong scribal traditions. Nonetheless, it is interesting to note that some repertoire printed in other collections before the Civil War is commonly found in manuscripts associated with ecclesiastical institutions: like the manuscripts at Durham described above, Add. MS 30478 contains anthems of Michael East which were published in his series of printed editions, and Richard Allison's 'Behold now praise the Lord', printed in his *Howres Recreation*.¹⁴⁵ Nonetheless, the influence of printed music on liturgical copying culture is brought into question by the fact that there is no evidence of institutional ownership of printed music books by cathedrals or similar ecclesiastical bodies before the publication of Barnard's *First Book*. Indeed, Bamford acknowledges the anomaly that Durham Cathedral seemingly owned no copy of Barnard's *First Book* (nor would they have needed to because of the high proportion of repertoire which they already had in their own library), while demonstrating that parts of the Durham-originating Add MS 30478 were copied from Barnard's *First Book* as well as containing pages of the edition.¹⁴⁶

Influences of printed music on copying culture in the absence of institutional ownership are perhaps accounted for by personal ownership of printed music among figures associated with these institutions. Although no inventory of his possessions survives, the manuscripts of John Merro, a Gloucester Cathedral lay clerk, give an impression of a musician in one such ecclesiastical environment who clearly owned or had access to a large collection of printed music. Craig Monson's study of two sets of partbooks compiled by Merro in the 1620s and 1630s (New York Public Library, Drexel MSS 4180-4185; British Library, Add. MSS 17792-17796) illustrated that sections of both of these manuscripts were copied directly from printed editions.¹⁴⁷ Monson listed the contents of these volumes and matched them with the printed collections in which they appeared, showing that in numerous cases a series of works by one composer in the manuscript had been lifted by Merro from a single printed edition, often in the order in which they originally appeared. With regards to sacred music printed in the early Stuart

¹⁴³ Ibid., ii, 329.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., ii, 335. For the relationship between the Bing Gostling Partbooks (York Minster M.1.S.) and Barnard's *First Book*: Graham Bier, 'Stephen Bing's Part Books Y M.1.S.: The Personal Collection of a 17th-Century Musician' (PhD diss., University of York, 2014), 60.

¹⁴⁵ The three anthems of Michael East in Add MS 30478 are 'When Israel came out of Egypt', 'O clap your hands' and 'As they departed' (ff.102^r, 165^r, 173^r); Allison's 'Behold now praise the Lord' begins on f.64^r.

¹⁴⁶ Bamford, 'Barnard's *First Book*', ii, 330.

¹⁴⁷ Monson, *Voices and Viols*, 137.

era, Merro copied extensively from John Amner's *Sacred Hymnes*, as well Thomas Tomkins's *Songs of 3. 4. 5. and 6. Parts*, from which he copied the two anthems at the rear as well as various secular works.¹⁴⁸

Although a cathedral lay clerk, Merro's status as a professional musician was undermined by a dubious reputation as a copyist: Milsom ascribed a carelessness to his copying from *Cantiones ... sacrae* which would not normally be associated with cathedral copying culture.¹⁴⁹ While Merro might by virtue of his employment be held up as an example of a professional musician using printed partbooks for copying work, such inadequacies perhaps place his activities on the fringes of professionalism. Similarly, the copying of music in the Peterhouse Partbooks from printed partbooks was undertaken with inferior technical skill to that by professionals like John Amner, and was perhaps the work of the chapel's varied personnel which ranged from undergraduates and poor scholars to former choristers and latterly lay clerks.¹⁵⁰ Thus, simplistic divides between a supposed professionalism of liturgical manuscripts and amateur nature of printed sources are weakest in cases where liturgical sources or sources associated with religious institutions were copied from printed books by people of a lesser professional standard or integrity. While this perhaps supports the idea of lesser reliance on printed books with the increasing expertise of the copyist, this crossover challenges the notion that a distinct divide can be drawn between the two.

Merro's copying from printed editions of sacred works testifies to their existence on the periphery of cathedral establishments. In spite of the proportionally small extant source base for printed sacred music, a comparable figure can be identified in William Heather, who served subsequently as a lay clerk at Westminster Abbey and the Chapel Royal.¹⁵¹ The extent to which the printed works of liturgical musicians such as John Amner, Michael East and Thomas Tomkins were to be found among their colleagues in ecclesiastical communities is unknown, but it would seem likely given the supposed circulation of printed music by composers among their peers or close contacts, as is demonstrated in the context of Byrd's gift to the musical enthusiast Ralph Bosville mentioned above, or Porter's circulation of his *Mottets* among fellow musicians as described by Wainwright. Some musicians employed in liturgical settings were the object of dedications of printed music, such as Thomas Tomkins's brother John Tomkins, who was organist of St Paul's at the time that Thomas Tomkins's 'Woe is me' was dedicated in his honour, and it would seem likely that these musicians thereafter had

¹⁴⁸ In addition, Merro copied a number of sacred compositions from Byrd's *Sundrie Natures*: Monson lists these under the 1589 first edition, but they might have been taken from Lucretia East's 1610 reprint. Monson, *Voices and Viols*, 149.

¹⁴⁹ Milsom, Introduction to *Cantiones sacrae*, xxxi.

¹⁵⁰ Payne, *Provision and Practice*, 96.

¹⁵¹ All but one of his books listed by Crum was printed before he moved from Westminster to the Chapel Royal in 1615. Jack Westrup, revised by Penelope Gouk, 'William Heyther', *GMO*. Crum 'Early Lists', 24.

printed copies of the sacred works supposedly composed in their honour.¹⁵² These printed sources of sacred music were perhaps common among the practising musicians who worked in ecclesiastical institutions, and the possibility that some of them were used as the textual basis for manuscripts of a liturgical nature warrants further investigation.

This analysis of copying practices related to printed music, much of which has drawn on factual observations by Greer and other scholars, illustrates considerable cross-fertilisation between printed and manuscript cultures, when the divide between the two has often been suggested to be more absolute. The examples of copying from printed books in some ecclesiastical settings are foremost in challenging ideas of rigid separation from professionalised manuscript culture, and the permeation of this frontier offers some cause to revise the ideas of le Huray and Morehen that printed books of sacred music need only be considered within the recreational sphere. While most examples of this interchange relate to actions of appropriation by book owners in the ‘afterlives’ of printed music, this section has shown how an understanding of the porous boundary between print and manuscript projected backwards onto book production: evidence presented here suggests some stationers’ and booksellers’ actions, such as the printing of blank staves in music books and the binding of copying paper in printed books, sought to capitalise on this expected interchange of print and manuscript. Meanwhile, the copying activities of purchasers have been shown to demonstrate different responses to the books they acquired, and their mixed practices of copying in line with or contrary to an edition’s content feeds into the greater picture of appropriation of books and texts.

¹⁵² Thomas Tomkins, *Songs of 3. 4. 5. and 6. Parts* (London: Matthew Lowne, John Browne and Thomas Snodham, 1622), no. 26 in each partbook.

Conclusion

Across this chapter, notions of physical appropriation of books and readers' or copyists' appropriation of texts have consistently been linked to the printed music book's inability to provide for the whole of musical culture. While some early alterations, such as the addition of marks of musical interpretation by Porter or the newly-identified series of systematic corrections to the Lawes brothers' *Choice Psalmes* made in the print house, perhaps arose from the mistakes of printers or the inability of their printing equipment to fully represent the signs which might guide readers towards an envisaged performance, many alterations thereafter were the result of the personal responses of readers.

This chapter has brought to light different types of appropriation through interpretation of the 'afterlives' of printed music as recorded by Greer and others. Booksellers created associations between printed editions where they sold them together as tract volumes, as newly identified here; some editions were given personalised binding as a mark of ownership, such as the presentation copy of Leighton's *Teares* belonging to Charles I when Prince of Wales; and purchasers asserted ownership when inscribing their names or presenting printed books as gifts. Yet this appropriation of printed music books as objects has also been shown to have been matched by appropriation of the musical texts, as was the case when the copyist of British Library Add. MS 34800 stripped the three-voice compositions of *Gradualia ... liber primus* of their words for 'dittied' or instrumental performance. Personalised 'readings' have been demonstrated in this chapter, as owners like Charles Somerset and William Heather grouped the same editions together differently by language, place of origin or composer in their personal collections; the different treatment accorded to Croce's *Musica sacra* in its compilation with secular English music by Somerset or mixed music of Italian origin by Heather suggests that both 'readings' of this edition were in defiance of the editor's expectation that the music be used for devotional purposes (as described in Chapter 5).

Such challenges to the authority of the printed book signify the appearance of printed sacred music in a wide cross-section of society. Its influence across various cultures of musical performance show that, in spite of the limitations of production, printed music had far-reaching appeal and use: this chapter has interpreted marks of ownership recorded by Greer to show that printed music not only achieved a wide geographic spread, but also reached different portions of society, crossed divides between professional and amateur performers, and was owned by men and women alike. The influence of printed music has been shown to be particularly apparent in instances where there was an immediate need for repertoire – whether in the 'souvenir' collections of Charles Somerset or the hurried growth of music at the liturgical centres at Peterhouse or in post-Restoration cathedrals – and printed music was perhaps most influential in these cases where it provided the opportunity to accumulate repertoire quickly.

Chapter 5 – ‘The beauty of holiness’: the publication of sacred music and changing religious culture in early Stuart England

The religious and cultural significance of the publication of sacred music in early seventeenth-century England can perhaps be understood in the context of the increased factionalism in the English church that developed over the course of James I's and Charles I's reigns. For although the Elizabethan church inherited by James had been one of broad theological unity and religious cohesion, the early Stuart church, largely Calvinist in its orientation, became embroiled in a series of theological disputes regarding predestination of sin:¹ those who subscribed to Calvin's teaching on predestination found themselves increasingly at odds with others who supported the counter-arguments proposed by Jacob Arminius.² While James I's theological outlook was predominantly Calvinist, political circumstance led the king to prefer Arminian clerics in the later years of his reign, allowing several of them to rise to high ecclesiastical offices.³

Between the 1610s and 1640s this theological dispute shifted to conflict over the manner in which Church of England services were conducted. Arminian clerics favoured more ceremonial forms of worship and placed greater emphasis on the sacraments, while Calvinists who objected to these forms of worship were progressively side-lined and stigmatised, ultimately being included in the growing list of people to whom the pejorative term ‘Puritan’ was applied.⁴ The Arminian liturgical movement, which would retrospectively be referred to as Laudianism (taking its name from its most vehement exponent William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1633 to his execution in 1645, and which term is hereafter used as a *pars pro toto* for the Arminian movement), attracted substantial royal support under Charles I.⁵ The king's personal support for the Laudian ideals of beautification and formalisation of religion manifested itself in changes to the liturgy of the Chapel Royal, building projects such as the renovation and enlargement of St Paul's Cathedral, and the appointment of Arminian or Laudian clerics

¹ The doctrine that sinners require the grace of God to achieve faith and salvation and, because God knows which people are to be saved, God gives his grace only to those he chooses: salvation is thus pre-destined by God, with sinners unable to attain salvation regardless of their attempts at faith or good works on earth. R. T. Kendall, *Calvin and English Calvinism to 1649* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), 198.

² Arminian theology rejects predestination, arguing that salvation is attainable by all. For the dispute in the English church between Calvinists and Arminians: Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Reformation: Europe's House Divided* (London: Penguin, 2003), 514.

³ Malcolm Smuts, *Court Culture and the Origins of a Royalist Tradition in Early Stuart England*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987), 220. Roger Lockyer, *The Early Stuarts: A Political History of England 1603-1648* (London: Longman, 1989), 117.

⁴ For the development of this term and the Puritan faction: Diarmaid MacCulloch, *The Later Reformation in England, 1547-1603*, 2nd ed. (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), 69

⁵ The term ‘Laudianism’ is hereafter used to cover the Arminian religious movement from its pre-Laudian origins, using the term consistently with scholarship of Graham Parry.

to high-ranking positions within the church.⁶ Thus, in spite of its limited popular appeal, the Laudian movement had a disproportionate impact on religious arts and culture through the exertion of court and ecclesiastical patronage.

Charles I's patronage of the arts was matched by greater changes regarding the role of the monarch in religious life, particularly in the years of his absolutist personal rule. While many elements of church policy and theological debate within the early Stuart church were ultimately divisive, both James I and Charles I were rigorous pursuers of ecclesiastical unity and conformity, and both sought to enhance the mutual authority of church and crown through close working of the two institutions.⁷ Laud advocated closer working between church and crown as building mutual authority when he argued that 'if it [the Church] had more power, the King might have more both obedience and service'.⁸ Furthermore, the early seventeenth century witnessed a wider transformation in the understanding of the role of the monarch in the religious life of the nation whereby existing ideas of divinely-ordained monarchs governing the church were heightened to encompass the notion that royal authority was an extension of godly majesty and authority.⁹ Against this ideological backdrop, the efforts to coordinate the closer workings of church and state in order to standardise doctrine and liturgical practice can be understood as an attempt to impose a process of 'confessionalisation', albeit an unsuccessful attempt in this case.

This chapter takes as a starting point Heinz Schilling's definition of confessionalisation, as a 'fundamental social transformation that encompasses ecclesiastical-religious and psychological-cultural changes as well as political and social ones'.¹⁰ Recently, the identification of James I's and Charles I's ecclesiastical policy with confessionalisation has been claimed by Laura Stewart in relation to their dual reigns over England and Scotland, whereby both monarchs attempted to homogenise religion and confessional identity across their kingdoms by using the English church as a model for both in the spirit of *Cuius regio, eius religio*.¹¹ Theories of confessionalisation have most frequently been applied to the study of German religious and political history, and notions of confessionalisation in the English Reformation have been heavily contested in the historiography of the sixteenth century, but this chapter finds confessionalisation to be a useful lens for the study of print culture in early Stuart England for three reasons:¹² first, religious reforms in the seventeenth century can be identified with

⁶ For Charles I's relationship with the church, including the building project at St Paul's: Kevin Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 275-402.

⁷ On James I and conformity: Lockyer, *Early Stuarts*, 105. On Charles and unity: Sharpe, *Personal Rule*, 280.

⁸ National Archives SP 16/94/88. Quoted from Anthony Milton, 'William Laud', ODNB.

⁹ Smuts, *Court Culture*, 234.

¹⁰ Quoted from John M. Headley, Hans J. Hillerbrand and Anthony J. Papalas (eds.), *Confessionalization in Europe: Essays in Honor and Memory of Bodo Nischan*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 2.

¹¹ Laura Stewart, *Rethinking the Scottish Revolution: Covenanted Scotland 1637-1651* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 10.

¹² For a summary of the contended use of this term in an English context: Peter Marshall, '(Re)defining the English Reformation', *Journal of British Studies* 48 (2009): 564-586.

attempts at modern state-building in a way not possible with Tudor England; second, the close partnership of crown and church sought (although ultimately unsuccessfully) to standardise religious life and liturgical practice in much greater detail than previously;¹³ and third, use of the term confessionalisation has, for better or worse, broadened to describe the entrenchment of creeds and practices through cultural divides, in which music and print were significant agents.¹⁴

Controversy surrounding the Laudian expressions of architectural adornment and ceremonial liturgy encompassed disputes over music, and links between Laudianism and seventeenth-century music have been explored by several scholars. The widespread programme of the decoration of churches, including the installation of stone altars, altar rails, elaborate choir stalls and screens, stained glass and the adoption of Italianate architectural mannerisms, was matched in musical terms by the extensive programme of organ building across English cathedrals, churches and private chapels as described by Stephen Bicknell.¹⁵ Peter le Huray linked Laudianism's ceremonial liturgy, which included an increased emphasis on and frequency of the eucharist, the reintroduction of physical gesture and ritual in services, and use of vestments, chalices and candles to the greater provision of service music in cathedrals, collegiate churches and private chapels.¹⁶ Ian Payne's examination of cathedral archives has demonstrated that the Laudian movement's increased financial provision for cathedral music was matched by a fresh enthusiasm for the copying of sacred music for liturgical performance.¹⁷

Most studies of seventeenth-century music which describe the influence of the Laudian movement have focussed on the contentious role of music in public liturgy, in particular those of Peter le Huray and Ian Payne, who stressed the disassociation between printed music and liturgical settings. However, as Graham Parry has argued, many practices central to the Laudian movement did not occur in public settings: beauty and order were applied to devotional acts of worship undertaken by the individual or by small groups in private spaces as much as they were to public services. This is demonstrated by the poetry and prose works of Laudian clerics, Lancelot Andrewes and John Cosin in particular, who were keen to structure private devotional activity and to script prayer with elegant devotional literary texts.¹⁸

¹³ Most famously in the altar controversy: Kenneth Fincham, 'The Restoration of Altars in the 1630s', *The Historical Journal* 44 (2001): 919-940.

¹⁴ For the widening of this term: Alexandra Walsham, *Charitable Hatred: Tolerance and Intolerance in England 1500-1700*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), 302.

¹⁵ For the influence of the Laudian movement on the building and decorating of churches: Graham Parry, *Glory, Laud and Honour: The Arts of the Counter-Reformation*, (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2006). On organ building: Stephen Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 69-90.

¹⁶ Peter le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England 1549-1660*, (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1967), 46.

¹⁷ Ian Payne, *The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music at Cambridge Colleges and Selected English Cathedrals c1547-1646*, (London: Garland Publishing: 1993), 80.

¹⁸ Parry, *Glory, Laud and Honour*, 113.

This chapter examines how sacred music was printed and repurposed to suit the changing religious climate of early Stuart England. Three collections of sacred music are first examined in light of the influences of the Laudian ideals of beauty and formality, focussing on the way in which music was presented in the printed book to encourage devotional activity. Following this is an assessment of the few-voiced Italianate psalm settings and concertos, printed to cater for the demands of the social elite who favoured this more exclusive style. Thereafter, the sole printed collection of liturgical music from the period, John Barnard's *The First Book of Selected Church Musick* (1641), is discussed in relation to the Laudian liturgical movement and confessional aspirations towards order and uniformity. This chapter concludes with a consideration of the growing ideology of sacred kingship, and the ways in which the latter publications of sacred music in Charles I's reign placed increasing emphasis on the monarch's central position in religious culture.

