“Buy, Reade, Regard”:

Learning to Sing and Play through the Printed Page in Early Modern England

by

Margaret E. Jones

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Committee in charge:

Professor Davitt Moroney, Chair

Professor Mary Ann Smart

Professor Diego Pirillo

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Abstract

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In 1676 Thomas Mace reluctantly laid the lute to rest in *Musick's Monument*. The "monument" in question was built both for the lute and for the styles of music that had been popular earlier in the century during what is often called the golden age of English lute music. Mace's complaints about the fate of the lute in part were a reaction to the stylistic changes sweeping across England at the time. However, the ways music circulated – specifically the circulation of printed instruction books and manuscripts among musical amateurs – also played major roles in these ongoing changes to music-making, leading ultimately to the demise of the lute as a solo instrument. *Musick's Monument* was the culmination of a trend in music publishing that began in the 1590s, where music publishers increased their output of music instruction books to respond to a growing market of rising merchant-class amateurs and students at universities. Several of these books – and in particular Thomas Robinson's *The Schoole of Musicke* (1603) – complicate the intersections between instrumental and vocal music instruction by using the lute itself as an instructor for the voice. The dual-materiality of these lesson books – that is primarily the ways they encourage physical interactions with instruments, and secondarily the physical presence, format, and layouts of the books themselves – encouraged readers to use them in specific ways. At times the layout of duets positioned readers around a single book; at other times the books even encouraged their own dismantling in order to be used.

This dissertation traces the development of music-book publishing for self-taught amateurs. It recasts narratives about early modern music education to place greater emphasis on historical students as empowered readers, teachers and thinkers maneuvering within complex social and political realities. It also shows the variety of skills covered in self-instruction books and the ways these books use the same lute tablature to teach both playing and singing. It examines these books through a critical bibliographic lens, tracing the intersections between physical objects, the people that used them, and the music they contained. Ultimately, I contend that these instruction books and the self-guided study they encouraged were instrumental in the development of educational institutions that continue to develop into the present.

For my parents

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Acknowledgements

> Accept (I pray you) of this booke, both that you may exercise your deepe skill in censuring of what shall be amisse, as also defend what is in it truely spoken, as that which somtime proceeded from your selfe.
>
> – Thomas Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (London: Thomas East, 1597), dedication page.

Thomas Morley recognized in 1597 the extent to which his teacher William Byrd's voice spoke through his prose, original though it was. Projects of this size are never authored by one person alone; the ideas contained in the pages of a dissertation are no doubt the product of many brilliant minds weighing in on the topic, interpreted and assembled by the author whose name appears on the title page. Most of the books discussed in this dissertation are also the products of collaborations between many creative minds, so it is only appropriate – and indeed a pleasure – to trace the same kinds of intellectual life growing through this prose.

The genesis of this dissertation came from a series of seminars I took between 2012 and 2014 around the history of the book. The first was an independent study with Kate van Orden, which was the first time I encountered books whose pagination varied from copy to copy and showed signs of use by early-modern readers. Without her guidance I would not have arrived at the conclusions I did in Chapter Three. This chapter also depends heavily on what I learned from Déborah Blocker in her seminar on historical book production in 2013, which was instrumental in helping to put into words what I observed in the books I examined for this project, as well as an independent study with Davitt Moroney on historical music notation during that same year. Diego Pirillo's 2014 seminar on early-modern book and manuscript circulation also informed how I approached the sources discussed in this dissertation. The wealth of skills and ideas I gained from talking to these scholars made it possible to examine books in ways that allowed not only their contents but their histories also to speak. Conversations I had over the years with James Davies, Anthony Newcomb, Jessie Ann Owens, and Emily Zazulia were also instrumental in shaping how I approached this project.

This dissertation also would not have been possible without access to some of the world's finest collections of early modern printed music books. I am incredibly grateful to John Shepard and the librarians at the Jean Gray Hargrove Music Library at the University of California, Berkeley, for the unfettered access to their special collections I enjoyed for years. I am also indebted to the librarians at the Royal College of Music Library for graciously welcoming me into their reading rooms and sharing their holdings with me, and to the librarians of the British Library for access to their wealth of rare books. Without being able to hold these books and turn their pages, this project would not exist.

I am also grateful to the Department of Music at the University of California, Berkeley, for their financial support of my research, and to the faculty and administrators of the Designated Emphasis in Renaissance and Early Modern Studies, for the training and perspectives I gained from participating in this degree emphasis. This project also depended heavily on the hard work and compassion of the Department of Music staff past and present: Karen Chang, Jim Coates,

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Words cannot express my gratitude toward my dissertation committee members for their patience and assistance in finishing this project. I am grateful to Diego Pirillo for his incisive questions and optimism whenever we met to talk about the project. Many, many thanks go to Mary Ann Smart for the numerous fruitful conversations we had over the course of the project, as well as for her keen eye for revisions that greatly benefitted the final product. I am also indebted to my advisor Davitt Moroney for countless hours of reading drafts, working out ideas, and pointing me toward resources and lines of inquiry I otherwise world not have considered. I will often revisit conversations over tea that shaped the early stages of this work which, although the paragraphs they generated have been long-deleted, still echo through this work.

Much love and thanks go to my parents, Liz and Bill Jones, who also contributed intellectually, emotionally, and financially to this endeavor. This dissertation is as much theirs as it is my own, because of the love of reading and learning they both instilled in me from an early age. I've thrived on their encouragement and curiosity, and am forever in their debt.

And most of all, I am indebted forever to the formidable community of colleagues and scholars in my academic cohort that offered seemingly limitless optimism, endurance, and tenacity with getting all of our projects done. This dissertation would not have taken shape without Anicia Timberlake, who to this day has the unique ability to sum up exactly what the sticking point is in a problem – as well as the best way to get unstuck – every time I have asked her. Not enough prose would have happened at all without the productive work sessions spent with Danielle Simon and Arathi Govind whether over coffee or drinks. This dissertation also would not exist were it not for the fortitude of the dissertation writing group I was lucky enough to be a part of; many thanks go to Jamie Apgar, Melanie Gudesblatt, and Jonathan Meci for reading first drafts of chapters and giving me their honest feedback, as well as for years of camaraderie and good food. To Jiselle and François-Henri Rouet, your friendship, as well as your intellectual and gastronomic contributions to this process, have meant the world to me. I appreciate very much the harpsichord and lute duets and dinners shared with Saraswathi Shukla, as well as her stimulating conversation. A special note must go to Nell Cloutier, who in addition to being a force of positivity throughout my dissertation-writing process cooked a pork chop dinner that may well have saved my qualifying exam. Similarly, I will always recall fondly the Wine Wednesdays hosted by Rebecca Lomnicky and Jon and Caitlin Turner, who provided much needed intellectually and musically fulfilling distraction, community, and relief in the midst of many fraught weeks.

And finally, I am grateful to everyone that has shared space with me under the roof of the House of Musicology, home to many budding musicologists and composers over my years at Berkeley. You have all contributed to, and if I am being honest have endured, the process of bringing this dissertation into the world. I could not have done it without you. Thank you.

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Introduction

Buy, reade, regard, marke with indifferent eye,
More good for Musicke elsewhere doth not lie.[1]

Such were the directions by "A. B." in the second of three poems at start of Thomas Morley's *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (1597, henceforth *PEIPM*). Morley's comprehensive manual of instruction in singing, counterpoint, and composition was one of several similar books published in England during the years 1596 and 1597. Among the titles are:

Anonymous, *A Plaine Patheway to Musicke* (William Barley, 1596)
William Bathe, *A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Song* (Thomas East, 1596)
William Barley, *A new Booke of Tabliture* [lute] (William Barley, 1596)
William Barley, *A new Booke of Tabliture for the Orpharion* (William Barley, [1596])
William Barley, *A new Booke of Tabliture for the Bandora* (William Barley, [1596])
Anthony Holborne, *The Cittharn Schoole* (Peter Short, 1597)[2]
Thomas Morley, *PEIPM* (Peter Short, 1597).
William Hoskins, *A playne and perfect Instruction for learninge to play on ye virginalles by hand or by booke both by notes and by letters or Tabliture uever heretofore sett out by any &c.* (1597, lost)[3]

Also among the publications of 1597 was a now-lost volume that purported to transmit the composer John Bull's *,* inaugural lecture in music for the newly established Gresham College.[4] In the ensuing decades, nearly fifty books followed this precedent, including Thomas Robinson's *The Schoole of Musicke* (1603) and *New Citharen Lessons* (1609) and a translation of Besard's lute instructions appearing in Robert Dowland's *Varietie of Lute-Lessons* (1610). John Dowland promised his own lute instructions, although there is no evidence it was ever printed.[5] The arc of printed lute-instruction books culminated in 1676 with Thomas Mace's *Musick's Monument*, a massive tome dedicated to preserving styles and techniques that Mace felt were dying out as musical tastes shifted to more Continental styles. Mace couched the fate of the lute in dire terms:

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[1] A. B. Untitled poem in Thomas Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (London: Peter Short, 1597).
[2] Holborne's *Schoole* is not necessarily an educational book in the same way that the other publications of 1597 were. It doesn't contain instructions for learning an instrument from scratch, but it does self-identify as a "school." 1597 also saw the publication of several other, less didactic books of music including the second book of Nicholas Yonge's *Musica Transalpina* and George Kirbye's *First Set of English Madrigals,* which although it has no instructions for singing has a preface that seems to imply Kirbye was seeking employment within a noble household, possibly as a teacher.
[3] The note in the Stationers' Register also notes that a physical copy of the book was given to the Court on March 7, 1597. See Edward Arber, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640 A.D.,* vol. 3 (London: 1876), 19.
[4] John Bull, *The Oration of Maister John Bull* (London: Peter Short, 1597).
[5] Dowland announced in the preface of his *First Booke of Songes or Ayres* that he would add a preface to his next book on lute fingering if his readers encourage him to do so. See John Dowland, *First Booke of Songes or Ayres,* (London: Peter Short, 1597) fA1.