Music printing for domestic devotion

Prayer in early modern England took place in three main settings: church, chamber and closet.¹⁹ Devotional, or extra-liturgical religion, took place in the latter two spaces; the communal nature of prayer in the chamber, with a household of family and servants gathered in the largest room in the house, can be contrasted with the private and individual nature of prayer in the closet. These settings had limited bearing on whether prayer was scripted or delivered extempore: Ian Green has argued that the majority of mainstream Calvinist clerics of the early Stuart years commended spontaneous composition of prayer as preferable, particularly in the isolation of the closet, while Graham Parry suggests that this was an Elizabethan tradition which, beginning with the circles around Lancelot Andrewes, was eroded by a preference among proto-Laudian clerics for set devotions which achieved elegance and orthodoxy through formal, scripted prayers.²⁰ The majority of devotional music-making would have taken place in the chamber, a relatively public space in relation to the rest of the home but more restricted in its audience than the church, and the shared use of this space for prayer and recreation no doubt accounted for some cross-fertilisation of activity.

The boundary between music published to support religious activity and that published for recreation was indistinct: Chapter 4 of this thesis has shown that seventeenth-century readers recognised no such clear divide, and there was little precedent for this distinction in music publishing of the Elizabethan era. For all that Byrd's collections of Latin motets have been claimed to have conveyed statements of Roman Catholic faith and subliminal messages to likeminded recusants, John Milsom has argued that the majority of performers who comprised these collections' readership were interested only in their capacity to support recreational activity.²¹ The rhetorical formulations of sixteenth-century dedications give some impressions of offerings of English-texted polyphony as devotional aides: John Cosyn wrote in his *Musike of Sixe and Five Parts* (1585) that he 'was encouraged by some to publish them for the private use and comfort of the godlie', while William Swayne wrote in his edition of William Damon's *Former Booke* (1591) that he was 'brought to publish them for the use and comfort of all, especially of the godlie'.²² Whether these statements were meant literally is questionable, but nothing about the printing of these editions differentiates them from their secular counterparts.

¹⁹ Ian Green, 'New for Old? Clerical and Lay Attitudes to Domestic Prayer in Early Modern England', *Reformation and Renaissance Review* 10 (2008): 198.

²⁰ Green, 'New for Old?', 199. Parry, *Glory, Laud and Honour*, 113.

²¹ The presence and significance of subliminal Catholic messages in Byrd's music has been discussed by many scholars, perhaps most thoroughly by Joseph Kerman and Craig Monson. A short summary of these arguments with some of the most notable examples is given by David Trendell. David Trendell, 'Aspects of Byrd's Musical Recusancy', *Musical Times* 148 (2007): 27. John Milsom, 'Sacred Songs in the Chamber', in *English Choral Practice*, ed. John Morehen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995): 161-179.

²² John Cosyn, *Musike of Sixe and Five Parts* (London: John Wolfe, 1585), Sig. A₂^r. William Damon, *The Former Booke of the Musicke of M. William Damon*, ed. William Swayne (London: East, 1591), Sig. [A₂^r].

In many respects, the delineation of sacred music for devotional acts continued to be ineffective in the seventeenth century. Chapter 4 has showed that sacred music was copied into manuscripts for secular use, while the issue of textless performances which was irately raised by Thomas Morley and the editor of Croce's *Musica sacra* (discussed below) suggests that many performers ignored the sacred nature of their contents. For all that Peter le Huray categorised printed collections and their devotional contents apart from liturgical music-making, there was clearly some infringement of this boundary in churches also, not least in the aforementioned copying of music from printed editions into the Peterhouse Partbooks.²³ The author of a much neglected treatise on church music from the reign of James I, British Library Royal MS 18 B XIX, was one contemporary commentator who lamented such encroachments. This treatise, which combines extensive paraphrase of *The Praise of Musicke*, the treatise formerly attributed to John Case, with grumblings over declining financial provision for cathedral choirs, also finds frustration in the performance of music in inappropriate settings:²⁴

Also the composinge of such songs for the Church as by their quicknes and lightness to hinder the attraction of the mynd, and rather move mirth & sport then godlye edifyinge and devocion, both by singing and playing on the Organs such thinges as would rather become a private house or play, than ye Church beinge the house of prayer, not well discerninge the right kyndes and moods of musick, whereof there is great varietie, which being used accordinge to ye true rules of arte, produce their true effects.

These objections raised over 'quicknes and lightness', 'moods of musick' and 'rules of art' thus formed the basis of unfavourable comparison between these offending sacred compositions, whose texts were seemingly uncontentious, and the idealised austere motet character of liturgical compositions.

Nonetheless, it is hereafter demonstrated that the seventeenth century saw increased efforts to stress devotional activity as the appropriate performance context of published sacred music. The descriptions of this devotional repertoire in its accompanying prefatory material sometimes echo the characterisations and supposed effects of motets or liturgical compositions found in contemporary treatises: suggestions that performers will be 'edified' or moved to a higher intellectual and spiritual state noticeably echo Morley's description of the motet (see Chapters 3 and 4). Such characterisation of music in service of devotion as being superior to that of recreational performance is also reminiscent of the precedence accorded to sacred repertoire and devotional performance in treatises in praise of music. John Case's *Apologia musices* (1588) advocates this prioritisation of sacred or devotional music over love songs, including in private houses, similarly invoking the idea that the decorum or style of such compositions acts as a means to attain virtue.²⁵ Nevertheless, this section shows how these abstract

²³ Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, 90. See Chapter 4 for this viewpoint.

²⁴ British Library Royal MS 18 B XIX, f.8^r.

²⁵ John Case, *Apologia musices*, trans. Dana F. Sutton (Published online by the Philological Museum: <<http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/music/>>, 2003). This observation is founded on a forthcoming chapter by Kirsten Gibson, entitled "'For Musike is a Science So Delectable": The Case for Musical Skill, Knowledge and Recreation in Early Modern England'.

expressions of musical ideals sit alongside more direct attempts to format and tailor the contents of editions of sacred music to be conducive to devotional acts. Addressing first the use of the letter to the reader by the pseudonymous R.H. to ensure the correct use of his edition of Croce's *Musica sacra* for devotional purposes, this section thereafter focuses on collections of Amner and Tailour in their efforts to control the devotional activity of the reader through paratext and peritext. Finally, these three editions are examined in light of their associations with Laudian practices of scripting devotion and formalising acts of private worship.

The English edition of Croce's *Musica sacra* is one of the first devotional collections to make use of the paratextual pages in earnest to ensure a particular kind of devotional activity. This publication was a reworking of *Li sette sonetti penitenziali*, first published in Venice by Giacomo Vincenti (1596), before being translated into Latin for publication in Nuremberg as *Septem psalmi poenitentiales* by Paul Kauffman (1599), and subsequently translated into English by its pseudonymous editor 'R.H.' and printed by Thomas East (1608).²⁶ The origin of the text, Italian paraphrases of the penitential psalms (6, 32, 38, 51, 102, 131 and 143) by the poet Francesco Bembo, demonstrates its provenance as music for vernacular devotion.²⁷ Paraphrases of the seven penitential psalms were popular devotional texts among Protestants and Catholics alike, and scholars have noted the ability of these particular psalms to cross confessional divides.²⁸

The unidentified editor, R.H., claimed to have been motivated to publish his edition by hearing performances of Croce's psalms where the absence of a translation had resulted in an instrumental or wordless performance: 'observing the general applause given these Songs when I have heard them soong, (though sometimes without the words)'.²⁹ Criticising these renditions, R.H. argued that the compositions were 'deprived of a chief part of their delight' by the removal of the words.³⁰ This is strongly reminiscent of Thomas Morley's complaint of the same practice: 'But I see not what passions or motions [the motet] can stir up being sung as most men do commonlie sing it: that is leaving out the dittie and singing onely the bare note'.³¹ But whereas Morley's complaint stemmed from a frustration that 'dittied' or textless performances undermine the grave style of the motet genre, R.H. objected to

²⁶ Giovanni Croce, *Li sette sonetti penitenziali*, (Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1596). Giovanni Croce, *Septem psalmi poenitentiales*, (Nuremberg: Paul Kauffman, 1599).

²⁷ Eric Lewin Altschuler and William Jansen, 'R.H., Bembo and Croce's "Musica Sacra"', *Musical Times* 149 (2008): 72.

²⁸ Lynda Phyllis Austern, Kari Boyd McBride and David L. Orvis, Introduction to *Psalms in the Early Modern World*, ed. Lynda Phyllis Austern, Kari Boyd McBride and David L. Orvis (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 12.

²⁹ Croce, *Musica sacra*, Sig. [A₂'].

³⁰ Ibid. The notion of Croce's music being deprived of delight through textless performance is reminiscent of the preface to Yonge's *Musica transalpina*, which describes musicians who do not speak Italian as performing madrigals 'at the least with little delight'. Nicholas Yonge, *Musica Transalpina*, (London: Thomas East, 1588), Sig. A₂^r.

³¹ Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction*, 179.

the loss of the devotional character of the texts, whose ‘Pietie’ he claims moved Croce to compose the settings in the first place.

R.H. further complained of the ‘Scarcetie (not onely in our tongue, but in all other vulgars) of Musicke in this kinde, whereby man may be edified and God glorified’, stressing the importance of vernacular texts in ensuring that singers, and perhaps listeners, receive spiritual encouragement from performance of sacred compositions.³² R.H.’s final suggestions that the translations ‘be a motive to some of our excellent Musicians to dedicate their divine skill to the service of God, in songs of this more Sanctified kinde’, and that the reader should ‘use them to the Glory of God’, cement the idea that the editor sought to ensure that the music was used in a devotional setting, and that these translations were intended to encourage prayerful activity.

The heavy emphasis on textual comprehension and devotional purpose is reinforced by the physical formatting of the partbooks. Figure 5.1 shows that before each musical setting the entire text of the psalm is printed in full, an unparalleled practice in English partbooks and an extravagant use of paper which would have raised the cost of the edition. The exact rationale and intended outcome of this practice is not made explicit by the editor, but is most likely justified by the aforementioned ideals of textual comprehension. Their appearance before the musical setting suggests that the singers were meant to read through the sonnets in their entirety before performing them, and the fact that they were reproduced in each partbook possibly indicates that they were intended to be read individually and silently at a time when books were often read aloud by one person to a group. Ideals of textual comprehension also appear to have been applied to the printing of the underlay, and the edition is unusual in the absence of underlay repeat marks, instead reproducing each such textual repeat in full. This was possibly done to avoid singers stumbling over words as they attempted to fit them to music, or might have been intended to promote intelligibility of the text to the performer.³³

³² Croce, *Musica sacra*, Sig. [A₂].

³³ All of East’s other musical publications from this period, including Henry Youll’s *Canzonets* and William Byrd’s *Gradualia Liber Secundus*, use variants of ‘ii’ to instruct the singer to fill in the repeated text as they consider appropriate.

Figure 5.1: Texts of each sonnet printed before the musical setting. Giovanni Croce, *Musica sacra* (London: Thomas East, 1608), Cantus, Sigs. [A₂^v]-A_{iii}^r. Henry E. Huntington Library, Call No. 13102.

FIRST SONNET
Ex P^{sa}l. 6.



Ord, in thy wrath reprove mee not fearely,
Nor punish me in thy deferr'd displeasure:
Haue mercy on my Sinns exceeding measure,
For full of feares, my Soule is vexed drearly.

Saue it (O Lord) Almighty-most Supernall,
Saue it (alas) from the'uer-neuer Dying:
For who in deepe Hell (and fierce Torments fryng)
Shall sing thy praise, or can extoll th'Eternall?

Long haue I Languisht in my grieuous Sorrow's,
My bed and bosome, with my teares I water:
My foes Despight hath ploughd my face with furrows.
But (now my Soule) let the vngodly Scatter:
Hence yee wicked, fith God (fo gracious for vs)
Hath heard my moan, and doth regard my matter.

Of 6. voc. First part. CANTVS. Signor non mi riprender.



A.iiij.

Robert Tailour's *Sacred Hymns* (1615) sees another adaption of bibliographical norms to encourage textual intelligibility and devotional activity. The format of this edition imitates elements of the Sternhold and Hopkins psalter, aligning it with the widespread tradition of metrical psalm singing prevalent in English musical culture, and Snodham's release of this edition was possibly an attempt to tap into the much larger and lucrative market for psalm books. However, unlike contemporary psalm books, Tailour's edition does not function as a psalter because it provides only fifty of the full number of psalms, while also lacking other service texts such as the Apostles' Creed and the *Te Deum* which might make it usable in church. Instead, the scoring of the settings with two sets of tablature for lute and orpharion grounds the collection in the consort tradition and confirms its intended setting as the home; indeed, the vocal parts printed alongside the melody are far more texturally complex and syncopated than the simple settings used in the Sternhold and Hopkins psalter (Figure 5.2):

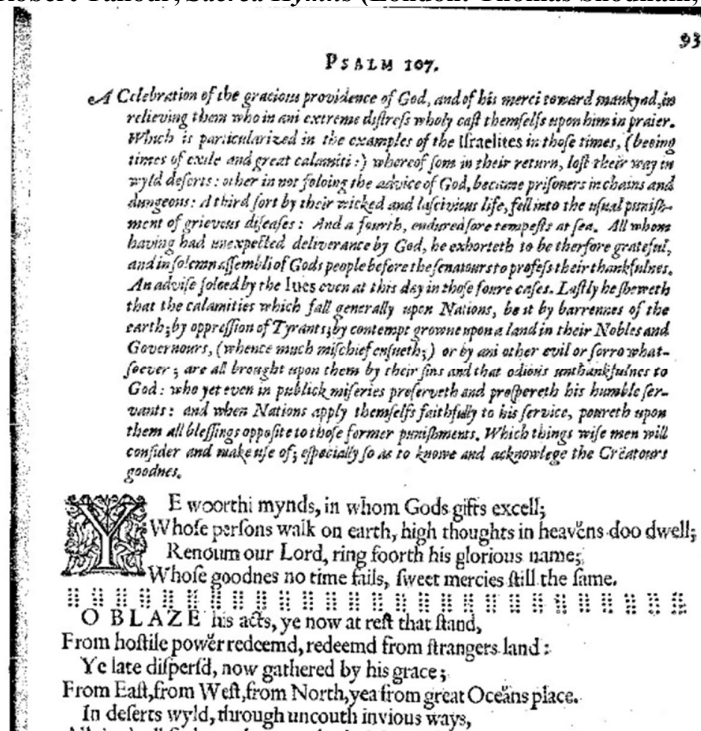
Figure 5.2: Opening of Psalm 42 in Robert Tailour's *Sacred Hymns* (lute and bandora parts omitted).

The musical score is presented in three systems, each containing five staves for the voices: Treble, Meane, Countertenor, Tenor, and Bass. The key signature is one flat (B-flat) and the time signature is 4/4. The lyrics are written below the staves, with some words hyphenated across measures. The first system covers measures 1-5, the second system (starting at measure 6) covers measures 6-10, and the third system covers measures 11-15. The lyrics are: "As cha - sed Hart, with drouth en - ra - ged first, Then ioid with hope toward wa - tri stream dooth bray: So Lord my soule, my pan - ting soule dooth thirst: As lifes high spring his rest - les love to stay. Ah".

Amateur musicians would likely have to practise such settings before singing them, most likely committing them to memory to make a performance achievable; indeed, a full performance of any of the psalm settings in the collection would require either memorisation or manuscript copying because the parts are printed individually as in a choir book, but over several pages, so all performers cannot simultaneously read their parts from one copy. Tailour's *Sacred Hymns* are therefore unusual in their positioning between different musical and bibliographical genres: they are not easy to identify with polyphonic repertoire or simple metrical tunes, while the independent instrumental accompaniments encourage a comparison with early consort settings.

Peter le Huray has argued that the texting of only the upper voice suggests that the collection was primarily intended to be performed as consort music, something to which the musical style of Tailour's settings shown above also testifies.³⁴ However, elements of the collection's layout suggest it might have been used in communal acts of devotion. In line with the psalm book tradition, each setting is preceded by an introduction or textual synopsis, some considerably longer than the equivalent introductions which are found in the contemporary editions of the Sternhold and Hopkins psalter (Figure 5.3). It is possible that some of these very long passages, such as that for Psalm 119, were intended to be read out to the performers and any other surrounding people before the performance of the musical setting, and these introductions could have helped to structure devotional activity by interspersing musical performance with recitation.³⁵ Such passages not only make Tailour's collection unusual among other polyphonic or consort settings in the extent to which they encourage singers to contemplate the texts they sang, but would also have been conducive to long acts of scripted collective devotion punctuated by musical settings more elaborate than those found in the psalm books.

Figure 5.3: Example of the long introductions (in italics) to each of Tailour's psalm settings. Robert Tailour, *Sacred Hymns* (London: Thomas Snodham, 1615), 93. British Library K.2.h.14.



The use of paratextual elements of the printed book to influence the devotional activity of musicians is also seen in John Amner's *Sacred Hymnes* (1615). This collection includes short Latin paraphrases at the bottom of each page, summarising or commenting on the text of the piece above. Figure 5.4 offers one example in 'O Come thou spirit divinest', which is accompanied by the epithet 'Si deus in nobis,

³⁴ Peter le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, 390.

³⁵ Robert Tailour, *Sacred Hymns* (London: Thomas Snodham, 1615), 109.

& nos maneamus in ipso' ('If God is with us, we remain in him').³⁶ This practice is unique among early printed English music, and their inclusion in Amner's collection has attracted virtually no scholarly comment. Parallel examples of this practice appear in Germany around this time in the so-called 'Nordhausen Concertos' (1637-38):³⁷ here, sacred concertos are accompanied by indirectly related Latin prayers, which Mary Frandsen suggests are included for the singers to read before devotional performances to 'establish the proper mental effect'.³⁸

Figure 5.4: Latin epithet at the end of 'O Come thou spirit divinest'. John Amner, *Sacred Hymns*, (London: Edward Allde, 1615), Bassus, f.4v. British Library K.3.h.2.



The Latin phrases printed at the end of each of Amner's compositions in Edward Allde's edition are relatively short and, as with the full printed texts which precede each of the penitential psalms in Croce's *Musica sacra*, are present in each partbook; from this it can perhaps be inferred that the Latin paraphrases were meant to be read silently by each singer, somehow edifying or enhancing the spiritual experience of the performer. Indeed, there are cases where the Latin paraphrase even performs an exegetical function which extends or alters the performer's understanding of the text. An example can be found in 'I will sing unto the Lord', Amner's 'Alleluia' for the commemoration of Gunpowder Day, which is a setting of the beginning of Exodus 15, where the Hebrews rejoice at the escape from Egypt and the drowning of Pharaoh's army in the Red Sea. When read with the Latin paraphrase 'Si deus nobiscum, quis contra nos' ('If God be for us, who can be against us?'),³⁹ the meaning of the main text about the Hebrews is elucidated to comment specifically on their survival because they are a chosen people with God's protection.

³⁶ Amner, *Sacred Hymns*, no. 4.

³⁷ *Fasciculus primus geistlicher wohlklingender Concerten* (Goslar: 1638). RISM 1638⁵.

³⁸ Mary Frandsen, 'Music and Lutheran Devotion in the Schütz Era', *Schütz-Jahrbuch* 33 (2011): 64.

³⁹ Romans 8:31 (Authorised Version).

The comparison between these manipulations of paratextual accompaniments in collections of Croce, Tailour and Amner for the furtherance of devotional activity among singers is interesting in that they align the ideals of ordered devotional activity with the so-called order of books, as described by Roger Chartier and discussed in Chapter 3. Attempts to impose elements of order and organisation had played a significant role in the development of high church devotion throughout the early seventeenth century, both in music and in prose and poetry. Individual devotional aids such as Lancelot Andrewes's *Preces Privatae*, later published as *Institutiones Piae* (1630), and John Cosin's *A Collection of Private Devotions* (1627) were designed to improve the quality of what had typically been extemporised prayer by scripting devotional activity with more eloquent literary texts, and it is worth noting that there was some overlap between the distinguishing features of this literary tradition and the texts set by composers such as Amner in these collections which attempted to impose order on devotional music-making.⁴⁰

Parry identifies devotional reverencing the memory of saints and celebration of the feasts of the church's calendar to be among the principal hallmarks of Laudian poetry and prose, and it is unsurprising that Amner's *Sacred Hymns* should display such influences given his involvement in centres of high church music making such as Ely and Peterhouse.⁴¹ The incorporation of saintly devotion in Amner's collection includes a celebration of St Mary Magdalene in the motet 'Saint Mary now', and the hyperbolic and sensualised descriptions of weeping in Amner's text have parallels with the poetic depictions of Mary Magdalene by high Laudians like Richard Crashaw, whose poem 'The Weeper' was suggested by Parry to have been influenced by Jesuit devotional poetry.⁴² Commemoration of liturgical feasts also gives Amner's collection a feeling of religious seasonality which identifies it with Laudian prose traditions: 'He that descended man to be' commemorates the Ascension, while 'O Yee little flocke' observes Christmas.⁴³ The binary characters of Amner's 'alleluias' and 'motects' as celebratory and penitential also reflect the deliberate division of prayers by clerics like Lancelot Andrewes according to such taxonomies.⁴⁴

The attempts across these three collections to infuse devotion with formality by harnessing the layout and paratextual accompaniments of music books, besides the presence of textual traits identifiable with Laudian poetry and prose, reflect the changing religious climate of seventeenth-century England. While musicological accounts of Laudianism almost exclusively associate this movement with liturgical reform, this section has highlighted the attempts in music publishing to control readers' responses to devotional music through exegesis, layout or Latin epithets, which in turn echo the Laudian aspirations

⁴⁰ Parry outlines the purpose and growth of these of devotional prose and poetry using these and other examples in chapters 6-7 of *Glory, Laud and Honour*.

⁴¹ Ibid., 122, 124. On Amner's employment at Ely: Ian Payne, *Provision and Practice*, 69.

⁴² John Amner, *Sacred Hymns*, (London: Edward Allde, 1615), no. 9. Parry, *Glory, Laud and Honour*, 142.

⁴³ Amner, *Sacred Hymns*, nos. 17 and 19.

⁴⁴ Parry, *Glory, Laud and Honour*, 114.

towards order and formality in private worship which are evidenced through use of devotional manuals. This close management of readers' responses reflects some traits and objectives of confessionalisation, which sought to effect wider changes not just on public worship, but also on the population's wider behaviour in a process of social disciplining.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ Marshall, '(Re)defining the English Reformation', 584.

Printing for private chapels and the social elite

While the above collections of music for devotion in the chamber sought through adaptation of bibliographic forms to differentiate religious activity from recreation in the chamber, a small number of publications from Charles I's reign reflected a new market arising from the creation of designated domestic spaces for prayer. Ian Green has described the growing trend in the early seventeenth century for setting aside separate rooms in the homes of the wealthy for devotional reading and prayer, but such designations of purpose were complemented by considerable growth in the number of chapels built or converted in English country houses in the early Stuart years, and Annabel Ricketts has shown how these isolated or private spaces supplanted the communal and multi-purpose space of the chamber.⁴⁶ Parry argued that aspiration towards designated, even consecrated spaces of private prayer mirrored the emphasis placed on well-ordered church buildings in the Arminian or Laudian movement, and he notes a particular trend of renovation of pre-Reformation buildings for private use by high church sympathisers:⁴⁷ John Scudamore's renovated chapel at Abbey Dore imitated elements of the chapel of William Laud, a friend of Scudamore who was consulted on elements of design and furnishing;⁴⁸ similarly, the religious community established by Nicholas Ferrar in the rebuilt chapel at Little Gidding attracted prominent Arminian clerics, including John Cosin from Peterhouse, Cambridge.⁴⁹ This section examines two printed collections associated with the musical activities of the social elite, William Child's *First Set of Psalmes* (1639) and William Braithwaite's *Siren coelestis* (1638), examining the veracity of the former's claim to supply music for devotion in private chapels, while considering the ways in which the stratification of devotional music according to social status related to the Laudian movement of confessionalised religion.

Physical testament to the use of music in private chapels is borne out by the building and renovation of organs. Although domestic organs like the 1609 armoury organ in Hatfield House were associated with secular spaces, others including the double manual organ erected in Chirk Castle's chapel in 1630 show the introduction of these instruments into the designated religious spaces of wealthy houses.⁵⁰ Ferrar's small community at Little Gidding even acquired a chapel organ in 1632.⁵¹ Similarly, some private chapels saw the introduction of musicians' galleries and pews, with remarkable examples surviving at the former chapel of Rycote Hall in Oxfordshire and chapel of Langley Hall in Shropshire.⁵² Chapel music was also heard in spaces without such permanent infrastructure, and William Prynne's account

⁴⁶ Green, 'New for Old?', 199. Annabel Ricketts, *The English Country House Chapel: Building a Protestant Tradition* (Reading: Spire Books, 2007), 84-150.

⁴⁷ Parry, *Glory, Laud and Honour*, 38-42.

⁴⁸ Ibid, 39.

⁴⁹ Ibid, 40.

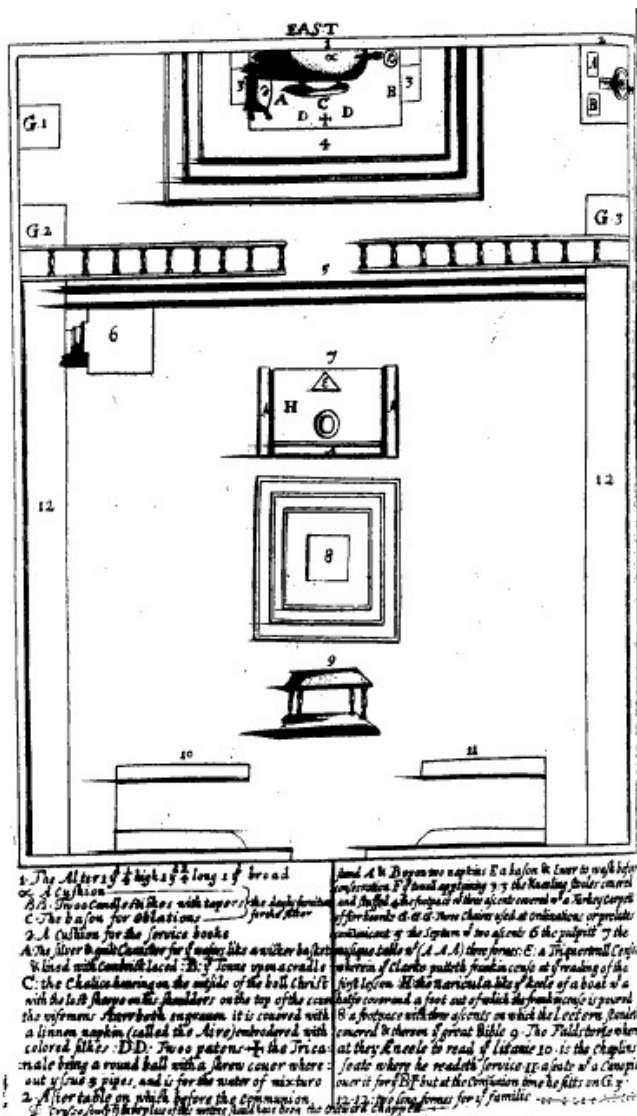
⁵⁰ Peter le Huray, 'The Chirk Castle Partbooks', *Early Music History* 2 (1982): 18.

⁵¹ Parry, *Glory, Laud and Honour*, 40.

⁵² Ricketts, *Chapel*, 135.

and engraved plan of the layout and furnishings of Laud's chapel at Lambeth in *Canterburies Doome* shows that musicians sat at a large 'musique table' with three benches round the sides (Figure 5.5).⁵³ These intimate seating arrangements suggest consort performance rather than liturgical arrangement of cantoris and decani found in cathedral choirs, although Laud is known to have hired singers for his chapel from the Chapel Royal to 'make up the Consort when the solemnity required it'.⁵⁴

Figure 5.5: The layout of the chapel at Lambeth Palace, with the music table (7) surrounded by three benches (A) as it appears in William Prynne's *Canterburies Doome*.



⁵³ William Prynne *Canterburies Doome. Or The First Part of a Compleat History of the Commitment, Charge Tryall, Condemnation, Execution of William Laud Late Arch-Bishop of Canterbury*, (London: John Macock for Michael Spark, 1646), 122. This plan is based directly on a manuscript plan of Lancelot Andrewes's chapel: BL Harley MS 3795.

⁵⁴ Peter Heylyn, *Cyprianus Anglicus or the History of the Life and Death of the most Reverend and Renowned Prelate William, by divine providence Lord Archbishop of Canterbury* (London: A Seile, 1668), 294.

It was perhaps for this flourishing group of private chapels that William Child published his *First Set of Psalmes of .III. Voyces* in 1639, claimed on the title page as being ‘Fitt for private Chappells or other private meetings’.⁵⁵ Child’s setting of extracts from Psalms 1-16 and then 53, 54, 119 and 146 suggests that the *First Set* might have been conceived as a first instalment of an abandoned run of all 150 psalms, demonstrating significant initial confidence in the possible market for the collection. However, the music performed in private chapels of the period is elusive, and the small number of sources or historical accounts of chapel music do not align easily with the few-voiced devotional style found in Child’s collection. The chapel of John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, at Buckden hosted evensong daily, but a contemporary account likening its music to that in cathedrals suggests performance of liturgical service music.⁵⁶ Likewise, the partbooks compiled for the choral services sung in the renovated chapel at Chirk Castle in the 1630s are similarly identifiable with the performance of traditional polyphonic service music, as is Lambeth Palace MS 764, a single partbook possibly connected to Laud’s personal chapel at Lambeth.⁵⁷ These examples are focussed on clerical figures whose chapels were more likely to be used for liturgical worship, and whether or not the chapels of country houses, which were essentially purpose-built spaces for prayer, were more likely to have sounded to such music as Child’s *First Set* is uncertain.

The few-voiced scoring of Child’s collection for two trebles and a bass voice doubling the continuo possibly reflects the musical resources of some country houses described by David Price where children were maintained for music-making, or even latterly Cromwell’s household where two children were kept to sing few-voiced Latin motets by Richard Dering;⁵⁸ indeed, Jonathan Wainwright’s observation that Child’s pieces are suitable for performance with lower voices and omission of the bass voice perhaps reflects the needs of private households that included able performers or that employed a handful of musicians, but did not have large musical establishments.⁵⁹ More importantly, the few-voiced style of Child’s *Psalmes* is a significant part of the publication’s self-proclaimed Italianate style. The collection, described on the title page as being ‘newly composed after the Italian way’, assumes various characteristics of its adopted style: beyond the Italianate scoring for vocal duo and continuo, Wainwright has argued that there are individual imitative and contrapuntal similarities with the works of Viadana and Alessandro Grandi, while the Italianate effect is furthered by the declamatory and almost

⁵⁵ William Child, *First Set of Psalmes of .III. Voyces* (London: James Reave, 1639).

⁵⁶ Parry, *Glory, Laud and Honour*, 66.

⁵⁷ Le Huray, ‘Chirk Castle Partbooks’, 21. Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, 92.

⁵⁸ David Price, *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 173. For Anthony Wood on Cromwell: ‘[John Hingston] was organist to Oliver Protector who had the organ of Magdalen College in the palace Hall of Hampton Court till his Maties Restauration, he breed up two Boyes to sing with himselfe Mr. Dearings printed latine songes for 3 voices, which Oliver was most taken with though he did not allow singing, or Organ in Church.’: Anthony Wood, *Notes for Biographies of English Musicians*. Bodleian MS. Wood D. 19 (4).

⁵⁹ Jonathan P. Wainwright, Introduction to *The First Set of Psalmes of III Voyces by William Child*, (York: York Early Music Press, 2015), v.

entirely syllabic style, frequent repetition of the 3-4-3 cadence and strong prevalence of intervals of diminished 4^{ths} at cadences formed between the minor mediant and leading note (Figure 5.6).⁶⁰

Figure 5.6: Conclusion of ‘Blessed is the man’, No. 1 in William Child’s *First Set*.

The musical score is written for four parts: Cantus Primus, Cantus Secundo, Bassus, and Basso Continuo. The lyrics are: "ex - er - cise him - selfe day and night, day and night, day and night, day and night." The Basso Continuo part includes figured bass notation: 6# 6, 64, b6, 76, 43.

Attempts made by Peter Webster to associate *stile nuovo* composition with Arminian or Laudian religious practices have proved fruitless, and Graham Parry’s account of the music of the Laudian movement reached similar conclusions regarding the lack of a Laudian musical style.⁶¹ Instead, Ester Lebedinski has shown Italian musical styles to have strong connotations of cultural exclusivity in later Stuart England, with Italian ensembles at the English court playing only for exclusive gatherings and the intimate nature of few-voiced music enhancing a patron’s status through the exclusion of social imitators.⁶² Italianate music might also have been considered by some as reminiscent of the Roman Catholic chapel of Queen Henrietta Maria, staffed by the organist Richard Dering, whose compositions in the Italian style derived from his exile in the Spanish Netherlands, and whose small-scale *concertato* motets have been argued by Wainwright to have served as an ‘immediate model’ for Child’s compositions.⁶³ The suggestion on Child’s title page that his *First Set* be used either in ‘private Chappells or other private meetings’ was probably thus intended to place them for readers or prospective purchasers in an exclusive, aristocratic setting.

The same connotations of social exclusivity arising from the few-voiced scoring and Italianate musical idioms may have appealed to William Braithwaite when he transcribed and edited the anthology *Siren coelestis* to exhibit his new system of musical notation in 1638, for which the English edition is known

⁶⁰ Wainwright, *First Set of Psalmes*, iv.

⁶¹ Peter Webster, ‘The relationship between religious thought and the theory and practice of church music in England, 1603-c.1640’ (PhD diss., University of Sheffield, 2001), 193. Parry, *Glory, Laud and Honour*, 166.

⁶² Ester Lebedinski, ‘Roman Vocal Music in England’ (PhD diss., Royal Holloway, University of London, 2014), 38, 72.

⁶³ Jonathan P. Wainwright, ‘Sounds of Piety and Devotion: Music in the Queen’s Chapel’, in *Henrietta Maria: Piety Politics and Patronage*, ed. Erin Griffey (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 196. Wainwright, Introduction to *Psalmes*, iv.

(see Chapter 1).⁶⁴ First printed in Munich by Anna Berg, the original collection was compiled by Georg Victorinus and brought together Italian sacred concertos with works emulating this style from some of Munich's most prominent musicians.⁶⁵ Victorinus, a priest from Silesia who worked as *Magister chori* at Munich's Jesuit college, had most likely compiled the Italian contents of this extensive collection of sacred concertos by composers in Bologna, Loreto, Venice and above all Rome, from single-composer editions which were published south of the Alps and dispersed in German-speaking lands by the various book fairs across the Empire.⁶⁶

The resolutely Roman Catholic and Jesuit historical background of *Siren coelestis* was echoed by the collection's contents: in addition to various hymns and antiphons to the Virgin Mary, the collection includes concertos venerating individual saints and even Biagio Tomasi's 'Ecce N Sacerdos Magnus', which was adaptable for the reverence of saints for whom no motet had been explicitly included. The Jesuit connotations of *Siren coelestis* have significant ramifications, particularly given the Italianate musical style of the collection and the resulting connotations of cultural exclusivity, which would have appealed to England's political elite. In the seventeenth century, the Society of Jesus was unrelenting in their attempts to convert the aristocracy of Europe as part of a missionary and educational programme: this has been shown by scholars such as Lars Berglund to have involved attempts at converting members of Protestant courts through the use of Italianate music, which they thought would idealise Rome and the Catholic church, as well as moving them to faith through the most inspirational music and emotive texts.⁶⁷ It is important to note that a revised edition of Victorinus's collection was republished in Munich by Johannes Hertsroy in 1622, and that it was undoubtedly the second edition which Braithwaite transcribed, as the English edition follows Hertsroy's 1622 edition by replacing Viadana's 'Indica mihi quem diligit' (no.17), with Rudolph di Lasso's 'Istorum est enim regnum coelorum'.⁶⁸ This later copy was marketed more widely, appearing in catalogues for the Frankfurt book fair between 1622 and 1626.⁶⁹ This strongly suggests that the collection was being shipped out of Munich to a wide audience rather than serving just a local market.⁷⁰

⁶⁴ William Braithwaite (ed.), *Siren coelestis centum harmonium, duarum, trium & quatuor vocum* (London: John Norton for William Braithwaite, 1638). The title page refers to this as 'Editio altera correctior & melior', although no other English editions survive.