> …it is no marvel, that it continues *Dark* and *Hidden* to *All,* excepting some *Few,* who make it their *Chief Work* to *Practise* and *Search* into *its Secrets.*
>
> Which when they havc done, and with *Long Pains*, and much *Labour obtained,* THEY DYE, AND ALL THEIR SKILL AND EXPERIENCE DYES WITH THEM.
>
> So that the next *Generation* is still to *Seek,* and *begin* again *a-new,* for such *Attainments…*
>
> Whereas, if such *knowing Masters,* would be so *kind* to their *Fellow-Creatures,* as to *Reveal* and *Discover* their *Knowledge* and *Experience* (whilst *They Liv'd*) more *freely*, or at least leave it behind them to be published to the world for a *Common Good* after their *Decease,* it would much redound to the *facilitating* of the *Art,* and *Gratifying* of *Posterity*.[6]

Mace's concerns were both stylistic and generational. On the one hand he acknowledges the extent to which students continued to rely on in-person instruction to learn to play instruments, and to which master practitioners still mystified their techniques through an apprenticeship model of instruction. On the other hand, Mace commits wholeheartedly to the project of self-instruction manuals with a fervor for tablature not seen since the turn of the seventeenth century. Although much had changed in the seventy years between the "1597 moment" and Mace's publication, some aspects of writing music for the lute – specifically its notation system, tablature – had remained consistent in appearance with earlier models. Mace's book, however, extends many uses of tablature to their extremes, using the notation system to encourage readers to explore theoretical concepts and to experiment musically in ways that would have surprised anyone expecting a straightforward representation of music intabulation. Thus, *Musick's Monument* offers a more comprehensive musical education than its notation system generally allows.

Mace's concern about musicians dying and taking their knowledge to the grave with them echoes concerns of the previous century. In the poem that begins *A Plaine and Easie Introduction* (quoted above), the author A. B. also remarks that:

> What former tymes through selfe respecting good
> of deepe-hid Musicke closly kept unknowne,
> That in our tongue of all to b' understoode,
> Fully and plainly hath our Morley showne.[7]

Morley, by writing in the vernacular and making music as easy to understand as possible, had laid bare "secrets" closely guarded by teachers and only passed down from tutor to pupil. Morley's book makes knowable what had previously been "unknown" to anyone without access to experienced teachers. In other words, the book offered access to musical knowledge to readers beyond the classes of the extremely privileged and the already initiated.

Musick's Monument was not the first book to use tablature to teach concepts outside of playing pieces note-for-note. In 1603, Thomas Robinson's *The Schoole of Musicke* had also used

[6] Thomas Mace, *Musick's Monument* (London: T. Ratcliffe and N. Thompson, 1676), 14.
[7] A. B. Untitled poem in Thomas Morley, *PEIPM* (London: Peter Short, 1597).

tablature to teach his readers to play the lute.[8] The real innovation of Robinson's volume however, was its use of tablature to train readers to sing from mensural notation, offering side-by-side comparisons of vocal music and the same music for the lute. By singing along as they played, students could teach themselves to interpret music written in notes instead of letters. This tension between notation systems illustrates both the incumbent problems and the opportunities encountered in using an instrument such as the lute, rather than the more typical organ, to train singing voices. The joining of lute and voice implies how music students may have thought about the relationship between instruments, bodies, and voices.

The books of 1596-97 represent many instruments and vocal styles, including several fretted instruments and singing both from written music and improvising counterpoint. The formats of these books, too, represent everything from folio volumes with elaborate title pages to small quarto books meant to be carried in a pocket. Why did so many self-instruction books appear all of a sudden? Although self-instruction books had been in circulation throughout the sixteenth century, in England they had a sharp spike in production by the century's end. The year following the expiration of William Byrd's printing patent in 1596 was a watershed moment for printing music in England in many ways. Several adventurous printers emerged on the scene and kinds of music that had been ignored by English printers for almost three decades reemerged. Among the genres of music books enjoying a renaissance were self-instruction manuals, a category of book not entirely new to English printers (several had been published prior to Queen Elizabeth I granting Byrd his patent). The surge in publications about *teaching* music speaks to the frequency with which people spoke about, desired and sought instruction in singing and playing instruments. It highlights a confluence of opportunities for musicians, students, and publishers occurring around the turn of the seventeenth century, including innovations in publishing layouts and techniques, an untapped market of student-readers, and the ability for new printers to make their mark on an industry that had previously been reserved for a select number of printers. The directions from "A. B." to "buy, read, and regard" offer a template for understanding the development and eventual waning of interest in tablature books for the lute as a solo instrument in early modern England.

The first two-chapter section of this dissertation, "Buy," will address the market for printed music instruction books, and those for the lute in particular, as the printing patent changed hands between 1596 and 1597. Books at this time were being made to address shifting readerships and institutional paradigms, filling gaps between available instruction in both practical and theoretical music. Chapter One examines the books specifically in terms of their

[8] Some precedents for Robinson's book exist. A system of numerical tablature for lute, harp, and keyboard had been proposed by Luis Venegas de Henestrosa in his *Libro de Cifra Nueva* (1557), and Vincenzo Galilei had recommended in *Fronimo* (1568/1584) that intabulating tunes can help with learning and understanding melodies, among others. Robinson's book was the earliest surviving printed instruction book to use tablature in this way in England, pairing tablature with staff notation to show the overlap between the two notational systems. The finer points of the differences between these notation systems and their applications would fill another book, but they are significant enough that it seems unlikely to me that much of these ideas – apart from perhaps Galilei's directive to intabulate melodies – would have much bearing in Robinson's instructions. There are instances, as we will see in Chapter 3, where the voice is compared to other instruments, in particular organ pipes (the famous example by Gaffurius comes to mind) but the extent to which Robinson uses this method appears to be his own design, and no other surviving books produced in England during this time offer anything similar.

production, presentation, and readerships: who were they for, and how were book producers framing the contents of their wares? Chapter Two focuses on the readers of these early English lute instruction books and other music tutors, considering their educational needs against the backdrop of changes in access to music education along lines of class, economics, geography, and gender.

The second section, "Read" (Chapters Three and Four), examines the roles tablature played in the experience of those learning to read and understand music, play instruments, and sing. By taking a closer look at the construction and contents of tablature books purporting to teach readers to "sing with the help of the lute" I trace the ways tablature navigates between oral, literate, and written traditions in books published in the first decade of the seventeenth century in Chapter Three. Chapter Four follows the afterlives of these books during the Commonwealth period and how manuscript circulation became once again the most common – and only – means of circulating music instructions when the Civil War made the printing of such books too difficult during the 1640s. In this way, I argue, smaller networks of music circulation not only facilitated shifting musical tastes even while music was underground but also produced a further rift between private amateur music-making and the kinds of ensemble and solo music that would later become popular at court during the Restoration.

The final section, "Regard" (Chapter Five), follows the roles of lute tablature and books to their extremes in Thomas Mace's *Musick's Monument* (1676). While the Restoration government did much in 1660 to reinstall musicians to their former places at court, the opportunities to hear solo lute music had diminished greatly over the interregnum during the 1650s, and Mace's book acts as both instructions for how to re-establish this kind of music making but also as a bookish monument to the lute as a "dying" instrument. Chapter Five interrogates these boundaries between popular and defunct, teaching and memorializing in the context of what future readers hoped to be able glean from the pages of the Mace's book.

My first chapter examines the conditions and mentalities that characterized the watershed moment in 1596 and 1597 that saw the publicaiong of Morley's *PEIPM* and so many other instructional manuals. . All of these books fell into a power vacuum between the expiration of William Byrd's printing patent and the moment when the patent passed to Morley himself. Neither Tallis nor Byrd had shown any obvious interest in publishing instruction manuals, which would account for why demand was so high in 1596-7.[9] While an impressive number of music instruction manuals were published in the year leading up to *PEIPM*, it was Morley's book that brought large format, detailed instruction, dialogue, and advanced content to instruction manuals.