⁶⁵ Georg Victorinus, *Siren coelestis*, (Munich: Anna Berg for Nikolaus Heinrich, 1616).

⁶⁶ Alexander Fisher, 'Celestial Sirens and Nightingales: Change and Assimilation in the Anthologies of Georg Victorinus', *The Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* 14 (2008): section 5. The prior publication of the overwhelming proportion of the collection's contents supports this otherwise unproven conclusion.

⁶⁷ Lars Berglund, 'Marvels of the Holy City', in *Commonplace Culture in Western Europe and in the Early Modern Period II: Consolidation of God—given Power*, ed. Katherine Banks and Philiep G. Bossier (Leuven: Peters, 2011), 166.

⁶⁸ Fisher, 'Celestial Sirens', 5.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 5.17.

⁷⁰ Georg Victorinus, *Siren coelestis*, (Munich: Johannes Hertsroy, 1622).

Braithwaite, clearly sensitive to the overtly Catholic connotations of the collection, altered the texts of the concertos. These changes are alluded to in his letter to Victorinus at the opening of the edition, which cites a fear of infringing Protestant doctrine:⁷¹

Hic contremiscens aures non aperiam. hic perhorrescens religione constringar in textu igitur pauca mutavi, quae mihi tecum non ae que conveniunt, eaque in illorum locum verba non inconcine suffeci.

(Here, afraid, I will not open my ears. Here, terrified by religious constraints, I have made a few changes in the text which do not seem right to me or you, and in their place I have provided uncontroversial words.)

Siren coelestis was therefore confessionally realigned on account of religious concerns, and Table 5.1 shows how references to overtly Catholic doctrine were replaced by a more Christocentric focus. Of five modified texts, three were changed to remove invocations of the Virgin Mary (nos. 4, 8 and 24). Antonio Cifra's 'Ave Maria' (no. 4) was refashioned into a hymn stressing the joint humanity and divinity of Christ, while Stefano Bernardi's 'De montibus Marie' (no. 8) was similarly refocussed as the invocation of the Virgin Mary's prayers are replaced with intimate pleadings to Christ. Cifra's 'Regina Caeli' (no. 24) was refashioned as 'Creator Coeli', alluding to God the Father's role as universal creator, although the remainder of the revised text observes Christ's resurrection and triumph over death ('vicit mortem', He has conquered death). Although Laudian religion of the 1630s had embraced saintly veneration, the guardian angel of Giacomo Finetti's 'Angele dei' and the veneration of St George in Victorinus's 'Bellator magne Georgi' were nonetheless deemed by Braithwaite to require similar refocussing on the Holy Spirit and Christ.

⁷¹ Braithwaite, *Siren coelestis*, f.1^v.

Table 5.1: Textual alterations in William Braithwaite, *Siren coelestis* (London: John Norton, 1638).

Motet No.	Johannes Hertsroy (Munich, 1622)	William Braithwaite, (London, 1638)
3	<p>Angele Dei, qui custos es mei me tibi commissum pietate superna hodie illumine, custodi rege & guberna.</p> <p>(Angel of God, my guardian dear, to whom God's love commits me here, ever this day, be at my side, to light and guard, to rule and guide.)</p>	<p>Spiritus Dei qui custos es mei, me tibi com(m)issum pietate superna, hodie illumine, costodi rege & guberna.</p> <p>(Spirit of God, my guardian dear, to whom God's love commits me here, ever this day, be at my side, to light and guard, to rule and guide.)</p>
4	<p>Ave Maria gratia plena Dominus tecum, benedicta tu in mulieribus & benedictus fructus ventris tui Iesus. Sancta Maria Regina caeli dulcis & pia, O mater Dei, Ora pro nobis peccatoribus ut cum electis te videamus.</p> <p>(Hail Mary, full of grace, blessed art thou among women and blessed is the fruit of thy womb, Jesus. Holy Mary, sweet and loving queen of heaven, O mother of God, pray for us sinners, that with the elect we may see you.)</p>	<p>Christe redemptor gratia plene & veritate veré deus, & veré homo in una persona, prius humilis, post exaltatus Iesu Christe redemptor, tu regnas cum patre, patris imago ad dextram Dei, <i>O fili Dei, O intercessor</i>. Ora pro nobis peccatoribus ut cum electis te videamus.</p> <p>(O Christ redeemer, full of grace and truly very God and very man in one person, first lowly, thereafter exalted. O Jesus Christ, redeemer, you are the father's image at the right hand of God. O son of God, O intercessor, pray for us sinners, that with the elect we may see you.)</p>
5	<p>Bellator magne Georgi, magna potentia, magnus, bellasti debellasti, inferni draconem. Pro nobis ora Deum, ut pari potentia magni, bellemus de bellemus, inferni draconem.</p> <p>(O great warrior George, great power, great one, thou hast fought, thou has vanquished the dragon of hell. Pray to God for us, that great with like power, we may fight, may vanquish the dragon of hell.)</p>	<p>Salvator sancte, Iesu Bellator magne, Leo de tribu Iudae, magna potentia, rex regum, Bellasti debellasti, reportans victoriam, Domine Dominorum, deturbans coelo draconem cruce, pro nobis, ora Deum, ut victima sanguinis tui, hostia corporis tui, Bellemus debellemus portantes victoriam, Domine Dominorum, deturbantes cordibus Satanam. Amen.</p> <p>(O holy saviour, great warrior Jesus, Lion of the tribe of Judah, great power, king of kings, thou hast fought, thou has vanquished, gaining the victory, Lord of Lords, casting down the dragon from heaven by the cross. Pray to God for us, that through the offering of thy blood, the sacrifice of thy body, we may fight, we may vanquish, gaining the victory, Lord of Lords, we may cast down Satan from [our] hearts. Amen)</p>
8	<p>De Montibus Mariae viginis, Resonat vox dulcissima, venite ad montem gratiae O mundi corde, venite ad montem Myrrhae & exultate in chordis & Organo. O castissima virgo, O clementissima mater, Audi virgo, Audi mater & intercede pro nobis ad Dominum. Alleluia.</p> <p>(From the mountains of the Virgin Mary resounded a sweet voice, come to the mountain of grace O pure of heart, come to the mountain of myrrh and praise the Lord in</p>	<p>In nubibus ad nos praefulgidis cum angelis flammantibus qua(m) cito Iesu veni sponse, sonet tuba archangeli, resonet vox angelica. Venite, resurgite mortui pii ad vitam gloriae, O mundi corde venite ad finem aevi, tunc exultemus in hymnis & iubilis. O sanctissime Iesu, O beatissime Christe, Iesu audi, audi Christe et intercede pro nobis ad Dominum. Alleluia.</p> <p>(In bright clouds with angels blazing come to us quickly, O promised Jesus, let the archangel's trumpet sound, let the angelic voice resound. Come, rise up you pious dead to the life of glory, O you</p>

	strings and instruments. O most chaste virgin, O most merciful mother, hear O virgin, hear O mother and intercede for us with God. Alleluia.)	pure of heart, to the end of the world, then let us exult in hymns and cries of joy. O most holy Jesus, O most blessed Jesus hear, hear O Christ and intercede for us with the Lord. Alleluia.)
24	Regina Caeli laetare, Alleluia. Quia quem meruisti portare, Alleluia. Resurrexit sicut dixit, Alleluia. Ora pro nobis Deum, Alleluia. (Queen of Heaven rejoice, Alleluia. he whom you were worthy to bear, Alleluia. As he said, has arisen, Alleluia. Pray to God for us, Alleluia.)	Creator Coeli laetamur, Alleluia. Quia quem misisti pati, Alleluia. Resurrexit sicut dixit, Alleluia. Vicit mortem, Alleluia. (Creator of the heavens rejoice, Alleluia. He who was sent to suffer, Alleluia. As he said, has arisen, Alleluia. He has conquered death, Alleluia.)

The Catholic connotations of *Siren coelestis* were perhaps responsible for the unexplained statement of Thurston Dart that this publication was printed illegally.⁷² Braithwaite's privilege, described in Chapter 2 and which he reproduced in the pamphlet edition of his grant, covered the publication of music in different languages and gave him similarly free rein to print without scrutiny from censors as there was no need for him to enter his editions into the register of the Stationers' Company. Nonetheless, the latter clauses of Braithwaite's privilege concerning the rights of the Crown or Privy Council to remove his grant on grounds of 'mischievous' publication may have prompted him to make these textual changes, and the influence of such clauses on the confessional orientation of music publishing is without parallel in England in this period. The association of Braithwaite's edition with Charles I, by both the title page's offering of the collection to the king and its origins in a royal privilege, was also a likely cause of this de-catholicisation. Jonathan Wainwright has observed similar alterations made to manuscript copies of Alessandro Grandi's motets which were associated with the royal family: he suggests that changes such as that to Grandi's 'Ave Sanctissima Maria', revised as 'Ave sanctissime Messia', were necessary to enable performance of these compositions in the king's presence.⁷³

Braithwaite's alterations were made in the spirit of the collection's Jesuit origin and maintained the characteristic personal intimacy of Jesuit devotional music. 'In nubibus ad nos' (no. 8) is one such modified text, and phrases such as 'O sanctissime Iesu, O beatissime Christe Iesu audi, audi Christe' ('O most holy Jesus, O most blessed Jesus hear, hear O Christ') resort to the hyperbolic levels of intimate pleading and spiritual interiority which, as Robert Kendrick has shown, characterised continental devotional practices.⁷⁴ Mary Frandsen observes similarly intense devotional expressions in the Lutheran anthologies of Ambrosius Profe, who like Braithwaite modified Italian and German

⁷² Thurston Dart, revised by John Morehen and Richard Rastall, 'Tablature', GMO.

⁷³ Jonathan Wainwright, 'The King's Music', in *The Royal Image: Representations of Charles I*, ed. Thomas N. Corns (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 169.

⁷⁴ Robert L. Kendrick, 'Sacred Songs and Oratorios', in *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music*, ed. Tim Carter and John Butt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 324.

Catholic devotional music to incorporate ‘de-Marianized’ Christocentric texts.⁷⁵ However, such superficial alterations of Marian or other Catholic texts have been argued by Lars Berglund to be typical of the minor changes made in the Jesuit collections of Italianate concertos which were intended to convert the aristocracy at Protestant courts: citing a Swedish retexting of Carissimi’s ‘Salve Regina’ with near identical changes to Braithwaite’s, Berglund suggested that the original text would have been unavoidably clear to the informed listeners whose conversion was intended.⁷⁶ Sensualised, even semi-erotic devotional texts addressed to the Virgin Mary or Christ were the hallmarks of these Jesuit collections which were intended to provoke emotive reactions among listeners, and the changes to ‘In nubibus ad nos’ (no. 8) see Braithwaite surpass the original in this regard: the idea of Christ as a spouse or bridegroom is invoked by the words ‘Iesu veni sponse’ (Come O bridegroom Jesus), which echoes motet settings of ‘Veni, sponsa Christi’ and the impassioned continental devotional texts centred on Christ which were derived from the language of the Song of Solomon.⁷⁷

While Italianate concertos more generally had connotations of aristocratic exclusivity in England, in 1630s London these Latin devotional compositions would probably have had strong associations with the Roman Catholic chapel of Queen Henrietta Maria. Richard Dering’s appointment at the queen’s chapel is believed to have been conducive to the introduction of few-voiced concertos in the Italian style to the English court, such as those published by Phalèse during Dering’s exile in the Low Countries, but Jonathan Wainwright has also argued an indirect relationship between the Italian repertoire of Hatton’s music library which was purchased from Robert Martin (as described in Chapter 2) and the repertoire of Henrietta Maria’s chapel.⁷⁸ Elements of the Jesuit origins of Braithwaite’s collection which hint towards the conversion of Protestant courts also have strong historical associations with the queen’s chapel, a bastion of Roman Catholic religion which was responsible for the conversion of several prominent aristocrats and which enticed curious Protestants to observe its music, art and even liturgical machinery, all of which was inspired by the artistic influences of Baroque Rome.⁷⁹

In these respects, both in relation to the musical idiom of the contents and the preservation and extension of the textual style of the words, Braithwaite’s collection appears to have been tailored to the tastes of the social elite, alluding through the social exclusivity of the Italianate music to their private spaces. No record of Braithwaite’s personal religious convictions remains and the suggestion that he was personally responsible for subversive attempts to convert members of the court seems somewhat inflated. Instead,

⁷⁵ Mary Frandsen, ‘The Anthologies of Ambrosius Profe (1589-1661) and Lutheran Spirituality’ in *Festschrift for Prof. Kerala J. Snyder*, eds. Johann Norback, Joel Speerstra and Ralph P. Locke. (Published online by the University of Gothenburg < <https://gupea.ub.gu.se/handle/2077/54750> >, 2017), 2.

⁷⁶ Berglund, ‘Marvels of the Holy City’, 160.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 167.

⁷⁸ Jonathan Wainwright, ‘Sounds of Piety and Devotion’, 202.

⁷⁹ Sharpe, *Personal Rule*, 305. Smuts, *Court Culture*, 228.

Braithwaite's realignment of the collection's confessional orientation was likely motivated by the terms of his privilege and what is effectively the dedication of the collection to Charles I on the title page. Like William Child's *First Set*, also dedicated to Charles I, this collection supplied music in the Italian *concertato* style which was theologically appropriate for the devotional activities of socially elite Protestant courtiers. Indeed, viewed through the lens of confessionalisation it could be postulated that the provision of Italianate music with appropriate texts for Protestant courtiers had the potential to restrict religious unorthodoxy by offering an English alternative to continental editions imported from Roman Catholic countries. Yet by providing a repertory suitable only for the tastes of the elite, these collections arguably reinforced the factionalism that Laud and other religious leaders sought to combat through uniformity of practice. Finally, whether music in this style retained its social capital when published for a commercial market is questionable, and it seems possible also that attempts to associate these two collections with idealised settings of aristocratic private chapels or socially-elite audiences were a way of conveying the devotional character of the music to potential purchasers.

Barnard's *First Book* and the provision of music for the Laudian church

Music was one of many contentious elements of High Church practice associated with the liturgical innovations of the Laudian movement, and was subject to vehement criticism by Puritan polemicists: in *Histriomastix*, William Prynne likened liturgical polyphony to the cries of farm animals and suggested that singers indulged in 'whorish harmony to tickle their eares';⁸⁰ Peter Smart railed against the multiplicity of singers and instrumentalists in Durham Cathedral, claiming 'the greatest part of the service is no better understood, than if it were in Hebrue or Irish'.⁸¹ These exaggerated objections responded to a pattern of change in music-making in services across cathedrals, university chapels and other liturgical institutions, shown by Ian Payne among others to include an increase in the employment of liturgical musicians, the sizes of choirs, and the copying of manuscripts of service music.⁸² It was in this climate of growing musical activity in liturgical centres that John Barnard published his *First Book of Selected Church Music* (1641), the earliest attempt to represent in print the 'Services and Anthems, such as are now used in the Cathedrall, and Colligiat Churches of this Kingdome'. Barnard's collection has been described by scholars including Jonathan Wainwright as comprising of overwhelmingly conservative repertoire, even within its self-defined remit of deceased composers.⁸³

The present section investigates the relationship between Barnard's collection and the Laudian church, interpreting this edition via the contemporary aspirations of uniformity and order that underpinned confessionalised religion. Although Barnard's edition holds a unique position in the history of early Stuart music publishing as a collection of polyphonic service music for use by choirs, other collections of non-polyphonic music, published in the psalm book tradition and most likely intended for congregational singing, should briefly be acknowledged for their pertinence to music publishing and liturgical worship. George Wither's *Hymnes and Songs of the Church* (1623), dedicated to James I and published under a generous royal privilege (as described in Chapter 2), is one such publication which was possibly intended for use in churches and which broke with Calvinist traditions in its use of non-scriptural texts, commemoration of feasts in the church's calendar and celebration of the more sacramental elements of religious practice.⁸⁴ Wither's preface explicitly states that he did not intend the

⁸⁰ William Prynne, *Histriomastix. The Players Scourge or Actors Tragedie* (London: Michael Sparke, 1633), 285. In his historical account of the trial of William Laud, Prynne argued somewhat fancifully that the manner in which musicians sang to organs in Laud's chapel in Lambeth, as well as in cathedrals before the Civil War, had attempted to assimilate Roman Catholic characteristics which were prescribed in Clement VIII's *Ceremoniale Episcoporum*: Prynne, *Canterburies Doome*, 65.

⁸¹ Quoted from Parry, *Glory, Laud and Honour*, 2.

⁸² Among the greatest centres of copying activity were Ely, Durham and Peterhouse, Cambridge. Copying projects at Ely and Peterhouse are described in chapters five and six of Payne's monograph: Payne, *Provision and Practice*, 80-109.

⁸³ Jonathan Wainwright, 'England, 1603-1642', in *European Music 1520-1640*, ed. James Haar (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2006), 520.

⁸⁴ George Wither, *Hymnes and Songs of the Church* (London: Assignees of George Wither, 1623).

edition to be ‘thought Part of the Churches Liturgie’, although this might represent a rhetorical display of humility or might suggest that he intended the hymns to be supplementary rather than integral to the Prayer Book;⁸⁵ Peter le Huray gave no credence to such protestations and declared that the collection was ‘designed from the outset for congregational use’.⁸⁶ Henry Lawes’s settings of George Sandys’s *Paraphrase upon the Psalmes of David* (1638) have also been suggested to have been published for congregational use in liturgical performances. Sandys’s translation of the psalms, which together with the musical settings of Lawes were dedicated to the King, has been shown by Parry to have linked the ceremonies in King David’s time with ritualistic elements of Laudian worship.⁸⁷ Ian Spink argued that the musical settings were published initially for domestic use, but he further surmised that they were released with the possible undeclared intention of replacing the Sternhold and Hopkins psalter used in churches.⁸⁸

That Barnard’s *First Book* is of Laudian orientation has already been suggested by Daniel Bamford, who based this interpretation on its inclusion of music for the Sanctus and Gloria from the communion service, the fact that it attempted to provide music for all elements of the divine service, and the inclusion of music with triple time, which Bamford claims would have been disapproved of by Puritans.⁸⁹ These three arguments are here nuanced and built upon through an examination of Barnard’s edition through the lens of confessionalisation, as well as being considered with greater emphasis on the role of publishing in advancing the aims of the established church.

Bamford argues that the inclusion of the Sanctus and Gloria of Tallis’s *Short Service* in Barnard’s *First Book* suggests the collection promoted an emphasis on sacramental worship, although it should be noted that revisionist historians have contested the extent to which Laudian clerics’ personal sacramental theology influenced the reforms and innovations of the 1630s, as well as the uniformity of application of such ideals. Kevin Sharpe has shown that ideas about sacramental theology have been greatly exaggerated in relation to the ‘altar controversy’, demonstrating that Laud himself was indifferent towards the movement of altars to east walls and favoured altar rails only because they served as a protection against profanity.⁹⁰ The supposed Laudian emphasis on the communion service is moderated by the relative equivalence of Laudian and Calvinist eucharistic theology and by the fact that the increase in sacramental worship was relative, with some of Laud’s keenest supporters, Nicholas Ferrar

⁸⁵ Wither, *Hymnes and Songs*, Sig.[A3].

⁸⁶ Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, 392.

⁸⁷ Parry, *Glory, Laud, and Honour*, 150.

⁸⁸ Ian Spink, *Henry Lawes: Cavalier Songwriter* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 114. Parry suggests that these settings were intended for use in the Chapel Royal, before echoing the supposed intention of replacing the Sternhold and Hopkins psalter in certain parish churches. Parry, *Glory, Laud, and Honour*, 150.

⁸⁹ Daniel Bamford, ‘John Barnard’s *First Book of Selected Church Music*: Genesis, Production and Influence’ (PhD diss., University of York, 2009), 250.

⁹⁰ Sharpe, *Personal Rule*, 333.

and John Scudamore, receiving communion monthly rather than three times annually.⁹¹ The relationship between music and the communion service has thus rightly been treated with caution. Sung settings of the Gloria and Sanctus were certainly encouraged at Peterhouse during John Cosin's time as Dean, but the practices of this closed collegiate community cannot be taken as representative of the Laudian movement as a whole, and Peter Webster has shown that there was no significant copying of settings of these two movements at other liturgical centres of Laudian influence.⁹² Likewise, Charles's orders for the sounding of trumpets during communion at Holyroodhouse have been interpreted by Graham Parry and Anthony Milton as dramatic spectacle of political power rather than representative of triumphant eucharistic theology;⁹³ indeed, the sung Gloria and Sanctus at Charles's coronation were deemed optional, to be omitted if time ran short, and both were cut entirely for his Scottish coronation.⁹⁴

Besides a supposed eucharistic bias implied by the presence of the Sanctus and Gloria, other elements of repertoire in Barnard's *First Book* elucidate its association with Laudian liturgical practices and thought. Settings of seasonal collects which might be sung on the relevant feast were identified by Peter Webster as a possible trait of ceremonial religion and were associated with the High Church centres of Durham and Peterhouse as well as the later manuscripts connected with John Cosin.⁹⁵ However, because the earliest of these compositions appear in the Jacobean period, there was clearly limited scope for them to feature in Barnard's collection of music by deceased composers. The two settings of seasonal collects in Barnard's collection, Gibbons's 'Almighty and everlasting God' and Batten's 'Lord we beseech thee', were seasonally neutral in their texts and widespread in their circulation, so offer no evidence to suggest Barnard's collection responded to this practice. Indeed, the only piece Barnard's *First Book* stipulated to be for seasonal use was Byrd's Easter anthem 'Christ Rising', which he explains to be intended to replace the Venite exultemus.

The consecration services for churches, chapels and altars represented another contentious practice associated with the Laudian movement and which related to the strong theological ideas held by the Arminian party of the church as a sanctified space; liturgical music is known to have played a significant part in these services.⁹⁶ The consecration of the new altar in St Peter's Church, Wolverhampton in 1635

⁹¹ James F. Turrell, 'Anglican Theologies of the Eucharist', in *A Companion to the Eucharist in the Reformation*, ed. Lee Palmer Wandel (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2014), 153. Parry, *Glory, Laud and Honour*, 39, 118.

⁹² Webster, 'Relationship Between Religious Thought', 162.

⁹³ Parry, *Glory, Laud and Honour*, 159. Anthony Milton, "'That Sacred Oratory": Religion and the Chapel Royal during the Personal Rule of Charles I' in *William Lawes (1602-1645), Essays on his Life, Times and Work*, ed. Andrew Ashbee (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 83.

⁹⁴ John Wickham Legg, *English Orders for Consecrating Churches in the Seventeenth Century* (London: The Henry Bradshaw Society, 1911), 81.

⁹⁵ John Morehen, 'The English Anthem Text 1549-1660', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 117 (1998): 75. Webster, 'Relationship Between Religious Thought', 168.

⁹⁶ Parry, *Glory, Laud and Honour*, 171.

attracted William Prynne's criticism in *A Quench-Coale*, a pamphlet which not only decried the use of incense and ritual washing of hands, but also reviled the 'Chorasters' who probably accompanied the clergy from Lichfield Cathedral, and objected to 'the Organs blowing, great singing, not heard in this church before, which kind of service lasted two howres at least', and latterly the 'divers Anthems & Responds'.⁹⁷ Manuscript orders of service show that cathedral and collegiate choirs undoubtedly played a part in these ceremonies: the choir of Westminster Abbey sang a full anthem, two verse anthems and an accompanied Te Deum at the consecration of the Earl of Bridgewater's chapel in 1620;⁹⁸ a similar service was conducted in 1630 for the consecration of the new chapel of Sir Henry Willoughby, the same dedicatee of East's *Third Set*, and here a choir which was likely from Lichfield cathedral (as might be inferred from the presence of the Dean) sang accompanied music including a setting of 'Glorious and powerful God' with a text identical to that of Orlando Gibbons's composition.⁹⁹ John Morehen has argued that Byrd's 'Prevent us, O Lord' likely had particular prominence at consecration or dedication services, and while its inclusion in Barnard's *First Book* is hardly firm evidence that the collection was specifically intended to cover such services of dedication, it is worth noting that Barnard also considered Gibbons's 'Glorious and powerful God' for his collection, a piece whose text is specifically appropriate to these occasions, copying it into the preparatory manuscripts.¹⁰⁰

The tenuity of these possible associations with Laudianism which might be borne out in the *First Book*'s reflection of sacramentalism, seasonality and spatial sanctity may reflect the difficulty of specifying the precise practices and theological convictions of the Laudian party. Nonetheless, firmer associations with the Laudian movement, and particularly with the brand of confessionalised state religion of Charles I's reign, can be drawn out of the prefatory material of Barnard's collection and the wider rationale for this anthology. The religious policy of Laud, which was close to that of the King and which resulted in the acrimonious disputes with Puritan dissenters, was one of overwhelming commitment to conformity and uniformity of theology, ecclesiastical organisation and liturgical practice: Laud and like-minded clerical colleagues insisted on uniformity of ceremonies and liturgical practice because they believed localised and unregulated practices bred division and dissent.¹⁰¹

While Barnard's *First Book* was not part of an organised undertaking on behalf of the church to homogenise repertoire across all cathedrals, his rationale for printing the collection (to save 'choycest Master-peeces' from 'the danger of perishing, or corrupting in erroneous and manuscript obscurity') suggests a desire to harness printing to promote accurate versions of compositions, which he clearly

⁹⁷ William Prynne, *A Quench-Coale* ([Amsterdam]: s.n., 1637), 196.

⁹⁸ Legg, *Orders for Consecrating Churches*, 81.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 136.

¹⁰⁰ John Morehen, 'English Anthem Text', 83. 'Glorious and Powerful God' appears in Bamford's inventory of the 'Barnard Manuscripts', RCM 1045-1051: Bamford, 'Barnard's First Book', 388.

¹⁰¹ Sharpe, *Personal Rule*, 288.

considered to number among the church's assets from which all cathedrals should benefit. Bamford's suggestion that the *First Book* espouses Laudian ideals in its attempt to provide comprehensive coverage of musical settings for all elements of the divine service can be supported by the real and documented aspirations of parts of the Laudian church regarding provision of liturgical music, and while no requirements for through-singing of the divine office were ever mandated by clerical edict, it is of considerable significance that this sense of comprehensive musical provision permeated the official instructions given by Laudian clerics. Visitation articles for cathedral churches give a firmer view of the extent to which some Laudian bishops actively enforced the provision of notated service music, as Matthew Wren's 1635 articles for Hereford Cathedral demonstrate in their questioning:¹⁰²

Whether is your Church and Quire well furnished with song-bookes for the daily service ... fairely and truly written, well bound and [well] kept... And if not, in whome is the default?

Wren's questions as to whether the cathedral's manuscripts were well bound and kept is typical of the Laudian preoccupation with order and maintenance of ecclesiastical assets, as was expressed in Laud's own personal campaign to restore the church's lands, rents and the fabric of church buildings.¹⁰³ But Wren's interest in their physical condition was perhaps echoed by Barnard's concerns in his dedication over the durability of manuscripts, which he sought to address by binding together service music in a 'safe bundle of perpetuall memory', offered to Charles I as a 'solid, and durable adornment'. Likewise, Wren's description of Hereford Cathedral as being 'well furnished' with manuscripts of notated service music highlights the importance of these resources as equipment or accoutrements which form part of the church's fabric. Ideas of furnishing the church building, which Parry explores extensively both in relation to visual arts and also in items of joint aesthetic appeal and liturgical function like communion plate, are clearly identifiable in Wren's ideas of music manuscripts as furnishings, as well as in Barnard's description of his collection as a 'solid and durable ornament'. Finally, Wren's stipulation that the manuscripts be 'truly written' strikes even closer to Barnard's objective of protecting the cathedral repertoire from 'erroneous and manuscript obscurity', and demonstrates a concern for the accurate notation of service music to enable competent performance of choral services.

Wren's visitation articles go beyond surviving articles from most other cathedrals in the specificity of their stipulations, but they make explicit the link between the rationale of preservation and provision in Barnard's collection and the wider Laudian ideals of maintaining the good estate of the church.¹⁰⁴ It is perhaps telling that the collection was issued under the aegis of Charles I's patronage given the king's

¹⁰² These articles are reproduced from Hereford Cathedral Archives, Dean and Chapter MS 1560. Quoted from Payne, *Provision and Practice*, 83

¹⁰³ Sharpe, *Personal Rule*, 308.

¹⁰⁴ For the articles of other diocesan visitations: Kenneth Fincham, *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Early Stuart Church*, (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1998).

role as the driving force behind the 1630s restoration of St Paul's, where Barnard was employed.¹⁰⁵ The renovation of St Paul's, for which Charles established a royal commission and personally paid for a new porch designed by Inigo Jones, addressed significant national shame surrounding the decay of the capital's cathedral; moreover, the remodelling of the west front in the classical style reflected both the king's hopes for the architectural refashioning of London as an appropriate monument to the success of his reign, and the contemporary aspirations of the classical style towards imbuing national pride, societal harmony and public civility.¹⁰⁶ Barnard alluded to similar aspirations in the dedication of the *First Book*, where he recounted with nationalistic tone the establishment of English church music under Theodore of Tarsus and lamented the loss of England's musical endeavours in the years before the supposed golden age under Elizabeth I, but also lauded the capacity of church music to 'mitigate and civilize the rough and boystrous fancie of a Nation'. Cementing Barnard's respect for the king's role in guiding the church as its Supreme Governor are the three musical settings of prayers for the king described in the following section: Byrd's 'O Lord, make thy servant', Weelkes's 'O Lord, grant the king' and Byrd's 'Thou God that guidest'.¹⁰⁷

Thus, rather than being associated with the supposed 'counter-reformation' described by Graham Parry, by which the High Church promoted an anti-Puritan agenda, 'sacramental' theology and ceremonial worship, Barnard's liturgical collection is instead more simply identifiable with the Laudian reformation of the church's physical and clerical estate. Barnard's statement on the title page that the collection was 'publisht for the generall good of all' and his observation in the dedication that the music could thereafter be acquired 'with much more ease, and farre lesse expence' demonstrates a desire to serve notions of common good in maintaining the church's assets and furnishing liturgical institutions with the necessary devices for worship which met the basic standards and expectations, as so clearly expressed in Wren's visitation articles. The laying down of a clear and accurate record of English service repertoire which was easily accessible and inexpensive might have coincided with early Stuart aspirations towards liturgical growth and reform, as was expressed in the foundation of choirs at the restored collegiate church in Ripon and the College of God's Gift in Dulwich, both of which would have lacked the resources of cathedrals of older choral foundation, or was possibly intended to supply those new churches and chapels for whose dedication ceremonies music played a significant role.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ Sharpe, *Personal Rule*, 322. Smuts, *Court Culture*, 127.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 166.

¹⁰⁷ Nos. 54, 63 and 71 in Bamford's inventory. Bamford, 'Barnard's First Book', 416.

¹⁰⁸ For the new foundations at Ripon and Dulwich: Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, 16-17.

‘His most sacred majesty’: music and sacral kingship

Seventeenth-century notions of kingship, and more specifically Anglo-French notions of sacral kingship, drew both on political belief and religious doctrine. The contemporary affirmation by the Earl of Strafford that ‘Kings on the throne are pictures of divine Majesty’ gives some sense of the interrelation of temporal and divine authority, while Malcolm Smuts and Ronald Asch have argued more specifically for a crossover between a royal ‘cult’ of sacred kingship centred on Charles I and the Laudian ecclesiastical movement, with each deriving authority from notions of divine anointing and shared symbolism and ceremony.¹⁰⁹ Some of Charles I’s most outward and ritualistic representations of divine monarchy were embodied in sacred music: the procession of the Knights of the Garter, a spectacle which Charles moved from Whitehall to the more private location at Windsor, involved knights processing in lavish cloaks and the king walking under a golden canopy, followed by a choir which chanted the Great Litany in procession.¹¹⁰

The jointly religious and political foundations of the English monarchy allowed for expression of kingship through sacred music. Lorenzo Bianconi, writing about sacred music in kingdoms with centralised, stable and absolute monarchies, described French and English repertoires as ‘music of state’ in relation to the sacred music of Louis XIV’s court and the similar repertoires encouraged by Charles II after the Restoration.¹¹¹ This section argues that a similar (albeit unfulfilled) aspiration for sacred music to be ‘music of state’ can be detected in some of the musical endeavours of Charles I’s reign. Evidence from printed books is set out here to show how notions of sacral kingship were displayed in the publication of sacred music, including in: the texts of sacred music which propagated positive notions of kingship and acted as thinly veiled metaphors for Charles I’s reign; the rhetorical addresses to Charles I in these editions’ paratexts mirroring a changing role of royal patronage of music printing; and the changes to peritextual decoration which encouraged cult-like reverence of the king’s person.

Musical commemoration of the monarch’s role as supreme governor of the Church of England had significant precedent in sixteenth-century settings of collects or prayers for their wellbeing, such as Byrd’s ‘O Lord, make thy servant’, an anthem for the Elizabethan celebration of Accession Day which continued to be copied widely in liturgical manuscripts into the seventeenth century.¹¹² These anthems had a distinctly liturgical feel because their texts either adapted or imitated collects from the Prayer

¹⁰⁹ From Bodleian Library Tanner MS 67, f.122. Quoted from Sharpe, *Personal Rule*, 182. Smuts, *Court Culture*, 230. On these ideas: Ibid., Ronald Asch, *Sacral Kingship between Disenchantment and Re-enchantment* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn, 2014), 71.

¹¹⁰ Richard Cust, *Charles I, A Political Life* (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2005), 160.

¹¹¹ Lorenzo Bianconi, *Music in the Seventeenth Century*, trans. David Bryant (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 148.

¹¹² Craig Monson, ‘Authenticity and Chronology in Byrd’s Church Anthems’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 35 (1982): 287.

Book, but this sub-genre of prayers for the monarch is also found in some non-liturgical printed editions like Alison's *Howres Recreation*. This collection includes 'O Lord bow down thine ear', described on the title page as a 'prayer for the long preservation of the King and his posteritie', and which explicitly seeks intercession on behalf of the king, queen and Prince Henry of Wales.¹¹³ Collects for the king were accorded some prominence in John Barnard's *First Book*, and although it is noted earlier in this chapter that Barnard included relatively few seasonal collects for use on feasts of the church's calendar, the collection contains three collects for the king: alongside Byrd's 'O Lord, make thy servant' are Thomas Weelkes's 'O Lord, grant the king a long life' and Byrd's 'Thou God that guidest', a verse anthem for the 'King's Day'.¹¹⁴ In addition, Barnard collected similar pieces by living composers in his manuscripts for possible publication in a second volume, such as William Cranford's setting of 'O Lord, make thy servant'.¹¹⁵ The anthems which were ultimately included in the *First Book* by Barnard are some of the most substantial compositions contained in the volume, and their large number of voices resulted in their positioning towards the rear of the relative full and verse sections alongside anthems for Easter Day and the Ascension.