While some aspects of theoretical music formed part of the quadrivium taught at university, practical music did not. This lack of practical music instruction in the charters and curricula of grammar schools and universities were factors in creating a much larger hunger for music education in early modern England. At several moments prior to 1597 individuals had

[9] Two music instruction books, both translations of Adrian Le Roy's lute instructions, were printed before the patent was granted to Tallis and Byrd. None were printed during their tenure, so the rush to publish in 1596 speaks to printers sensing a viable market for books such as these. William Barley, who was responsible for three books during this gap, was as much a businessman as a musician, trying to get as much of a slice of the market as possible. Since he was not a stationer, Barley was at the mercy of whoever held the music patent to determine which books were printed and when. When Morley assumed the patent, he and Barley went into business together with Barley as Morley's assignee.

advocated for making practical music more accessible to university-level students, some of whom would have had musical education from their grammar and song-school years but others of whom would not. One of the most frustrating primary sources from this year is John Bull's *Oration*, of which only the title page survives.[10] What is known about Bull's inaugural oration is that he lectured both on *musica speculativa* (music theory) and on *musica practica*. At the end of the sixteenth century the study of practical music was not foregrounded in any of the charters of colleges in either Oxford or Cambridge, and its appearance at Gresham College points to a change in attitude about what kinds of music education could be accomplished. Universities ultimately did start making more accommodations for teaching practical music in the seventeenth century, but at the 1597 moment students had to look elsewhere for music instruction and so they turned to books.

Morley's *PEIPM* that set a standard for the books that followed. Unlike its predecessors, *PEIPM* carries the markers of what Zachary Lesser has called "university aura." It uses the same title page borders as other serious academic books, and stressesthe author's university pedigree, to prove the intellectual weight of its contents. What emerges from an examination of these books is a bidto legitimize the study of music – and its performance – on a serious academic stage, a feat that would not be fully accomplished until well into the seventeenth century. Similarly, Thomas Robinson's *The Schoole of Musicke* (1603) incorporated many of the same features as *PEIPM*, which allowed printer Thomas East to demonstrate his abilities as a printer of didactic books with serious educational weight. A second small power vacuum occurred in the music printing industry at this time with the death of Morley in 1602, possibly serving as a second rupture point when more changes to music books could be made. These changes opened up new forms of book construction and thus allowed for more diverse forms of instruction as well.

While the kinds of instruction available through music books can be easily assessed, identifying students for whom the books would have been desirable is less easy. Such an inquiry is the subject of my second chapter. Investigating who would have constituted the market for self-instruction manuals also leads to questions about why such books would be necessary. Music lessons created what Katie Nelson has called a "nebulous space" that allowed for certain kinds of relationships to flourish that would have been frowned upon in other social spheres.[11] The professional music teacher Thomas Whythorne successfully pursued his older female student, despite their disparity of class. The darker side of stories like Whythorne's attests to the potential dangers of inviting music teachers into private homes, especially if their charges were young women. Instruction books may have been popular as a way to circumvent the complicated relationships that grew out of the pursuit of musical skill and the space music instruction books filled within this "nebulous space." While the presentations of many of these books, including Morley's *A Plaine and Easie Introduction,* Robinson's *The Schoole of Musicke*, and Bull's *Oration*, lay claim to their authors' privileged positions as educators – Morley and Bull emphasized their university pedigrees and Robinson emphasized his role as tutor to the queen – and sing the praises of music teachers, they also revel in their ability to be used "without a

[10] See Alec Hyatt King, "Fragments of Early Printed Music in the Bagford Collection," *Music & Letters* 40 (1959), 269.

[11] Katie Nelson, "Love in the music room: Thomas Whythorne and the private affairs of Tudor music tutors," *Early Music* xi/1 (2012), 18.

teacher." Beyond offering a "do-it-yourself" approach to learning musical skills, I contend that these books actively seek to alleviate potential uneasiness with having live teachers in lesson rooms. While they could be used in situations where teachers were unavailable or unaffordable, these books could also be used when a teacher was available but suspect. Books, then, offered a certain level of protection to their readers, standing in for a needed, but potentially risky authority figure.

I posit that books offered a tempting alternative to the complexities of navigating the interpersonal and institutional hurdles of seeking in-person music instruction. Because these books were geared toward such wide audiences when other didactic books were not they become situated within a larger network of music circulation and consumption.

Chapter Three examines the lengths to which self-instruction could go in relation to early modern readers, their interests, and their capacities to learn. By analyzing the structure and contents of Thomas Robinson's *The Schoole of Musicke* (1603), I show how Robinson and his printer Thomas East made decisions about how to present the contents of the book to aid learning and use. Several surprising aspects of the book's structure suggest unconventional ways it might have been used by its readers. In this chapter I speculate about what the unique way in which pages fit together, and how they ultimately come apart, can tell us about the ways early-modern readers might have gone about playing music.

Robinson's *Schoole of Musicke* is remarkable for how it weaves together techniques used in other self-instruction books. It opens with a dense eight-page dialogue, in which a knight and a teacher named Timotheus discuss music education for the knight's children. Under the premise that Timotheus is writing down the lessons for playing the lute so that the knight can revisit them later, Robinson gives detailed instructions about the physical act of positioning one's body around a lute, placing one's hands on the instrument, and producing sounds. The use of alphabetical lute tablature leads directly to learning the instrument, building progressively through the introduction until students can embark on learning the pieces contained in the substantial second section, 36 pages containing 33 pieces.

The most revolutionary portion of the book is the eight-page third section, which uses lute tablature to teach singing from music in mensural notation. This alternative to using rote learning in choir schools, or the exclusive use of dialogues as Morley did in *PEIPM*, positions the lute as an interlocutor in a singing lesson.[12] Rather than mimicking another voice in order to learn, students could be self-reliant, modeling their singing on their instrument. While this is not the first example of musical instruments being put to use in shaping vocal practices – other earlier examples from Continental sources have been studied by John Griffiths – it is the first known example in British sources.[13] Robinson's book also encourages participation in musical practices that are specifically British, offering tools to help singer accompany themselves in activities such as singing psalms.

[12] Jane Flynn, "The Education of Choristers in England During the Sixteenth Century," *English Choral Practice,* ed. John Morehen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

[13] For more on these Continental sources, see John Griffiths, "Juan Bermudo, Self-Instruction, and the Amateur Instrumentalist," *Music Education in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* ed. Murray Weiss and Cyrus (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010), 126-137.

My fourth chapter examines the social and political circumstances that resulted in a hiatus in the printing of musical self-instruction books beginning in the early 1640s, and to a tapering off of musical publications more generally. The years between Robinson's groundbreaking book and Mace's farewell to the lute were punctuated by war and a great deal of cultural change. Continental tastes were already shaping the kinds of music that were popular at court prior to the outbreak of the Civil War, but the practicalities of warfare, political, social, economic, and religious turmoil also changed the ways in which music circulated. Printing operations – especially those concerned with music instruction for the lute – all but disappeared. When John Playford took up operations again in the 1650s the lute no longer occupied pride of place in the activities of printing presses; and by the 1670s Thomas Mace declared it dead.

What this narrative overlooks is the ways residue of the pedagogic techniques printers and teachers put to use at the beginning of the century resurfaced during the Restoration. The lute no longer occupied pride-of-place in the repertoire, but tablature and the ways it was used to ground singing and basic musicianship concepts worked their way back into Playford's method books even as other fretted instruments like the viol were having music written for them almost exclusively in staff notation.

My final chapter focuses on Thomas Mace's *Musick's Monument* (1676), which as the last lute instruction book published in early modern England, could be considered to mark the end of an era. Mace was aware that the lute was an instrument whose popularity had waned. The skills taught in private lessons had fallen off as teachers had retired (and in Mace's own words "had DIED!") and students lost interest. It doesn't stop there. Beyond this point, *Musick's Monument* expounds the benefits of building well-designed music rooms and even traces the study of music to training its practitioners to resist the siren call of atheism.[14] Through examining these unorthodox uses of the lute and its notation, it becomes possible to understand not only issues related to the performance practice of musical instruments, their repertoire, and how lessons might have been conducted in early modern England; it also allows for a deeper understanding of the practices of reading and the communities of readers that formed around didactic books, and how these didactic books were able to teach far beyond their repertoire.

Mace's project was not just for the living, however; it was for the future. While the ways Mace ensures readers can use tablature to understand how to play an instrument for which in-person teachers are becoming increasingly scarce, his goal is to ensure the lute can rise from the grave when the time is right, even if the last living practitioners of the instrument are long gone. This way of framing the instrument raises questions of the liveness of instruments, the role of monuments in Restoration England, the role of printed books as a means of circulating and now preserving music for posterity, and the state of the lute as a popular instrument in England.

[14] Thomas Mace, *Musick's Monument* (London: T. Ratcliffe and N. Thompson, 1676), 264-272.

Chapter One

The 1597 Moment in Elizabethan Music Publishing

On October 6, 1597, John Bull gave a lecture on music to a crowded room of enthusiastic listeners. The talk would not have been remarkable but for the fact that this event, part of Gresham College's inaugural lecture series, brought university-style lectures on music into the City of London itself. Before this point there had been no formal lectures or demonstrations on music outside Oxford and Cambridge – the only two universities in England at the time – and so the opening of Gresham College marked an important moment for public access to university-level music lectures within the City of London. In particular, these lectures were also available to interested people outside of students currently matriculated at a university, part of a larger democratizing move in college education, leading Sir George Buck to write in 1612 that the City of London itself – through Gresham College and schools associated with various guilds operating within its walls – was the "third university of England":[1]

> For in the Cittie of London bee read and taught the Arts of Grammar, of Rhetoricke, of Arithmeticke, of Musicke, of Geometry... and difers Languages, holy, learned and strange, and many other free and subtill arts, and sciences are professed, taught studied, and practised within this Cittie...Then I say it followeth consequently that London may not onely challenge iustly the name and stile of an Universitie, but also chiefe place in the Catalogue of Universities.[2]

The addition of "a third university," although it could not confer degrees, when there had previously only been two, was momentous. These lectures appear to have had a wide appeal, since they were put into print for the benefit of those that could not attend, or wanted to remember what had been said. Bull's lecture was no exception. The proofs of the lecture were entered into the Stationer's Register on 31 October, indicating that though the book was not available for purchase at Bull's first lecture itself, it was available in print soon thereafter and most likely for purchase at subsequent lectures.

Bull's lecture was a turning point in a longer narrative of institutional changes in university music education that pushed against the current state of affairs at Oxford and Cambridge, but it also linked university-level developments to the contributions of other authors

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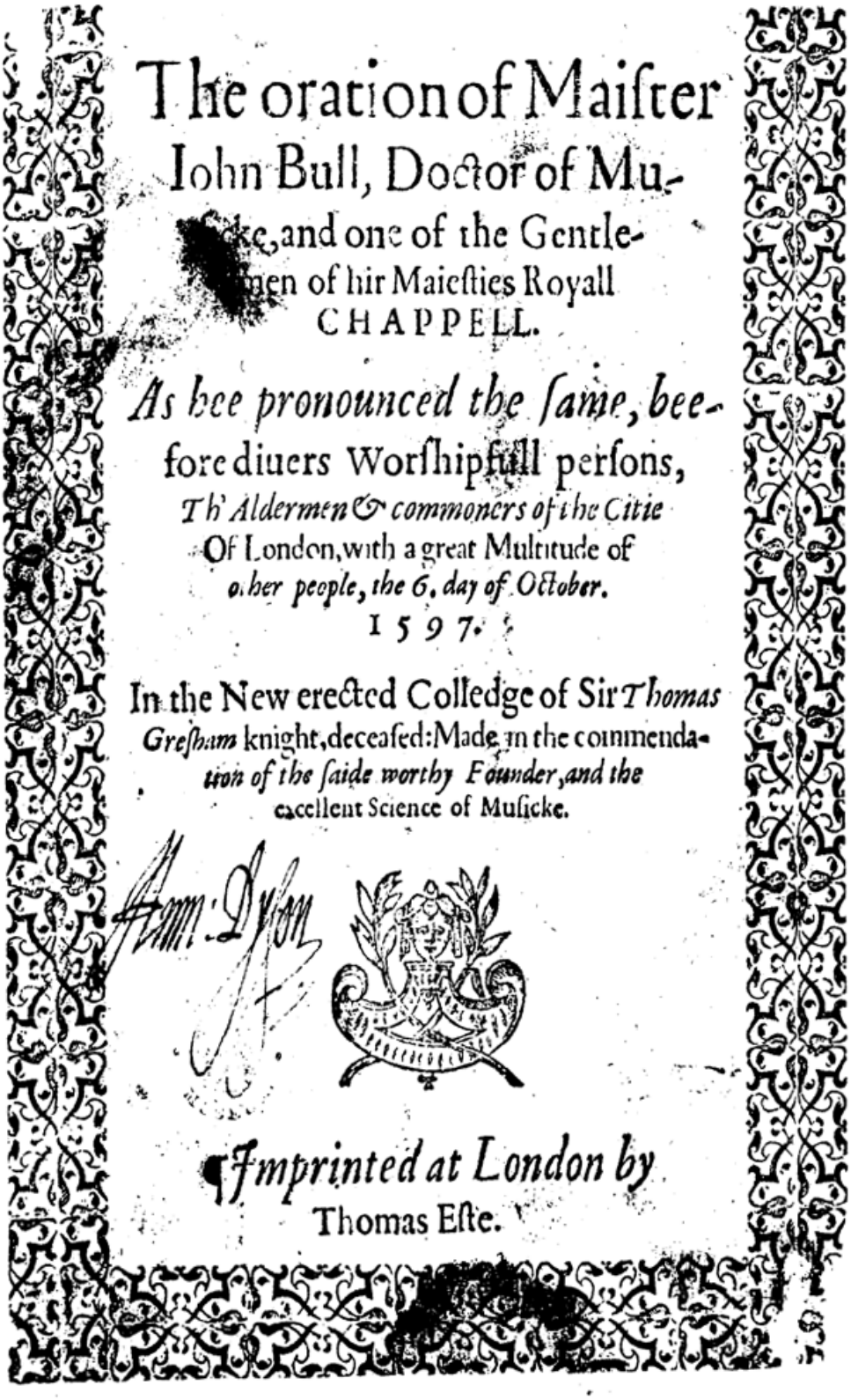
[1] Sir George Buck wrote the *Third University of England* in 1612, but it was not published until 1615 as an appendix to John Stow, *Annales, or, A Generall Chronicle of England* (London: Thomas Adams, 1615). See Joan Simon, *Education and Society in Tudor England* (Cambridge University Press, 1966), 388. https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=osu.32435017648700;view=1up;seq=975.

[2] The complete list of topics of study includes theology, grammar, rhetoric, poetry, arithmetic, philosophy, common law, ethics, civil law, canon law, anatomy, surgery, astronomy, geometry, music, mathematics, hydrography, geography, navigation, languages, cosmography, brachygraphy, steganography, martial arts, riding, polemics, pyrotechnics, studies of artillery, swimming, dance, painting, heraldry, revels, and "art memorative." Sir George Buck, "A Discourse, or Treatise, on the Third Universitie of England," *Annales*, 961-963.

publishing didactic music books at this time. Bull's own university ties, his close network of teachers and friends and the works they produced, and the discussions about music education unfolding on the margins of university politics were all a part of larger changes occurring in music education, and education in general, at the turn of the seventeenth century. This chapter begins with Bull's lecture, but it is ultimately about the interval between 1596 and 1597, roughly a year's span in which musicians and publishers produced the clearest evidence of a shifting paradigm within early modern music education. The move expanded the field of music instruction in many directions. It made materials available to a much larger group of people. It encouraged institutional changes at the university level. It also foregrounded instrumental music education to a degree not before recorded in British history, at all educational stages. These developments appear to have been happening at Gresham College with more vigor than any other academic institution, but they had to compete with an existing course of university music education (which already had for quite some time left students wanting). University records, correspondence, printed books and manuscripts all offer up information about the state of music education in Britain leading up to this year.

The only extant part of Bull's lecture is the title page, which is preserved in the Bagford Collection at the British Library (GB-Lbl Harl. 5936). [Fig. 1] It notes that "a great multitude" of important businessmen and high-ranking city officials as well as commoners attended the event, meaning that the lecture was an important event for people from all professions. The page also stresses the newness of the College itself, situates music as a part of the quadrivium by including the phrase "Science of Musicke," and stresses Bull's university pedigree. Before taking the Public Lecturer position at Gresham Bull had earned doctorates in music from both Oxford and Cambridge, giving him an air of immense university authority. It was not common during this time to hold doctorates from both universities, but the circumstances leading to Bull's two degrees are typical of Bull's time. Having become a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal in 1586, Bull already had a successful career as a musician when he supplicated for his first DMus at Oxford on July 8 of the same year, where if Anthony Wood is to be believed, he was admitted on the same day. The degree did not become official until 1592, because, according to Wood, his degree was thwarted by "Clownes & rigid Puritans that could not endure Church music."[3] In the interim, he sought and was awarded a MusD from King's College, Cambridge in 1589.[4] The delay in the Oxford degree also proved to be of some benefit, as Bull "practised in the Faculty of Music for 14 years," according to Wood. This claim seems vague and is without documentary support, as are many of Wood's statements. To "practise" in the Faculty of Music presumably refers simply to his professional employment and not to any academic appointment. During the previous years, Bull's professional appointment had been as cathedral organist at Hereford from 1582 until his appointment to the Chapel Royal in 1591. Nevertheless, the dual DMus degrees may have also helped Bull win the Gresham appointment, supported by the Queen herself.

[3] Susi Jeans and O.W. Neighbour, "Bull, John," *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed October 27, 2015, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/04294.
[4] Ibid.


The oration of Maister
John Bull, Doctor of Mu-
[redacted]ke, and one of the Gentle-
[redacted]men of hir Maiesties Royall
CHAPPELL.

As hee pronounced the same, bee-
fore diuers Worshipfull persons,
Th' Aldermen & commoners of the Citie
Of London, with a great Multitude of
other people, the 6. day of October.
1597.