Some sacred compositions published in the early Stuart era were set to texts which reinforced ideas of divinely-appointed kingship through comparison or allusion between the monarch and kings in the Old Testament. As is explained in Chapter 3, Henry Lawes made explicit one such association in his *Choice Psalms*, where he wrote in the dedication to Charles I that 'Your Majesties condition, is lively described by King David's pen', inviting the reader or performer to interpret each psalm text thereafter as if it related to Charles's own circumstances as a victim of unlawful rebellion, injustice and false imprisonment.¹¹⁶ Alongside Henry Lawes's numerous penitential psalms encapsulating the king's despondency are settings such as 'Lord judge my cause, thy piercing eye beholds my souls integrity', a paraphrase of Psalm 43, which was clearly included for its expression of the idea that Charles was submissable only to God's justice.¹¹⁷ Likewise, the setting of 'The king Jehovah with thy justice crowne, and in a God-like reigne his Son renowne' (Psalm 72) propagates similar ideas of monarchical accountability when read in relation to Charles's circumstances, while also stressing through the acts of coronation and inheritance that successive generations of English kings were divinely-anointed representatives of God's rule.¹¹⁸ Lawes's implicit invocation of Charles as speaker in each of these psalms also foreshadows the intense interest of the royalist cult after the king's 'martyrdom' in the

¹¹³ No. 23 in each partbook.

¹¹⁴ Nos. 54, 63 and 71 in Bamford's inventory. Bamford, 'Barnard's First Book', 416.

¹¹⁵ Listed in Bamford's inventory of LCM MSS 1045-51: Ibid., 381.

¹¹⁶ Henry Lawes et al., *Choice Psalmes* (London: James Young for Humphrey Mosley, 1648), Sig. [A₃'].

¹¹⁷ Corverdale: 'Give sentence with me, O God, and defend my cause against the ungodly people'. No. 5 in each partbook.

¹¹⁸ Corverdale: 'Give the King thy judgements, O God: and righteousness unto the King's son'. No. 28 in each partbook.

details of his spiritual life, with the texts of Charles's prayers and devotions being published in *Eikon Basilike* (1649) and later set to music by John Wilson in *Psalterium Carolinum* (1657).

These analogous expressions of kingship through the texts of musical compositions were matched by the rhetorical addresses to the monarch made in the paratextual material of printed music books. Lawes's *Choice Psalmes* are dedicated 'To his Most Sacred Majestie, Charles', a reference to the monarch's personal sanctity not found in earlier dedications of music publications and which anticipates use of the same phrase in later editions of the royalist cult like *Eikon Basilike* and *Psalterium Carolinum*.¹¹⁹ The theme of sacred royalty had appeared early in Charles's reign, with Edward Filmer's *French Court-Aires* containing a dedication to Queen Henrietta Maria which addressed her as 'Sacred Ladie', but William Child made similar allusions when he described the Order of the Garter in his dedication of the *First Set* to Charles as 'that Sacred Order', as this drew on the sacred pageantry displayed in the Windsor processions described above.¹²⁰ Rather than describing himself as dedicating or offering his compositions, Child 'consecrateth' his music to Charles, a phrase repeated when John Barnard claimed to have collected church music in a 'safe bundle ... consecrated to your Majesties glorious patronage'.¹²¹

This growing number of dedicatory addresses to Charles I which made some reference to the sacred nature of the monarchy was possibly symptomatic of the greatly increased number of musical publications dedicated to the king, for which there was remarkably little precedent. Elizabeth I accepted only the dedication of Tallis and Byrd's *Cantiones ... sacrae* (1575) and has been claimed to have spurned the dedication of *Triumphs of Oriana*.¹²² Likewise, James I was the dedicatee of only two books with music, namely Robinson's *School of Musicke* (1603) and Wither's *Hymnes and Songs* (1623); each of these contained relatively little notated music and thus were respectively more conducive to his image as a patron respectively of learning and Reformed religion. By contrast, Charles I first accepted the dedication of Leighton's *Teares or Lamentacions* in childhood, and was subsequently the dedicatee of the collections of Braithwaite, Child, Barnard, and the Lawes brothers, as well as Henry Lawes's settings of George Sandys's *Paraphrases* (1638); because of the general decline of music publishing, these amounted to half of all new editions of music in Charles's reign. The fact that every one of these publications was a collection of sacred music is similarly telling: by comparison with James I, Charles's receipt of publications ranging from polyphonic service music to devotional psalms in the Italian concerted style suggests a more comprehensive inclination towards patronage of the religious arts, akin to his support for the restoration of St Paul's described above. The restriction of Charles's patronage of

¹¹⁹ Lawes, *Choice Psalmes*, Sig. A₃^v.

¹²⁰ Edward Filmer, *French Court-Aires* (London: William Stansby, 1629), Sig. [A₂^r].

¹²¹ Child, *First Set*, Sig. [A₂^r]. Barnard, *First Book*, Sig. [A₂^v].

¹²² Jeremy Smith accounts for the claims and relative counterclaims against the suggestion that Elizabeth I objected to the publication and had it suppressed. Smith, 117.

music publishing to sacred genres is perhaps therefore indicative of its status as a kind of ‘music of the state’, not in the sense meant by Bianconi in relation to specific compositional genre like the *grand motet* being advanced through royal taste, but as a wider tranche of repertoire which was appropriate for association with the monarch in print.

This legacy of Charles’s patronage which is borne out in the paratextual spaces of the printed music book is matched in the peritextual decoration of the same editions. The appearance of Charles’s insignia as Prince of Wales in Leighton’s *Teares* (as shown in Chapter 3) and a woodblock depiction of a Tudor rose mounted with fleur-de-lis on the title page of Barnard’s *First Book* are equivalent to the appearance of the coats of arms of patrons on the pages opposite dedications. However, Child’s *First Set* and Lawes’s *Choice Psalmes* witness more far-reaching innovation with their inclusion of engraved portraits of the king (Figure 5.7).

Figure 5.7: Engraved portraits of Charles I. Left, William Child, *First Set of Psalms*, Cantus Primus Sig. [A₂^v]. University of Glasgow, Special Collections R.c.19. Right, Henry Lawes, *Choice Psalmes*, Bassus Sig. [A^v]. Huntington Library, Call no. 105742.



The inclusion of a portrait of the dedicatee was entirely unprecedented in English music publishing; in publishing in general, engraved portraits usually depicted the author. Nonetheless, John Peacock has drawn attention to the growing circulation of engraved portraits of Charles I in the 1620s and 1630s,

many of which were modelled on portraits by Anthony van Dyck.¹²³ Kevin Sharpe describes these portraits as having received little scholarly attention, and while he describes them as being largely separate from the woodcut illustrations found in books, the above editions with engraved portraits show that in music publications at least there was some cross-fertilisation of these forms of illustration.¹²⁴ Andrew Robinson described the later portrait in his analysis of *Choice Psalmes*, noting its similarity to the Van Dyck portraits of the late 1630s, while also describing in passing the portrait in Child's *First Set*, which he compared favourably to that in *Choice Psalmes*.¹²⁵ The presence of these royal portraits is especially significant given the musical contents of the volumes, their rhetorical expressions of Charles's kingship as being sacred, and the associations between these composers and the royalist party. Indeed, Kevin Sharpe has argued that such visual images of the early Stuart monarchs had a sacrosanct artistic status similar to that of a religious icon, observing Charles's own preoccupation with depictions of himself which were unauthorised or crudely executed, which he perceived to be the case with the portrait which was attached to letters patent.¹²⁶

The sense of mystery associated with the portrait in *Choice Psalmes* is compounded by the presence of an accompanying puzzle canon below the king's image (Figure 5.8), which is set to the words 'Regi Regis Regum Arcana cano' ('I sing to the King the secrets of the King of Kings').¹²⁷ The portrait and canon are together accompanied by a final epithet of 'Regiae Majestatis à sacra Musica' ('Sacred Music of his Royal Majesty', possibly a misrendering of 'Sacred Musician of his Royal Majesty'), and together with the use of the psalms of David to express the king's plight and divine sovereignty can be seen as an attempt to re-enchant the royal image in the wake of military defeat and capture. Indeed, the appearance of the canon and epithet under the portrait almost make ambiguous God's place as the object of devotion, with the canon's idea of 'singing to the king' directing the reader towards Charles's own image instead as the recipient of devotional attention.

¹²³ John Peacock, 'The Visual Image of Charles I', in *The Royal Image: Representations of Charles I* ed. Thomas N. Corns (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 199.

¹²⁴ Kevin Sharpe, 'The Royal Image: An Afterword', in *The Royal Image: Representations of Charles I* ed. Thomas N. Corns (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 293.

¹²⁵ Andrew Robinson, "'Choice Psalmes': A Brother's Memorial", in *William Lawes (1602-1645): Essays on his Life, Times and Work*, ed. Andrew Ashbee (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 175, 180.

¹²⁶ Sharpe, *Personal Rule*, 181.

¹²⁷ Translation: Robinson, 'Brother's Memorial', 177.

Figure 5.8: Canon accompanying 1648 portrait. Henry Lawes, *Choice Psalmes*, Bassus Sig. [A^v]. Huntington Library, Call no. 105742.



Sacred music in the reign of Charles I thus deserves consideration as ‘music of state’ on account of its apparent suitability for royal approbation and capacity to reinforce the religious grounds for early Stuart ideas of sacral kingship. However, it is apparent from this examination of the relationship between the publishing of sacred music and monarchy that assertions of sacral kingship through music became stronger as Charles’s temporal power weakened at the end of the Personal Rule and through the English Civil War. Unlike Bianconi’s characterisation of sacred music in the reigns of Louis XIV and Charles II as stemming from and consolidating a stable and absolute monarchy, the sacred music of Charles’s I reign can only be aligned to aspirations held by the royalist and Laudian parties for a stronger, centralised church which elevated the monarchy. In this respect, efforts in the reigns of the early Stuarts to include music in an attempted process of confessionalisation were ultimately to result in the same failure of the Laudian project as a whole: instead of unifying religious practices, these measures increased division; instead of increasing the authority of church and crown, these measures eroded it.

Conclusion

This chapter has drawn together a range of evidence to illustrate the links between sacred music, print culture and the changing religious climate of Jacobean and Caroline England. The increasingly elaborate paratextual elements of devotional collections (such as the Latin epithets accompanying Amner's anthems), have been interpreted here for the first time in relation to the contemporary trend towards the organisation of devotional activity, a possible reflection of Laudian ideals of ordered worship and the localised social discipline of confessionalisation. That such devotional music was intended to reach different social groups is demonstrated by the publication for the social elite of few-voiced Italianate music: while Child's *Psalmes of III Voyces* provided English texts suitable for Protestant connoisseurs of Italian styles, the discovery of a series of unnoticed revisions to the texts of *Siren coelestis* has shown that Catholic continental repertoire was confessionally realigned for publication with a more Reformed, Christocentric focus. A reassessment of the Laudian connections of Barnard's *First Book* has shown how his aspirations towards accurate circulation of church music reflected the desire of Laudians like Matthew Wren for uniformity of provision of church music, if not the uniformity of practice sought in processes of confessionalisation. This chapter has newly observed how the resumption of royal patronage of music publishing was almost exclusively associated with sacred musical genres, and this not only mirrored the king's involvement in Laudian church reform, but also fostered the royalist cult through textual and paratextual characterisation of monarchy as sacred.

Further to Parry's assessment that, in spite of an overhaul of musical provision in centres of Laudian liturgy, the religious upheaval of the early Stuart era produced no new distinctive style of sacred music, this chapter has shown that many of the printed collections which sought to advance religious causes did so by repurposing existing repertoire. The anonymous R. H., William Braithwaite and John Barnard reframed the compositions of foreign or long-deceased musicians in editorial publishing processes that sought respectively to control the devotional responses of readers, to stratify devotional practice according to social status, and to provide accurate musical texts for ecclesiastical foundations. Similarly, 'Authorised' editions which appeared under the control of composers like Henry Lawes and William Child sought to imbue musical compositions with additional meaning through their presentation in print, in this case in relation to the sanctity of Charles I's kingship as emphasised in engraved portraits.

The extent to which any of these editions succeeded in achieving their likely purposes is impossible to measure completely, and indeed these publications raise questions about the agency and aims in English musical print culture under the early Stuarts. Publication provided the opportunity to bring these aims to a wide readership, but it seems likely in light of the increased division of religious life in England and commercial decline of publishing that such religious agency did not come without financial cost, and that publications like Lawes's *Choice Psalmes* and Barnard's *First Book* which catered towards

small interest groups might be representative of the trend suggested in Chapter 1 towards an increasing detachment between publication of sacred music and commercial success.

Conclusion

This thesis has sought to understand the motivations and processes which resulted in the publication of sacred music in the early Stuart era, broadening the predominantly typographically-oriented understanding of music publishing begun by Krummel to a more holistic approach which considers the production methods alongside the techniques of bookselling, dissemination and the history of reading. This undertaking has been informed by methods and perspectives of book history, many of which elucidate the ways in which music publishing conformed to or deviated from trends across the publishing trade. Apparent from this approach has been the way trends in publishing reflected wider economic patterns of early Stuart England, such as the growth of corporate control and the continued fragility of trade in times of war or disease. However, the political and religious trends of absolutism, confessionalisation, and the so-called ‘general crisis’ which have characterised political histories of seventeenth-century England are also heavily represented in the attitudes expressed through printed music books.

The focus of this thesis on sacred music has enabled consideration of the relationship between music publishing and religious trends of the period, including Laudian ceremonialism in the Anglican church, the suspicion of Jesuit conversion among the courtly elites of Europe, and the growth of formalised or scripted devotion in the household (see Chapter 5). Of course, such focus has meant that other patterns in publishing related to the publication of secular repertoire, such as the changing levels of publishing activity in line with the sharp rise and fall of lute and consort songs, are not necessarily represented in the outlook of the music trade presented here. Likewise, the focus of this thesis on polyphonic music has allowed consideration of the ways in which music publishers grappled with new musical styles which were challenging to represent in moveable type or in evenly sized partbooks; however, this concentration on the sometimes fraught production of polyphony belies a trade overwhelmingly focussed on the straightforward production of psalm books, whose musical contents remained stylistically stable and required little typographical adaptation or innovation over time.

Numerous impediments to the study of music publishing arise from early Stuart England: virtually no records exist from inside publishing houses to testify to publishing costs, print runs or other details, as exist for Christopher Plantin’s business in Antwerp;¹ no galley proofs or manuscript drafts exist to inform working practices, as have been found from German-speaking lands;² indeed, the absence of

¹ See Louisa Hunter-Bradley’s dissertation on Plantin as a publisher of polyphonic music, in progress at Royal Holloway, University of London.

² For an example of a mock-up title page by Schütz: Stephen Rose, *Musical Authorship from Schütz to Bach* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 133.

stock lists even obfuscates the extent to which the extant sources are representative of the full range of editions which were once published.

Despite these limitations, this thesis has uncovered new factual evidence from wills, privileges and surviving copies of printed editions to support its contribution to knowledge and inform its historical judgements. Chapter 1 has chronicled some types of paper used for printing, as well as illustrating the passage of type from Windet to Stansby through wills and typographical analysis. Chapter 2 has demonstrated that the publishing partnership involving William Stansby was contemporaneously referred to as a Music Stock, and it was probably along these lines that the earlier partnership of Snodham, Lownes and Browne was conceived. As well as unearthing details of the ecclesiastical censors who licensed music, and exposing the unrecorded terms of the later privileges which threatened ‘mischievous’ printers, Chapter 2 has also brought to light the appearance of lists of music in the catalogues of the Latin Stock for the first time. Chapter 4 has detected a pattern of systematic correction across Lawes’s *Choice Psalmes* where only one such alteration had previously been recognised, suggesting that, contrary to other such cases, the edition was corrected after the sheets were collated. The uncovering of William Braithwaite’s textual revisions to *Siren coelestis* in Chapter 5 has illustrated its confessional realignment, a practice otherwise unknown in English publishing at the time, while also enabling the connection of such editorial practices to the stricter terms of his privilege.

In addition to these newly discovered facts, this thesis has drawn attention to two bigger themes, perhaps better described as tensions. The first is the tendency of stationers, composers and other parties involved in publishing to resort to stricter mechanisms of economic, legal and intellectual control when searching for ways to rectify the music trade’s economic failings. This tension between aggressive regulation and encouragement of a market in economic collapse was most obviously manifested in the search for monopolistic controls through the continued renewal of the music printing privilege in 1612 and 1635. Safeguards against competition in these latter privileges were tightened to address the perceived threats to profitability, as seen in the extension of clauses over ruled paper. Faith in such monopolistic protections was likewise shared by Braithwaite, whose privilege sought entirely different measures for his ultimately unsuccessful system of notation. The foundation of the Music Stock testifies to the perhaps misplaced faith in greater regulation to sustain the music trade, while also demonstrating the way in which stationers perceived greater formalisation of economic structures as a solution to past failings. Control over the press was also sought by the early Stuart state, which not only maintained its own streams of control over music publishing through ecclesiastical censorship during the licensing process, but also consolidating its authority by redirecting the language of privileges to threaten publishers responsible for ‘mischievous’ or ‘inconvenient’ material. Royal authority was further advanced by the circulation of propagandistic portraits of the king and sacred repertoire extolling the

divine authority of monarchs; ironically, such assertions of authority were strongest when temporal control was fading.

A second theme observed throughout this thesis comprised the efforts of stationers, composers, and editors to exert influence over readers through the order imposed by the printed music book: tensions between these manipulations and the unpredictable responses of readers came to the fore as book purchasers appropriated books and musical texts for themselves in the act of reading. Chapter 3 has illustrated the attempts of composers and editors to shape the understanding of readers and actions of performers through paratextual epistles: directions for performance were given, notation was explained, and appropriate performance settings were recommended. Chapter 5 has also shown the role of paratextual devices like the epithets in Amner's *Sacred Hymns* in guiding readers towards intended devotional outcomes. As with the adulatory flattery of published letters of dedication and rhetorical admonition of potential critics in letters to the reader, such instructions and guides were perhaps as much about shaping the impressions and expectations of purchasers as they were the performances of musicians. Chapter 4 has shown the failure of these paratextual devices to control closely the ways in which many printed music books were used, although the success of such devices in enticing purchasers may be suggested by the diverse and widespread ownership of the relevant books and their use as the basis for manuscript copying.