In the New erected Colledge of Sir *Thomas*
Gresham knight, deceased: Made in the commenda-
tion of the saide worthy Founder, and the
excellent Science of Musicke.

Imprinted at London by
Thomas Este.

Figure 1: Title page from *The Oration of Maister Iohn Bull, Doctor of Musicke* (London, 1597).

The verso of this title page offers further insight. When studying the fragment in 1959, Alec Hyatt King noticed that the ink from the now lost first page of text had transferred clearly onto the verso of the title page, making a mirror-image impression of the original text, which King reconstructed as follows:

> It is written, Right worshipful, that the Eagle onely soaring aloft into the clouds, looketh with open eye upon the Sun: such a quick sighted bird should now bee in this place who flying thro' heaven might fetch [?] Apollo's harp and sound unto you the prayse of heavenlie Musick. My Master liveth and long [may he] lyve, and I his scholar not worthy in yours & his present to speak of this Art and Science. Beare, I pray you, with all my defects of knowledge, and you shall finde that dilegence shall recompense the [three words illegible]. One starre is not so light as another, yet as by a faint light you may see your way, so by my simple knowledge may you in some form [?] learne this Science: & although I am not, as it were, winged to flye to the hill Parnassus, there to sing with the Muses a part in the praise of Musick, yet give me leave, I pray you, first [two words illegible] to shew you the foundation and foundress...[5]

The passage cuts off at a cruel point, having just mentioned the "foundational" material upon which Bull was lecturing but not continuing far enough to explain what this foundational material might have been. Indeed, it is an immense loss to understanding the state of university-level music education at the turn of the seventeenth century, and even though King was able to reconstruct the first page, what Bull actually talked about appears to be gone forever. This missing material would not simply be a direct representation of what went on in other university lectures on music. There is good reason to believe that Bull's music pedagogy would have differed at least a little from that of lecturers at Oxford or Cambridge. Unlike the role prescribed by the Elizabethan Statutes of 1564/5 for Oxford and Cambridge – which confined the university study of music to a year of the *musica speculativa* of Boethius – Bull's appointment required him to give lectures on theoretical *and* practical music. For higher music education, both in the City of London and elsewhere, this position broke new ground, and the printed lecture would have served as evidence for this paradigm-shift. The phrasing of Bull's appointment, as recommended by Queen Elizabeth herself, had the music Lecturer reading two lectures comprised of "The theorique part for one half hour or thereabouts, and the practique by concent of voice or of instruments for the rest of the hour; whereof the first lecture to be in the Latin tongue and the second in the English tongue."[6] Bull received special dispensation to read both lectures in English.[7] It is unclear how much Latin he knew. If he could not read the language Boethius used to write *De musica* the extent to which that text figured in his lectures may also have been different from other music lecturers of his day. On the other hand, if Bull simply refused to lecture in Latin, viewing the practice as outdated and exclusionary to those not trained to read and speak it, then his lectures may indeed have been very progressive. Most importantly, the statutes for Gresham College made space in the weekly lectures for demonstration either by singing or by instrument. It is unclear what these demonstrations may have entailed; perhaps

[5] Alec Hyatt King, "Fragments of Early Printed Music in the Bagford Collection," *Music & Letters,* vol. 40, No. 3 (July 1959), 269-273. 270.
[6] John Ward, *The Lives of the Professors of Gresham College,* (London, 1740), viii.
[7] Ibid.

they were demonstrations of theoretical ratios, but they also could have been recitals. Either way they made a place for both instrumental and vocal music in the study of music at the university level.

That the lectures received wide support is not in question. The Eagle mentioned in Bull's introduction was presumably his teacher, William Byrd, in whose presence he felt "not worthy ... to speak of this Art and Science" of music.[8] However, the mention of "a great multitude" is the feature of Bull's title page that reveals the most about the changes occurring in music education at the end of the sixteenth century. Bull's lecture was not just for the worshipful persons, or the aldermen of the City of London, but for the commoners as well. Anyone with the financial means and inclination to attend seems to have been able to do so, and it was this democratization of education that helped to push the study of music in the direction of *musica practica*. These commoners are an often-neglected facet of the demographics of early modern students. They did not necessarily attend university, or benefit from private tutors. They were most likely not members of the nobility. But they were curious and could probably read. Self-help books, including those described as "plaine and easie," were prioritized toward them. The idea that readers could teach themselves a skill came not from scholasticism, where information was guarded and carefully portioned out by the experts in that field. While many authors of self-help books came from that background, their audience was not just members of their own academic circles. Instead they sought to push their ideas into the larger public sphere through print. Bull's lecture – though uncertain without a complete copy – can be categorized with a multitude of publications of other didactic music books, mostly written by colleagues of Bull like Thomas Morley and Thomas Robinson, who also had strong university or courtly ties.[9] Though all that survives of Bull's lecture is the title page of its printed version, it links the lecture to the larger publishing project at the close of the seventeenth century.

1597 was an important year for English music, especially for music written for and taught to "the multitude" mentioned on Bull's title page. In addition to the Gresham lectures, printers – particularly Peter Short in addition to the already successful Thomas East – produced so many music books that Jeremy Smith dubbed 1597 Short's "miraculous year," during which he produced seven music books.[10] The kinds of books printed by Short lean toward an audience comprised of non-professionals, specifically instruction manuals. While the other main music printer of this time, Thomas East, was not as prolific in 1597 as Peter short, he also switched gears and started printing new kinds of music books, including William Bathe's instruction manual, *A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Song.* 1597 marked a shift in the way ordinary people consumed music to one that added printed materials as an educational medium in addition to relying on teachers as transmitters of material. The new field was wider and more democratic, in which people could buy books, attend lectures, go to university-style lectures, and hire private teachers in order to learn music. However, though the events of 1596/7 appear by all accounts to have been a watershed of music education (among other educational fields), they were a long time coming. In fact, the events of 1596/7 appear to have resulted from many factors necessary for a paradigm-shift in music education for adults. Considering the appearance of public lectures

[8] Hyatt-King, 271.
[9] While Robinson does not mention his university ties, he does boast his connections to courtly life. These ties included his connections with Anne of Denmark, married to the newly crowned King James I.
[10] Jeremy L. Smith, *Thomas East and Music Publishing in Renaissance England* (Oxford University Press, 2003). 86-87.

in front of "divers worshipfull persons, Th' Aldermen & commoners of the Citie of London," this moment was far from exclusive, and depended on commoners in addition to members of an educational or social elite for its success. The popular developments of this year were significant for the printing of secular music in England, especially didactic music books, which were also geared to reach outside the academy to amateurs without access to teachers. Thomas Morley's landmark *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musick* was published in addition to his two books of *Canzonets*, along with John Dowland's *The First Booke of Songs or Ayres,* Anthony Holborn's *The Cittharn Schoole,* William Hunnis's *Seven Sobs of a Sorrowfull Soule,* George Kirbye's *The first set of English Madrigalls*, Charles Tessier's *Le premier livre de Chansons,* Thomas Weelkes' *Madrigals,* and the second book of Nicholas Yonge's *Musica Transalpina*.[11]