While this thesis's aim has been to understand processes of publishing and reading, much of the evidence it has uncovered from early Stuart music books opens avenues for further study in relation to wider musicological debates. Debates stemming from ideas of Lydia Goehr and most comprehensively addressed by John Butt over the status of the seventeenth-century musical 'work', a problematic term which has been deliberately avoided throughout this thesis, might particularly be informed by the processes and attitudes which surrounded early Stuart music publishing.³ This is not least because Chapter 3 has outlined ways in which the word 'work' was used by composers themselves in paratextual addresses: by Alison and Campion to refer to labours undertaken; by Henry Lawes to describe his brother's lifetime achievements. Posthumous recognition and durable testimony to a pantheon of English composers was clearly envisioned by John Barnard, whose assembly of 'choycest master-peeces' strove to fix musical compositions in their 'correct' form. While the problematic debates surrounding authorial intentions feature heavily in Chapter 3, many questions posed by this thesis feed into larger discourse surrounding the status of composers as authors: scholars such as Thomas Elias, besides Gibson and Butt, have considered authorship in tandem with the rise of the single-composer collection, but authorial status might be further informed by publishing history through consideration

³ John Butt, 'The Seventeenth-Century Musical 'Work'', in *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music*, ed. Tim Carter and John Butt, 27-54. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

of the reprinting and reissue of deceased composers' music in editions ascribing continual authorial ownership, as well as the continued acknowledgement of foreign composers by editors like Braithwaite and the anonymous 'R.H.'⁴

This thesis thus sits between historical studies of music book production (such as Smith's account of Thomas East's career or Murray's account of Morley's), studies which describe sources (Krummel's) and those which have explored how specific printed books were used in performance (as in Milsom's work on Tallis and Byrd's *Cantiones ... sacrae*). It bridges such studies by focussing on the meeting between readers and the book trade, creating a view of publishing which suggests the influence of composers, stationers and readers on each other. Peter le Huray's notions that printed books of sacred music were published solely 'for such as delight in musicke' are challenged extensively by evidence presented here:⁵ this thesis has instead investigated the rhetorical utterances of composers and editors, patterns of ownership and copying culture, and their relationship with different religious movements of the period to show how these sources navigated the fringes of religious culture.

⁴ Thomas Elias, 'Music and Authorship in England, 1575-1632', (PhD diss., University of Cambridge, 2001).

⁵ Peter le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England 1549-1660*, (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1967), 90.

Appendices

Appendix 1. Printed books containing sacred music.

This list includes all editions of polyphonic music printed or otherwise newly issued in the period 1603-1649 which contain at least one composition set to a sacred text. It expands the similar list made by Peter le Huray to include a small number of additional sources, as well as recording second or subsequent editions and reissues. The contents are organised chronologically, and first editions are presented in bold.

Greaves, Thomas. *Songes of sundrie kindes*. London: John Windet, 1604. RISM G3718.

Byrd, William. *Gradualia: ac cantiones sacrae, quinis, quaternis trinisque vocibus concinnatae*. London: Thomas East, 1605. RISM B5217.

Allison, Richard. *An Howres Recreation in Musicke*. London: John Windet, 1606. RISM A853.

Bartlet, John. *A Booke of Ayres With a Triplicitie of Musicke*. London: John Windet for John Browne, 1606. RISM B1138.

Byrd, William. *Psalmes, Sonets & Songs*. London: Thomas East, 1606. Not listed separately in RISM, hidden edition: no. 51 in checklist at Smith, *Thomas East*, 171).

Byrd, William. *Gradualia: seu cantionum sacrarum ... liber secundus*. London: Thomas East, 1607. RISM B5219.

Croce, Giovanni. *Musica sacra to Sixe Voyces*, edited by R.H.. London: East, assignee of Barley, 1608. RISM C4486.

Ravenscroft, Thomas. *Pammelia*. London: [John Windet for] William Barley, for Richard Bunyon and Henry Whalley, 1609. RISM R454.

Ravenscroft, Thomas. *Deuteromelia*. London: [Thomas Snodham for] Thomas Adams, 1609. RISM R456.

East, Michael. *The Third Set of Bookes*. London: Thomas Snodham for Matthew Lownes, 1610. RISM E6.

Jones, Robert. *The Muses Gardin for Delights, Or the fift Booke of Ayres*. London: William Stansby, 1610. RISM J647.

Byrd, William. *Gradualia: ac cantiones sacrae, quinis, quaternis trinisque vocibus concinnatae*. London: [Thomas East], Richard Redmer for Humphrey Lownes, 1610. RISM B5218.

Byrd, William. *Gradualia: seu cantionum sacrarum ... liber secundus*. London: [Thomas East], Richard Redmer for Humphrey Lownes, 1610. RISM B5220.

Byrd, William. *Songs of Sundrie Natures*. London: Lucretia East, 1610. RISM B5215.

Byrd, William. *Psalmes, Songs, and Sonnets*. London: Thomas Snodham, 1611. RISM B5221.

Ravenscroft, Thomas. *Melismata*. London: William Stansby for Thomas Adams, 1611. RISM R457.

Croce, Giovanni. *Musica sacra to Sixe Voyces*. Humphrey Lownes, for Matthew Lownes, 1611. (Reissue not listed separately in RISM).

Dowland, John. *A Pilgrimes Solace*. London: Matthew Lownes, John Browne, Thomas Snodham, 1612. RISM D3486.

Campion, Thomas. *Two Bookes of Ayres*. London: Thomas Snodham, for M. Lownes and I Browne, [c.1613]. RISM C626.

Leighton, William. *The Teares or Lamentacions of a Sorrowfull Soule*. London: William Stansby, 1614. RISM 1614⁷.

Amner, John. *Sacred Hymnes of 3. 4. 5 & 6. parts*. London: Edward Alde, 1615. RISM A946.

Tailour, Robert. *Sacred Hymns*. London: Thomas Snodham, 1615. RISM T54.

East, Michael. *The Fourth Set of Bookes*. London: Thomas Snodham, for Matthew Lownes and John Browne, 1618. RISM E7.

Ravenscroft, Thomas. *Pammelia*. Thomas Snodham, for Matthew Lownes and John Browne, 1618. RISM R455.

East, Michael. *The Fourth Set of Bookes*. Thomas Snodham, for Matthew Lownes and John Browne, 1619. RISM E8.

Tomkins, Thomas. *Songs of 3. 4. 5. and 6 parts*. London: Matthew Lownes, John Browne and Thomas Snodham, 1622. RISM T949.

Pilkington, Francis. *The Second Set of Madrigals, and Pastorals*. London: Thomas Snodham, for Matthew Lownes and Alice Browne, 1624. RISM 2372.

East, Michael. *The Sixt Set of Bookes*. London: Thomas Snodham for Matthew Lownes and Alice Browne, 1624. RISM E10.

Peerson, Martin. *Mottects or Grave Chamber Musique*. London: William Stansby, 1630. RISM P1136.

Porter, Walter. *Madrigales and Ayres*. London: William Stansby, 1632. RISM 5218.

Braithwaite, William, ed. *Siren coelestis centum harmonium, duarum, trium & quatuor vocum*. London: John Norton, 1638. This edition was omitted from RISM B/I, although the Methodus (a transcription of the Basso Continuo part) is listed at RISM *Écrits Imprimés Concernant la Musique*, RISM B/IV¹, 175.

Child, William. *The First Set of Psalmes of III. Voyces.* London: James Reave, 1639. RISM C2057.

Barnard, John (ed). *The First Book of Selected Church Musick.* London: Edward Griffin, 1641. RISM 1641⁵.

Lawes, Henry, William Lawes (et al). *Choice Psalmes put into Musick.* London: James Young, for Humphrey Moseley and Richard Wodenothe, 1648. RISM 1648⁴.

Appendix 2. Transcriptions of the wills of Snodham and Stansby: National Archives PROB 11/147/114 and PROB 11/177/699.

2.1: Thomas Snodham

In the name of God Amen. The sixteenth day of October and in the first yeare of the raigne of our soveraigne Lord Charles by the grace of God Kinge of England and Scotland and Ffrance and Ireland defender of the faith etc. I Thomas Snodham Cittizen and Stationer of London being weake in body, but of good and perfect memory (thankes be to God therefore) do make and declare this my last will and testament in mind and forme following (that is to say) I first bequeath my soule unto God my maker trusting to be saved in and through the merritt of his dear sonne my Saviour Jesus Christ my body I comitt to the earth to be buried in decent and Christian buriall in the night tyme at the disposition of my [blank] hereafter named, and as concerning such temporall means as it hath pleased God to endow me with all I give and bequeath in manner and form following [?]. Inprimis I give and bequeath to my welbeloved daughter Elizabeth Snodham the oldest daughter the sum of two hundred and fiftie poundes of lawfull money in England to be paid within three yeare next after my decease. Item I give and bequeath unto Anne Snodham my youngest daughter the sum of two hundred and fiftie poundes of lawfull money within three year next after my decease. Item I give and bequeath unto any such childe as shalbe be begotten of my body by my wife Elizabeth Snodham the like sume of two hundred and fiftie pounds within three yeare next after my decease. Item I bequeath and give to that childe which hereafter be conceived if begotten of my body of my wife Elizabeth Snodham one ffrehold at Ffulham and the Copiehold at Wathamstowe fourty. I give and bequeath to the parish of St Bottolph without Moorgate London the sume of five pounds of lawfull money of England within one further month next after my decease. Item I make and ordaine my welbeloved wife Elizabeth Snodham the full and sole Executrix of this my last will and testament of this my present will and give unto her all the residue of my goodes and chattels, my legacies being paid. Item I make and oradaine Edward Master Stationer and William Stansby Stationer Cittizen of London overseers of this my last will and testament, and for their paines therein to be taken I give and bequeath unto them the sume of fortie shillinge a peece. In witness whereof I have here unto sett my hand and siale the day and yeere above written Thomas Snodham. Signed sealed and delivered in the presence of us Thomas of Edward Waterhouse, John Wright and John Laundry apps to Robert Gloucester.

2.2: William Stansby

In the name of God Amen the nyneth day of September in the yeare of our Lord God One Thousand sixe hundred thirtie and eight And in the fourteenth yeare of the raigne of our soveraigne Lord Charles by the grace of God of England Scotland ffrance and Ireland King Defender of the faith etc. I William Stansbye Citizena and Stationer of London being at this p[re]sent tyme weake in body but of good sound and perfect mind and memorie thanks given to God for the same knowing the certentie of death and the uncertentie of the tyme and hour thereof And being unwilling to die intestate do therefore make and declare my last will and Testament in manner and forme following That is to saie ffirst and principallie I comitt and comend my soule into the handes of Almighty God the ffather my Creator and maker, of his sonne Jesus Christ my onlie Saviour and Redeemer And of the Holy Ghost my Sanctifier and Comforter Three distinct p[er]sons but one true and everlasting God assuredlie trusting and stedfastlie believing that I shalbe saved and have full and free pardon and forgiveness of all my sins by and through the only meritts death and passion of my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ and by none other means whatsoever My body I doe committ to the earth from where it came to be decentlie buried And as concerning my worldlie estate with which it hath pleased Almighty God to blesse me (after my debts and severall expenses shallbe satisfied and paid) I give the same in manner and forme following That is to saie Imprimis I give and bequeath unto John Gobe of Exeter and unto his wife my sister the

sum[m]e of Twentie shillings of lawfull money of England to be paid unto them or to either of them withing three years after my death if they shall be then living. And furthermore I do fully and freely remitt and forgive unto the said John Gobe and Ruth his said wife their heirs executors and Administrators the sum[m]e of fiftie poundes of lawfull money of England w[hic]h is due and owing unto me upon a Bond or obligation They the said John Gobe and Ruth his said wife giving and delivering unto my executrix hereafter named a discharge or acquittance for and concerning the receipt and payment of the same. Item I give and bequeath unto Ruth Stansbie by kinswoman the wife of Jonathan Shilborne Cittizen and Tallowchandelor the sume of fiftie poundes of lawfull money of England the same to be paid within three years after my decease if she the said Ruth my kinswoman shalbe then living. Item I give and bequeath unto Thomas Canwithing the sum of Tenne poundes of lawfull money of England to be paid unto him within three yeares after my decease if he shalbe then living. Item I give and bequeath unto my loving friend Mr Smithwick Stationer the sum[m]e of fortie shillings to make him a Ring to be paid unto him within three years after my decease if he shalbe then living. Item I give and bequeath unto Mr Thomas ffynch Grocer fortie shillings to make him a Ring to be paid unto him within three years after my decease if he shalbe then living. Item I give and bequeath unto the parishioners of the parish of St Peter neare Paules wharfe (of which I am a parishioner) that have bourne office there to be spent on them and their wives for a supper five poundes of lawfull money of England to be paid unto them withing two dayes after my decease. Item I give and bequeath unto the poore of the said parish Three poundes of lawfull money of England to be paid unto them withing three monthes after my decease. Item I give and bequeath unto my kinstoman John Stansbies daughter which dwelleth in Newgate markett fortie shillings to be paid unto her withing three monthes after my decease if she shalbe then living. Item I give and bequeath for bread to be given to the ppore at my funeral Twentie shillings. Item I give and bequeath unto the parish of St Mary the Moore in Exeter where I was born the sum[m]e of five pounds of lawfull money of England to be paid within three yeares after my decease. Item I give and bequeath unto my loving friend Mr John Mungwell of Exeter aforesaid Bookeseller three poundes of lawfull money of England to be paid unto him within three yeares after my decease if he be then living. Item my will and mynd is that for and concerning the stock of One hundred and three score poundes of lawfull money of England remayning and being in the hands of the M^r and Wardens of the Company of Stationers And also of the [O]ne other sume and musique Stock of Three score poundes more or lesse therewith remayning in the hands of George Latham of London Stationer my selfe and another My will and meaning is that my loving wife and Executrix hereafter named shall have receive and take the profits of the said two stocks during her naturall life if she continue so long a widow and unmarried. And that from and after the death of my said Executrix That then the said two Stocke or sum(m)es of money shalbe redownd[?] and come unto my kinswoman Ruth Sholborne the wife of Jonathan Sholborne aforenamed and their heirs forever The rest and residue of all and singular my goodes Chattells leases ready money and other estate I doe fullie and absolutlie give and bequeath unto my said loving wife Elizabeth Stansby whome I doe make my full and sole executrix of this my last will and Testament And I doe ordeyne and appoynt my friends John Smithwick Citizen and Stationer of London and Thomas ffynch Overseers of this my last will And for their paynes I give them Twentie shillings a peece And I the said William Stansby doe hereby renounce revoake and repeale all former wills by me made and declared and all gifts and legacies in them or any of them mentioned and declared And I do pronounce and declare this onlie to be my last will and Testament In witnes wherefore this my last will and Testament conteyning three sheetes of paper altogether fixed with a labell on the Topp and my seale upon the same I the said William Stansby have sett my hand to every particular sheete of paper And my seale likewise to the last of them the day and yeare first aboutwritten. By me Willi[am] Stansby Signed sealed pronounced and declared the Nynth day of September Anno Dm One Thousand sixe hundred thirtie eight by the abovementioned William Stansby in the presence of Tho[mas] ffynch Richard ffynch, Richard ffynch, Edward ffynch Stationer John Twyn:

Appendix 3. Transcriptions of music printing privileges: National Archives C66/2694/7 and C66/2694/9.

3.1: Stansby et al (1635): National Archives C66/2694/7

Charles by the grace of God kinge of England Scotland France and Ireland king defender of the fayeth [-] To all manner of Printers and bokesellers and to all and singular maiors Sheriffes Bayliffes Constables headboroughes all other our Officers ministers and Subjectes to Whome it shall apperteyne greeting. Knowe yee that we for the speciall affection and good will that we have and beare to the Science of musicke and for the advancement thereof of any espesciall grace certayne knowledge and mere motion hath gyven and hath granted Priviledge and license and by these p[re]sents for us our heires and Successors doe give and graunte full priviledge and license unto out Wellbeloved subjectes William Stansby Richard Hawkins and George Latham Cittizens and Stacioners London and to their Assignes that the same William Stansby Richard Hawkins and George Latham and their assignes their as every or anie of their Deputies Factors and Servant only and none others for and during the space of Twenty and one yeares next ensuinge the date of this our lycense shall and may by themselves ymprint or cause to bee ymprinted any and as many sett song sonnet and songe in partes as to as to him or them shall from tyme to tyme seeme expedient in the English Lattine French or Italian tongues and as every or any of the same tongues or in any or other tongue tongues or languages that may serve either for the musicke eyther of Church or Chamber or otherwise to bee sunge or played and shall or may rule or cause to be ruled by hand or ympression all every or anie paper such as may serve for the printing or pricking of any sone or songe eyther to bee sunge or played in Church Chamber or otherwise and shall and may sell or utter or case to bee sould or uttered any printed books or papers of any songe or songes in any of the tongue or tongues aforesaide or otherwise to be sung and played as is aforesaide. And all every or any bookes or Quires of such ruled paper ymprinted as aforesaide to have hould exercise and enjoye the said lycense and Priviledge of ymprintinge of sett songe Sonnette and Songe in partes or otherwise and all other the p[re]misses before by theise p[re]sents gyven or graunted and every of them to the saide William Stansby Richard Hawkins and George Latham theyre Executors Administrators and Assignes from the day of the date hereof unto this end and Terme of Twenty and one yeares from thence now ensuing and fully to bee compleate and ended. And by these p[re]sents for us our heyres and successors straightly prohibitte and forbid all and every other person and persons as well Printers and Booksellers as all and every others whatsoever being eyther our subjecte or Stranger other than the saide William Stansby Richard Hawkins and George Latham their executors Administrators and Assigns and his and their Deputies Factors and Servants that they nor any of them duringe the said Terme of Twentie and one years in any manner of wise shall or do p[re]sume to ymprinte or cause to bee ymprinted any set songe or songes as in partes or otherwise to bee sing and played as aforesaide or rule or cause to be ruled by ympression or hand as is aforesaide anye paper but only the saide William Stansbye Richard Hawkins and George Latham theyre Executors Administrators Deputyes Servauntes Factors or Assignes nor shall bringe or cause to be brought into or within any our Realmes or Dominions nor in the same shall sell utter or putt to sale or make to be sould uttered or putt to sale or otherwise dispose of any the saide sett songe sonnet or songe in partes made or prynted in any Foraigne country or any of the saide ruled paper upon oayne of our highe indignacion and displeasure and of such paynes penalties and Imprysonment as by the lawes and Statutes of this our Realme of England can or maye bee ymposed upon them or any of them for their wilfulle contempt in breaking of our Commandment and Perogative Royall and also upon payne that every offender doing Contrary to the effecte and meaninge of these p[re]sents shall for everye such offences forfeyte loose to us our heyres and successors the some of Tenne poundes of lawfull English money and shall alsoe moreover forfeyte and loose to the saide William Stansby Richard Hawkins and George Latham theyre Executors administrators and assignes all and every such bookes quires and Papers of songe and songes in parts as is aforesaide And such ymprinted paper soe ruled as shallbe ymprinted ruled sould uttered or ymported