Before 1597

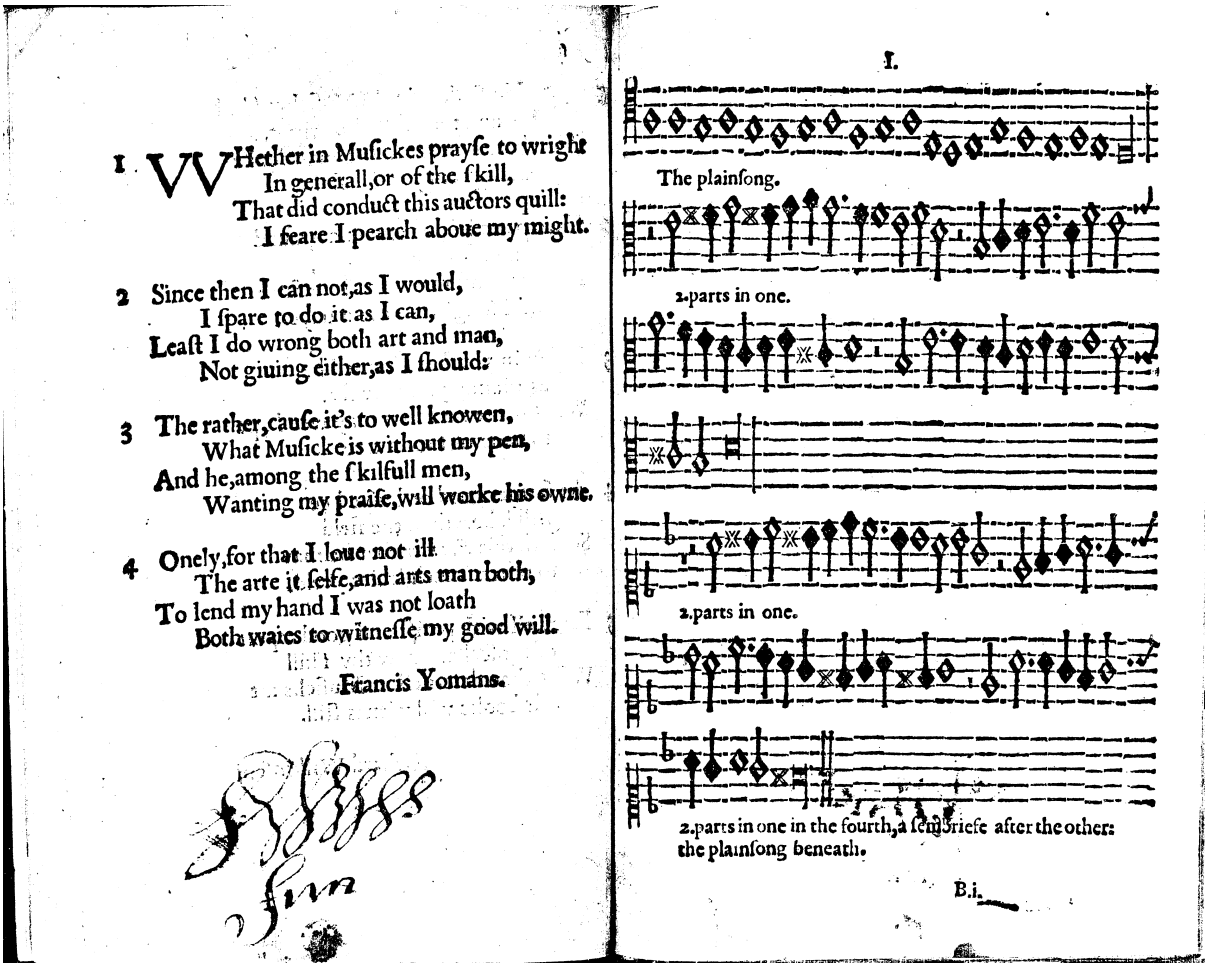
This sudden change in the content of printed music books has been attributed by many musicologists to the expiry of William Byrd's music printing patent in 1596, which cleared the path for several other music printers to claim their share of a now open market.[12] The collaboration between Byrd and his assign, Thomas East, was fruitful, but produced no didactic books. The printers focused instead on books like *Musica Transalpina I* and Byrd's own *Cantiones sacrae* volumes and various secular song books. It is odd that Byrd would have taken so little interest in printing didactic music books. He was, after all, a teacher – and taught both Bull and Morley – himself. The number of didactic books both for instruments and singing that occurred in the year after Byrd's patent expiry suggests that Byrd indeed resisted the publication of these kinds of books for the most part. One exception is a volume of canons issued by John Farmer in 1591, geared toward students of music, expressing in his epistle to the reader his hopes "that students in this art, such as may learne, as my selfe may, and have not yet proceeded so farre as I have, might finde something heere not unworthie their labor."[13] While this volume did not offer written directions for reading music, the examples it contained expounded on how to construct two-part polyphony above a plainsong. [Fig. 2] While Byrd may have resisted didactic texts in general he allowed this one to be printed, perhaps because it demonstrated concepts of musical improvisation and composition rather than explaining them in prose. Farmer's book, if we take his epistle to the reader at face-value, is geared toward "students of music." The fact that there are no subsequent reprints of the volume suggest it might have been a commercial failure, perhaps because it did not explain completely enough how to use it. The potentially lukewarm reception of Farmer's book may have quashed Byrd's hopes for a successful didactic book project under his watch, but that does not mean that instruction books were not desired objects; the English translation of the Le Roy lute instruction book appears to have been successful

[11] In one instance the books included music along with other things; Hunnis' text was not solely music but included music. Tessier's book was of Continental repertoire but was printed in England. The rest are English music printed in London. *Seven sobs of a sorrowful soul* was printed by Short; Tessier's volume was printed by East. Hunnis, being one of John Bull's teachers, also shares this further connection with the 1597 publications.

[12] Jeremy Smith discusses these "ambiguities of power" exploited by East and Barley in *Thomas East and Music Publishing in Renaissance England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 77-78.

[13] John Farmer, *Divers and Sundry Waies of Two Parts in One* (London: Thomas East, 1591), aiijv.

enough in the 1560s to warrant an expanded reprint in 1574 by James Rowbotham, just one year before Tallis's and Byrd's patent was issued.[14]



1 WHether in Muſickes prayſe to wright
In generall,or of the ſkill,
That did conduct this auctors quill:
I feare I pearch aboue my might.

2 Since then I can not,as I would,
I ſpare to do it as I can,
Leaſt I do wrong both art and man,
Not giuing either,as I ſhould:

3 The rather,cauſe it's to well knowen,
What Muſicke is without my pen,
And he,among the ſkilfull men,
Wanting my praiſe,will worke his owne.

4 Onely,for that I loue not ill
The arte it ſelfe,and arts man both,
To lend my hand I was not loath
Both waies to witneſſe my good will.

Francis Yomans.

I.

The plainſong.

2.parts in one.

2.parts in one.

2.parts in one in the fourth,a ſemibriefe after the other: the plainſong beneath.

B.i.

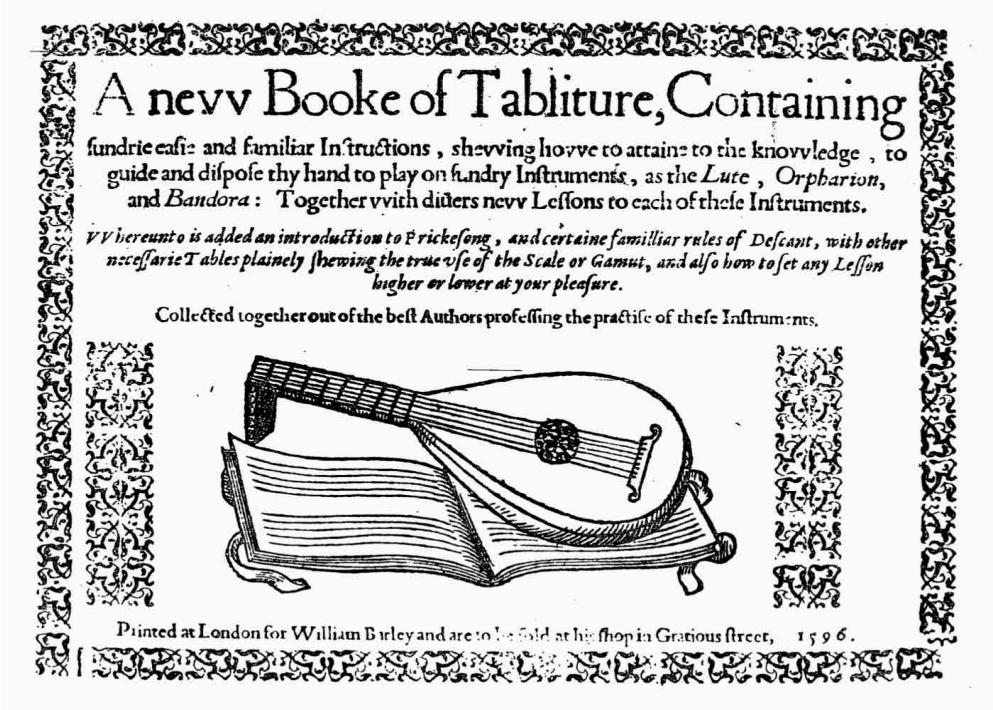
Figure 2: Two Parts on a Ground from John Farmer's *Divers Sundry Waies of Two Parts upon a Ground* (1591)

It may have been that instruction manuals did not carry the same *cachet* that collections of songs did. As Jeremy Smith notes, "the queen had entrusted [Byrd and Tallis] with a lofty cultural mission that may have proved inspirational beyond the promise of pecuniary rewards" in addition to the exclusive right to print music in London.[15] Smith also suggests that Byrd censored certain kinds of music based on his interests and those of his acquaintances. Byrd used his printing privilege mostly to print books of his own music. Having never (as far as we know) composed for the lute himself, very little lute music made it through his printing press.[16] In addition, Byrd's recusancy also affected the choices he made, especially into the 1590s, of

[14] Little is known about James Rowbotham apart from his business as a draper and the detail that his writing was to be sold "at the Signe of the Lute," as indicated on the title page of the 1574 edition of his book.
[15] Smith, 4.
[16] Smith, 57.

collections to be published, including his three Latin masses, and later his *Gradualia*. These choices would have had an impact on the production of didactic material. A book that explained how to read lute tablature might not have seemed as urgent as getting books of higher cultural capital into the market first, which would have been more in keeping with Byrd's sense of mission to be the conduit through which printed music would expand across Britain. The publications from the 1580s are aligned with this goal, but by 1597 that need would have been mitigated by the large projects already in print. Byrd's retreat to the Essex countryside no doubt also shaped his publishing decisions, weighing what work that would require being physically present in London to oversee the typesetting, and what may have been possible to edit and publish remotely.

After Byrd's patent expired, William Barley – who would go on to partner with Morley – was the first to make try to exploit the new market for didactic books, printing *A new Booke of Tabliture* (1596, Fig. 3) and *The Patheway to Musick* (c. 1596).[17] In contrast, few books of secular music had been produced before the 1590s, and the production of music books in 1597 outpaced anything that had come before.[18] If Barley's books are considered a part of the 1597 group, only four known publications of autodidactic books are known to have existed before. [Fig. 4]


A nevv Booke of Tabliture, Containing

ſundrie eaſie and familiar Inſtructions, ſhevving hovve to attaine to the knovvledge, to guide and diſpoſe thy hand to play on ſundry Inſtruments, as the *Lute*, *Orpharion*, and *Bandora*: Together vvith diuers nevv Leſſons to each of theſe Inſtruments.

VVhereunto is added an introduction to Prickeſong, and certaine familiar rules of Deſcant, with other neceſſarie Tables plainely ſhewing the true vſe of the Scale or Gamut, and alſo how to ſet any Leſſon higher or lower at your pleaſure.

Collected together out of the beſt Authors profeſſing the practiſe of theſe Inſtruments.

Printed at London for William Barley and are to be ſold at his ſhop in Gratious ſtreet, 1596.

Figure 3: William Barley, *A new Booke of Tabliture* (London, 1596).

[17] The partnership began in 1598, when Barley began printing for Morley at the shop in Little St. Helens. See Tessa Murray, *Thomas Morley: Elizabethan Music Publisher* (Rochester, NY: Boydell & Brewer, 2014), 109-111.

[18] Murray, 51. Specifically, Murray argues that in comparison with the output printers on the Continent English printers' musical outputs were markedly low, and even lower when only considering secular music making its way into print.

Table 1: Autodidactic music books printed prior to 1596

Year	Author	Title	Publisher
1563	Sternhold and Hopkins	Preface to *The whole psalmes in foure partes, which may be song to al musicall instruments*	John Day
1568	Le Roy, Adrian, translated by J. Alford	*A Brief and easye instru[c]tion to learne the tableture*	John Kingston for James Rowbotham
1574	Le Roy, Adrian	*A Brief and plaine instruction to set all musicke of eight divers tunes in tableture for the lute*	James Rowbotham
1584	Bathe, William	*A brief introduction to the true art of musicke*	Lost

Of these books, the two Le Roy volumes are English translations of French lute manuals. The 1574 Le Roy instructions are slightly expanded reprints of the 1568 translation, although the repertoire changes between the two. Though Bathe's *A brief introduction to the true art of musicke* is lost, a portion of it survives in commonplace books and the first few pages of Bathe's *A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Song* (1596). If these sources are any indication of what the 1584 book contained, it shared a great deal in common with the singing instructions in the 1583 Sternhold and Hopkins text: an introduction to clefs, the *Gam-ut*, and simple solmization. In other words, the music instruction manuals printed up to 1596/7 presented one simple approach to singing and one approach to playing the lute. The appearance of these books at all is indeed groundbreaking, but only underscores the novelty of the books that follow. The success of these volumes can be seen in the rate at which they were re-worked and reprinted in the years following 1597, after a two-decade hiatus mostly attributable to Byrd. After the 1597 moment authors would continue to expand upon the methods put forward in these early publications, using existing material as a vehicle to teach more advanced techniques and concepts. The books began to approach a more comprehensive elementary music education, encouraging the idea that readers could teach themselves how to sing or play an instrument. The market for these books may have seemed to appear instantaneously in 1597, but what this overnight change in readership really suggests is that the public desire for didactic music books had actually been building for some time. A market for books like those of Bathe, Le Roy, and the Sternhold and Hopkins preface never really went away, but it would take a new generation of authors and printers to bring it to fruition.

As Jeremy Smith has argued, the beginning of Morley's patent in 1597 also effectively ended the free-for-all of musical styles represented in instructional books, but it didn't mark a sizeable shift in the kinds of music being published beyond the addition of more instructional books. *PEIPM,* for instance, was a primer for scholarly music-making rather than for producing the lighter styles of music popular on the Continent.[19] Tension between his academic "disdain" for lighter styles and his savvy business sense for what people would actually buy, Smith argues, led to publishing music at odds with his own scholastic musical tastes but which appealed to a wider commercial audience.

Reading the emergence of so many substantial didactic music books in 1597 and the years that followed only as a frantic effort to claim a share of the London music-printing industry

[19] Jeremy Smith, *Thomas East and Music Publishing in Renaissance England,* 79.

after Byrd's patent expired misses another important point, specifically that the kinds of didactic material that go into print mirror ongoing restructuring of music studies at the universities and, in particular, outside them. What seems to fall through the cracks, however, is the role that music instruction books, especially those carrying an Oxbridge aura, can expose regarding changing public attitudes about music education for adults. Even though university statutes still placed music within the quadrivium, and the two universities continued to list it a part of their course of study, what students did learn seems to have been almost purely theoretical. Extant inventories of university libraries from the late sixteenth century show that the books made available by universities to their students were mostly the *De musica* of Boethius. The study of the quadrivium itself at Oxford and Cambridge had been demoted following a decree by Elizabeth I in 1559 establishing rhetoric as the primary focus of undergraduate education. It is likely that many students passed their collegiate years without receiving any formal instruction from the university in practical music. Students at university seem to always have pursued instrumental music on the margins of their studies, dissatisfied with the lectures offered by their professors, and seeking practical skills from other sources. These changing attitudes, though they become much clearer in the 1590s, represent musical activities that had been ongoing for years, and early rumblings of the changes to come in university education and also in music education outside the university can be seen at least as early as the 1570s.

The Musical Education of University Students in Late Sixteenth-Century England

While the expiry of Byrd's patent may explain why so many books appeared in 1596/7, this picture of publishing is complicated by the state of music education at the two universities in the 1580s and 90s. Accounts of what music education was available at Oxford and Cambridge are fragmentary, and offer a description of the situation that is ambiguous at best. Historians and musicologists describing the state of university music education in England at the close of the sixteenth century have not reached a consensus and their interpretations of the evidence differ. Nan Cooke Carpenter views the paucity of students attending university music lectures as a sign of universities in decline. David C. Price looked at accounts of music lessons and the sales of instruments and concluded that music was alive and well at the universities. John Caldwell attributed the decline of music studies at the universities to the lack of appropriate textbooks. While these accounts appear to be contradictory, they really expose a musical university culture reacting to changing priorities within the universities themselves.[20]

University statutes from the fifteenth century had required students incepting for the Bachelor of Arts degree to have studied music, specifically Boethius, for the period of a year. In 1549, the Edwardian code gave the quadrivium pride of place in the first year of university curriculum. The Elizabethan Statutes of 1564/5, however, had moved *musica speculativa* to the end of the course of study, and the prescribed two-semester course in many cases was not observed.[21] The textbook for these courses was still Boethius's *De Musica*, a difficult Latin text. Writing on the study of music at Oxford University during this period, John Caldwell remarks:

[20] Nan Cooke Carpenter, *Music in the Medieval and Renaissance Universities* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958),175; David C. Price, *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance* 19-23; and John Caldwell, "Music in the Faculty of Arts," *The History of the University of Oxford* III, 201.
[21] Caldwell, 201.

> It is surprising how tenaciously the *De institutione musica* of Boethius, an obscure and difficult book of little significance to the practice of music even when it was written, should have kept its place in the statutes, even down to the middle of the nineteenth century. It is, of course, a very reasonably compendious and authoritative digest of music as a mathematical discipline, needing only the prior study of arithmetic (preferably Boethius's own work on the subject) to make it comprehensible as such.[22]

As a textbook *De musica* did contain a great deal of theory that was still relevant to the study of music, but it was difficult to comprehend. Its contents also did not deal enough with *musica practica*, specifically with the playing of instruments and singing, which would have been of most use to courtiers and young gentlemen, who would have had little use for music theory once they had left the university. The opacity of the *De musica* and its lack of connection to topics that would serve future members of court led many students to devalue *musica speculativa* as a course of study. Several music lecturers in the late sixteenth century were excused from their duties because no students were attending their classes. In 1579 a student named John Lant asked to be transferred to an arithmetic class, specifically because he found music to be "of little value."[23]

Many talented musicians were awarded their Bachelor's and Doctoral degrees during this time period – Morley and John Dowland in 1588, Francis Pilkington in 1595, Thomas Weelkes in 1602, etc. – but their degrees were granted in recognition of their practical musical activity elsewhere.[24] In fact, most if not all music degrees were awarded to musicians who already had successful careers and already knew how to compose. Court and cathedral musicians were required only to present written evidence of their musical achievement to receive their degrees. Benhamin Ham had to compose an 8-part choral hymn for his baccalaureate in 1583; and Richard Rede had to write one in six parts in 1590/91.[25] Even before the Edwardian and Elizabethan statutes took effect, musicians were awarded their degrees for their practical work. The success of Richard Ede's supplication for the BMus in 1506/7 depended on the composition of a mass, to be performed during his admission ceremony.[26] These major compositions represented years of experience, intense study and practice, but not the attendance of lectures at Cambridge or Oxford. Bull stands as a case in point for the reality of higher music education in England at the end of the sixteenth century: though he held degrees from both universities the delay of his Oxford degree indicates that theological tensions affected even the award of music degrees.