contrary to the true intent and meaning of these p[re]sents and to the end that this our Graunt and Priviledge may from tyme to tyme take good effecte and bee fully performed accordinge to our good intende and meaning therein conteyned wee do by these p[re]sents give full and free lycense liberty power and authoritie unto the saide William Stansby Richard Hawkins and George Latham their Executors Administrators and Assignes that they and every of them taking with him or them an Officer lawfully authorised for the keeping of the peace shall and may att all convenient tyme and tymes and in such due manner as by the lawes of this our Realme is required serche for seeke and finde out all and every such sett song paper books and other p[re]misses as shall be ymprinted imported or uttered contrarie to the tenor and true meaninge of this our Graunte and the same so found out to sieze and take accordinge to the order of our lawes to the use before in these p[re]sents mentioned willinge therefore and commandinge aswell the master and wardens of the mysterie of Stacioners in our City of London as also all mayors Bayliffes Constables headboroughes and all other our Officers ministers and subjects whatsoever to ytt shall apperteyne as they tender our favour and pleasure and will avoide our displeasure and indignation for the contrary that they and every one of them and att all tymes when neede shall require dureing the aforesaide tyme see ayde and assist the said William Stansby Richard Hawkins and George Latham their Executors Andministrators and Assigns and theire and every of theyre Deputyes Factors and Servaunte and every of them in the due exercise and execution of this our p(res)ent lycense and Priviledge with effecte accordinge to the true meaning of the same Provided nevertheless and our witt and pleasure ss that this our p[re]sent Graunte shall not extend to give power to the saide William Stansby Richard Hawkins and George Latham theyre Executors Administrators or Assignes or theyre Deputyes Factors or Servauntes to ymprinte or cause to be ymprinted any manner of Ballad by force or virtue of the same Provided also and our further witt and pleasure is that if att any tyme hereafter dureing the saide tyme of one and Twentie yeares ytt shalbe appeare unto us our heires or Successors or unto the said and others of the Privie Councell of us our heyres and Successors that this our Graunte is contrary to our lawes or mischeyvous to the state or generally inconvenient then upon significaton and declaraton to bee made by us our heires or Successors under our theyre Signett or Privie Seale or the lord or others of our Privie Councell or sixe or more of them for the tyme being writeing under their hande of such p[re]judice or inconvenience that then for such reasons this our p[re]sent Graunte shall forthwith cease determyne and bee voide any thinge before these p[re]sent conteyned to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding and our witt and pleasure is and we see by theise p[re]sente for us our heyres and successors graunte unto the saide William Stansby Richard Hawkins and George Latham their Executors Administrators and Assigns that theise our l[ett]res Patente and all and every Graunte and clauses therein conteyned under the Provisoos and lymittations therein mentoed and expressed shall bee and contynue firme stronge sufficient and effectuall in lawe and shall be construed reputed and taken aswell to the meaninge and intende to the worde of the same moste graciously favourably and to the benefitt of the saide William Stansby Richard Hawkins and George Latham their Executors and Assignes Notwithstanding the not several of any former Graunte made by us or any our Progenitors kinge or Queens of England of the p[er]misses and notwithstandinge the any saide Statute Acte or Provision order ordinance or restraynte or any omission defecte or other ymperfection of or in these p[re]sente or any other earlier cause or thinge to the contrary thereof wise notwithstandinge although expresse mention and in witness our selfe at Westminster the thirteenth day of December p[er] b[reve] de private Sigillo.

3.2: Braithwaite (1635): National Archives C66/2694/7, here transcribed from Braithwaite's pamphlet (*His Majesties gracious grant and privilege to William Braithwait* (S.L. [London]: S.N. [W. Jones?], S.D. [1635?]).

Charles by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, defender of the Faith &c. To all, to whom these presents shall come, greeting. Whereas, we are informed by the humble petition of our well beloved subject William Braithwait, Preacher, and Schoole-master. That after many yeares

labours, studies, and endeavours, he hath accomplished an easie method to facilitate Musicke, both for expedite, and exquisite composing; as also for speedy, and pleasant teaching, and learning it, by voice, or Instruments. For voice, he singeth seven usuall numerall Monosyllables, one, two, three, foure, five, six, seven, and expreseth them by seven Arithmetically figures. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7. diversely made, and that he singeth (as men reade) in one line, the name of the note appearing in it (tune and time, conspiring together in each figure) Which other Authors, and Writers have not heretofore done. And by the same petition he further sheweth, that he hath performed a Tableture for Instruments of Musicke, after the same manner, comprehending tune, and time in each Alphabeticall letter. And that also he hath devised to expresse the long, and short syllables in the Greeke, and Latine tongues, by the letters themselves, without the notes of length and shortnesse, which hath bin well approoved of, by sundry persons of learning, and judgement, and thereupon hath humbly brought us, in regard of his charges to be disbursed in publishing the said misses, that we should be graciously pleased, to grant out Letters Patents of privilege unto him, for twenty one yeares, for the sole printing and putting to saile of any books, or lessons, by him so expressed as aforesaid. Know that we graciously favouring the industries of our subjects, in the investigation of such Art and Inventions, as may be of good use, and service to our people, and being willing to incourage them for some terme of yeares, the benefit and fruits of their inventions, of our especiall Grace, certaine knowledge, and mere motion, having given, and granted, and by these presents for us, our heires, and successors, do give and grant, unto the said William Braithwait, his Executours, Administratours & Assignes, full and free liberty, licence, power, privilege and authority, that He, his Executors, Administratours & Assignes, by him and themselves, and by his, and their Deputies, shall and may at all times hereafter during the term of twenty-one yeares, next ensuing the date of these presents, at his, and their owne proper cost, and charges, Imprint, and publish, or cause to be Imprinted, and published within this realm of England, and dominions thereof (according to the said method, way and means, so by him devised) and booke or bookes, Poeme or Poems, Lesson or Lessons, for the more easie teaching, and attaining of Musicke, by voice, or Instruments, and for the furtherance of Poetry, Oratory, and gracefull pronuntiation of the Greeke, and Latine tongues, as aforesaid, and the same booke or bookes, Poem or Poems, Lesson or Lessons, and other premisses, being by him, or them, or his, or their deputy or deputies, so imprinted, or caused to be imprinted as aforesaid, to sell, utter, and put to saile within our Realme of England, and dominions thereof, for his, and their best commodity and advantage. Wherefore our will and pleasure is, and by these presents of our more especiall grace, certaine knowledge, and mere motion, we do for Us, our Heires and Successors, straitly charge and inhibite all and every person, and persons whatsoever, other than the said William Braithwait, his Executours, Administratours, Deputies and Assignes; that they, or any of them, doe not within this Realme of England, or the dominions thereof, print, publish, out to sale, or cause to be printed, published or put to sale, any booke or bookes, Poem or Poems, Lesson or Lessons, after the ways, Method, manner or forms so invented or devised by the said William Braithwait as aforesaid, nor shall import or bring, or cause to be imported or brought into this our said Realme and Dominions thereof, from any parts beyond the Seas, or from any our Realmes, or Dominions, and booke, or bookes, Poem or Poems, Lesson, or Lessons, so imprinted as aforesaid, during the said terme of twenty-one yeares next after the date hereof, to be sould in this our said Realme and dominions thereof, without the license, consent and agreement of the said William Braithwait, his Executours, Administrators, & Assignes or some of them, first had and obtained in writing under his, or their hand, upon paine of the forfeiture, & losse of the same booke, or bookes, Poem or Poems, Lesson or Lessons, so imprinted imported, put to saile, contrary to the tenour and true meaning of this our present grant or privilege, and upon paine also of our high displeasure, and such other penalties and punishments as by the Lawes & Statutes of our Realme, or otherwise may be inflicted on the offenders therein: for their contempt, and neglect of our royall will, and com[m]andment, here in before declared. To have and to hold the said Licenses, Powers, Privileges and Authorities, and other premisses by these presents granted, or mentioned to be granted, to the said W. Braithwait, his Executours, Administratours and Assignes, full power, and authority, that he, they, and every one of them, by him, and themselves, or any of them, or by his or their Deputies, Servants or Agents, shall and may, with the assistance of a

Constable, or other lawfull Officer, at a convenient time, and times, enter into any House, Shop, Workehouse or any other place or places whatsoever, where any cause or suspicion shall be had, and there to view and search, aswell for all such booke, or bookes, Poem or Poems, Lesson or Lessons, as shall be so printed, imported or brought into this our Realme, or Dominions thereof, to be sold, as aforesaid, as for all such Musically-Arithmetical figures, Punchions, Matrices, Alphabeticall Letters for Tableture, and other such tooles, and Instruments, as shall be used, had, made, or imployed, in or about the premisses, or any of them, contrary to the tenour, and intent of these presents. And the same being found, to seize, and take, as forfeited to Us, our heires, and successors; the one moetie whereof to be to Us our heires and successors, the other moetie thereof to be and remaine to the said William Braithwait, his Executors and Assignes: And we doe by these presents for Us, our Heires, and Successors, will, and command all, and singular Majors, Sheriffs, Justices of Peace, Bailiffes, Constables and Headborroughs, and other the Officers, Ministers, and subjects of Us, our Heires and Successors, that they and every one of them be from the time to time during the terme aforesaid, ayding, helping and assisting to the said William Braithwait, his Executors, Administratours, Deputies, & Assignes in all things in and about the accomplishment of our pleasure herein declared, & in full, & due execution of these presents, that they, nor any of them, doe at any time hinder, molest, or interrupt the said William Braithwait, his Executors, Deputies, or Assignes, or any of them, in the having, taking, or enjoying of the Licenses, privileges, benefits and profits by Us hereby granted and intended to him and them, as aforesaid, as they tender out pleasure, and will avoide the contrary at their perill: and these our Letters Patents or the inrowlment thereof shall be their sufficient warrant in that behalfe. Provided neverthesse, that and our will & pleasure is, that if at any time during the said terme of twenty-one yeares, it shall appeare unto Us, our Heires or Successours, or unto the Lords, and others of the privie Councell of Us, our Heires or Successours, that this our present grant is contrary to our lawes or in any sort mischievous, or inconvenient to the state of this our Realme, then upon signification, and declaration to be made by Us, our Heires, our Successors, under our signet, or privie seale, or from the Lords, and others of the privie Councell, or six or more of them (for the time being, of such prejudice, & inconvenience as aforesaid,) these our Letters Patents shall forthwith cease, determin, and be utterly voide to all intents, constructions, and purposes. And wee doe hereby grant, for Us, our Heires, and Successors, that these our Letters Patents, or the inrowlment thereof, shall be good, firme, and effectuell in the Law, according to the true meaning of the same. Notwithstanding the not mentioning or describing, or the not certaine mentioning or describing of the said method, wayes, or meanes by the said William Braithwait so devised as aforesaid, and notwithstanding any other defect, incertaintie, or imperfection in these presents, or in any Law, Act, Statute, Ordinance, Provision, or Restriction whatsoever heretofore had, made, published, or provided to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding. Neverthesse, our intent and meaning is, that this our present grant of priviledge or any thing therein contained, shall not extend to prejudice any person, or persons, or persons in his, or their lawfull propertie, right, or interest for the sole printing or publishing of any his or their Booke or Bookes, Poem or Poems, Lesson or Lessons, Copie or Copies, so as he, or they doe not print, or publish, or publish the same according to the method, way, or invention of the sayd William Braithwait, anything in these presents contained to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. Although expresse mention[n] of the certaintie of the premisses, or any of them, or of any other gift, or grant by Us, or any of our Progenitors or Predecessours to the said William Braithwait heretofore made in these presents, is not made or any Statute, Act, or Ordinance, Provision, Proclamation, or Restraint heretofore had, made, ordained or provided, or any other thing, cause, or matter whatsoever to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding. In witnesse whereof wee have caused these our Letters to be made Patents. Witnesse our selfe at Canbury the eighteenth day of August in the Eleventh yeere of our Reigne.

Appendix 4. Identification of the printed music books listed in the London reprints of the Frankfurt book fair catalogues.

The following list identifies editions according to the title with which they were published, rather than a transcription from the catalogues. Where editions do not appear in RISM and are otherwise unknown, a transcription from the catalogue is supplied along with any details of publication given alongside it.

Spring 1619

- Johann Donfried (ed.), *Promptuarii musici ... II, III, IV vocum* (Strasbourg: Paul Ledertz, [?]). Early edition of RISM 1623/2.
- Richard Dering, *Cantiones sacrae quinque vocum* (Antwerp: Pierre Phalèse, 1617). RISM D1317.
- Richard Dering, *Cantica sacra ad melodiam ... senis vocibus* (Antwerp: Pierre Phalèse, 1618). RISM D1319.
- Leonardus Nervius, *Missae decem quatuor, quinque ...* (Antwerp: Pierre Phalèse, 1618). RISM N413
- Pierre Bonhomme, *Missae sex, octo, decem et duodecem vocum ...* (Antwerp: Pierre Phalèse, 1616). RISM B3470.
- Stefano Bernardi, *Messe a quattro et cinque voci...* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1615). RISM B2051.
- Leone Leoni, *Sacri flores binis, ternis, et quaternis vocibus* (Antwerp: Pierre Phalèse, 1619). RISM L2000.
- Giovanni Croce, *Madrigali a sei voci* (Antwerp: Pierre Phalèse, 1618). RISM C4474.
- Salamone Rossi, *Il primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci*, (Antwerp: Pierre Phalèse, 1618). RISM R2752.
- Andreas Hakenberger, *Sacri modulorum concentus* (Stettin: Johann Duber, 1615). RISM H1897.
- Andreas Hakenberger, *Odae sacrae Christo infantulo* (Leipzig: Schürer [?]). Not in RISM [lost?].
- Giacomo Finetti, *Sacrorum concertuum ternis vocibus* (Oberursel: Nikolaus Stein, 1619). RISM F825.

Autumn 1619

- Johann Andreas Herbst, *Meletemata sacra Davidis* (Nuremberg: Abraham Wagenmann, 1619). RISM H5111.
- Paul Schäffer, *Melodiarum biblicarum quinis vocibus* (Breslau: Georg Baumann, 1618). RISM S1238.
- Paul Schäffer, *Melodiarum biblicarum senis vocibus ... liber secundus*, (Góra: [printed for the author], 1618). RISM S1238.
- Paul Schäffer, *Intradae & Courants super modos duodecim consueros*. Not in RISM (lost?).
- Sessa d'Aranda, *Il primo libro de madrigali ... con uno di Thomas Weelkes* (Helmstedt: Giacomo Luzio). Not in RISM; reprint of 1605/16.
- Andreas Hakenberger, *Odae sacrae Christo infantulo* (Leipzig: Schürer[?], 1619). Not in RISM.
- Pietro Cerone, *El Melopeo y Maestro* (Naples: Giovanni Battista Gargano and Lucretio Nucci, 1613), [treatise].

- Michael Praetorius, *Syntagmatis musici tomus primus* (Wittenberg: Johannes Richter, 1615), [treatise].
- Michael Praetorius, *Megalynodia Sionia* (Wolfenbüttel: Elias Holwein, 1617). RISM P5369.
- Michael Praetorius, *Hymnoidia Sionia* (Wolfenbüttel: [for the author], 1611). RISM P5363.

Autumn 1620 (Latomi, pro Societate Londinensium Bibliopolarum)

- Georg Engelmann, *Quodlibetum novum latinum* 5vv. (Leipzig: Friedrich Lanckisch, 1620). RISM E697.
- Johann Christenius, *Symbola Saxonica* (Leipzig: Caspar Kloseman, 1620). RISM C2089.
- Heinrich Schütz, *Psalmes Davidis* (Dresden: Gmel Bergen, 1619). RISM S2275.
- Michael Altenburg, *Erster Theil. Neuer lieblicher und zierlicher Intradan* (Leipzig: Erfurt, Johann Röhbock). RISM A885.
- Gregor Aichinger, *Quercus dodnae* (Augsburg: Johann Praetorius, 1619). RISM A547.
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Spring 1622

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Autumn 1623

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- Jeremias Held, *Schema Melopoeticum* (Frankfurt: Eberhard Kieser), [treatise].
- Hieronymus Praetorius, *Cantiones sacrae ... operum musicum tomus primus* (Hamburg: Paul Lange, 1622). RISM P5338.
- Hieronymus Praetorius, *Canticum B. Mariae Virginis, seu Magnificat octo vocum operum musicum tomus secundus* (Hamburg: Paul Lange, 1622). RISM P5335.
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Spring 1624

- Samuel Scheidt, *Tabulatura nova* (Hamburg: Michael Hering, 1624). RISM S1352.
- Samuel Scheidt, *Pars secunda Tabulaturae* (Hamburg: Michael Hering, 1624). RISM S1353.
- Samuel Scheidt, *III et ultima pars Tablaturae* (Hamburg: Michael Hering, 1624). RISM S1354

Autumn 1624

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- Hieronymus Bildstein, *Orpheus christianus, seu symphoniarum sacrarum* (Ravensburg: Johann Schröter, 1624). RISM B2641.
- Johann Dilliger, *Exercitatio musica I. Continens XIII selectissimos concertos* (Magdeburg: Andreas Betzl, 1624). On RISM database, no A/I number assigned.
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Spring 1625

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Spring 1627

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Spring 1628

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