Bull's training came from study under William Byrd, Hunnis and Blitheman in the Chapel Royal. His appointment at Gresham came more from his position as a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal – and the recommendation of the Queen – than election by university colleagues. His career is much more that of an accomplished musician than a scholar. Furthermore, the fact

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[22] Caldwell, 202.
[23] A. Clarke, *Register of the University of Oxford.* Vol. II, Part I, p. 100. Oxford Historical Society, 1887. In "Music Education in Tudor Times, 124.
[24] Other degrees were awarded to Nathaniel Giles (1585), John Bull and John Munday, in 1586, Giles Farnaby (1592), Francis Pilkington (1595), Richard Nicholson (1595/6), and Robert Jones (1597) See Caldwell, 207.
[25] David G. T. Harris, "Music Education in Tudor Times (1485-1603)," *Proceedings of the Musical Association,* 65 (1938-1939), 109-139, 126.
[26] Caldwell, 207.

that Bull either could not or refused to lecture in Latin and received special dispensation from the Queen to lecture in English, underscores his passive resistance to traditional modes of university lecturing.[27] The irony in these situations seems to be that though all existing university statutes in the sixteenth century required the study of *musica speculativa*, and the talented musicians who earned degrees in music were most certainly well-versed in the theory of Boethius, their degrees were awarded principally upon their work in *musica practica*. The two disciplines, though distinct on paper, were indivisible for people actually making music.

And yet the records of what was taught and valued at university appear to have been in conflict with this reality of practical and speculative music coexisting at university. One possible explanation was the political and religious climate of the time. Bull's initial difficulty supplicating for the MusD at Oxford is testament to these theological difficulties in the universities. Though Queen Elizabeth was a great patron of music, puritan thought pervaded a great deal of university planning. *Musica practica* would have had a problematic relationship with puritan thought, since most writing about music from that school of thought included the expunging of organs from cathedrals and the limiting of religious music to metrical psalms. Though many puritans had no problem with music for recreation, justifying it as a course of study at university would have been difficult. Price notes:

> William Fulke, a Puritan fellow of St. John's College, acknowledged in a treatise of 1578 that there were large numbers of practical musicians in England but that true "musici" were rare. This dearth he lengthily related, as indeed did many practical musicians like John Dowland (who was honored by degrees from both universities), to a decline in the study of mathematics. Yet this tradition, traceable to the Ancient Greeks, of music as a study of divine proportion was not the only musical tradition at Cambridge. There is some evidence that practical musical ability was also encouraged at all levels within the University. Cambridge, like Oxford, granted degrees in music by the middle of the fifteenth century. A hundred years later the Elizabethan Statutes imply that bachelors of music had been elevated in status along with those of law, theology, and medicine above bachelors of arts.[28]

By Price's estimation, the point of moving music to the final year of study with the rest of the quadrivium was to protect it as a part of university study that could be traced back to the ancient Greeks. This would have made it much harder to argue for its removal, but the effect it ultimately had was that many students were able to give it only cursory attention. Students who only attended university for a few years while they obtained the skills they needed to practice law (oration, for example) may never have encountered it.

Students who studied this purely theoretical music education on their way to professional fields probably would have been frustrated by it. The frustration with the kind of education being conducted at Oxford and Cambridge can be found in the tract *Queene Elizabethes Achademy* (British Library: Lansdowne MS 98/1). Presented to the queen for Sir Humphrey Gilbert by Lord

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[27] "And because at this time Mr. Doctor Bull is recommended to the place by the queen's most excellent majesty, being not able to speak Latin, his lectures are permited to be altogether in English, so long as he shall continue the place of the musick lecturer there." *Ordinances and agreements tripartite between the Mayor Commonalty and Citizens of London...* (January 16, 1597). See Ward, *Lives of the Professors of Gresham College,* viii.

[28] Price, 20-21.

Burghley sometime in the 1570s, probably 1573, the tract proposes a London "Achademy" for the Queen's wards, and "others the youth of nobility and gentlemen... which in times paste [sic] knew nothing but to hallow a hounde or lure a hawke," which would teach them about political, social, and practical life.[29] The school appears to mirror the standard grammar school and university sequence for boys of the age, spanning the ages of 12 and 21. The course of study included Latin and Greek, Grammar, Hebrew, Logic, Rhetoric, Moral Philosophy, Natural Philosophy, Mathematics, Cosmography, Physic, Chirugerie, Civil and Common Law, Divinity, Heraldry, French, Italian, Spanish, and High Dutch. Uniquely, there are also provisions for a "dawncing and vawting schole," and for a "Teacher of Musick, [who will teach the students] to play on the Lute, Bandora, and Cytterne, &c."[30] Rather than stressing *musica speculativa*, as other university charters and statutes do, this proposal calls for a teacher of *musica practica*, who instead of teaching from Boethius" *De Musica* would teach students how to compose and maybe sing. Even further, this proposed charter provides for a teacher whose primary role is to teach students to play instruments. This kind of musical training would previously have been reserved for private tutoring. Though Humphrey Gilbert's plan was not brought to fruition, it was described by James Furnivall in 1869 as being in fact a plan for a university in London since the instructions do point to an early statement about what general music education at the university level should become. It encouraged the on-site musical training at the school to be in the service of more general music education, and in particular instrumental music education instead of the training of composers. In doing so it marked a significant departure from earlier proposed models of schooling.

Music Education Before University

Gilbert's failed proposal appears to be the earliest push for institutional change around musical schooling, and it would be another quarter century before John Bull's Gresham lectures. In this sense, instrumental music education for both youths and adults did not receive institutionalized academic support for years after Gilbert floated his proposal. This delay did not mean music was not being practiced in university towns or elsewhere in England, however. There was plenty of practical music instruction to be found through private instruction, musical clubs, and choir schools affiliated with certain colleges and cathedrals. Nan Cooke Carpenter and David C. Price have made detailed surveys of these kinds of music education in Oxford and Cambridge, concluding that music education was alive and well in university towns at the end of the sixteenth century, even if not in a formalized sense within the university itself.[31] The evidence for this kind of education is scattered and piecemeal, and a lot of it consists of anecdotes and account

[29] The terminology relating to a "scheme" for a "university" in London was proposed by Frederick James Furnivall in 1869. His transcription of the passage from BL MS Landsdowne 98/1 reads as a plan for "The erection of an Achademy in London for education of her Maiestes Wardes, and others of the youth of nobility and gentlemen." See Sir Humphrey Gilbert, "Queene Elizabethes Achademy," *A Booke of Precedence,* ed. Frederick James Furnivall (London: Early English Text Society, 1869), 1.
[30] C. R. L. Fletcher, *Collectanea* (Oxford, Printed for the Oxford Historical Society and the Clarendon Press, 1885), 274-275. The 1570s were an important decade leading up to the 1597 moment, since both this proposal and Thomas Gresham's will were drafted at this time. See Davit G. T. Harris, "Musical Education in Tudor Times (1485-1603)," *Proceedings of the Musical Association*
[31] Morley himself notes his ties to Norwich Cathedral; See Watkins Shaw, "Thomas Morley of Norwich," *Music and Letters* 106 (Sept. 1965), 669-673.

register entries of payments for lessons. A student named John Puleney paid a lute tutor twenty shillings for instruction over the course of the semester in the 1560s.[32] Henry Howard wrote to his friend Michael Hickes around the same time to inquire about good lute tutors in Cambridge. Thomas Wythorne was a music tutor to the son of a wealthy London merchant around the same time.[33] What all of these accounts point to is that musical training, both vocal and instrumental, could be sought out and had in university towns, and that many students could have attained musical skills prior to beginning their university studies, from a variety of sources, including Choir schools, Grammar schools, and private tutoring. Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, even included playing the organ as part of its entrance exams, though it seems unlikely that lack of proficiency on the organ would have been a barrier to matriculation. Trinity College and Corpus Christi College, Cambridge maintained in their statutes from 1517 the expectation that all members of the college would sing.[34]

In this sense much of the practical music readers could find in printed music instruction books was assumed to already be a given by the time a student went off to university, and it was the responsibility of young learners to find this material for themselves. How they went about this – as we will see in chapters two and four – depended on many geographic, social, and economic factors. If a family was wealthy, the most straightforward way to obtain an education in music was to hire a tutor for the children. Price cites the Cavendishes of Chatsworth as an example of a family making the most of their musical tutelage between 1598 and 1602. During that span, the financial records for the household show that they employed Thomas Banes to teach their son to sing. The family itself was very musical, and their newly-constructed Chatsworth House became the site of many musical gatherings. A feature at the newly constructed Hardwick Hall was the musical table, known as the "Eglantine Table," which is ornamented with many games, musical instruments, and even legible music in staff notation, showing the "Lamentation" by Thomas Tallis, first printed at the end of the 1562 edition of *The Whole Booke of Psalmes*, and an intabulated piece for lute .[35] [Fig. 4.1 – 4.3]

[32] Price, 26.
[33] Price, 22.
[34] David G. T. Harris, "Musical Education in Tudor Times 1485-1603," *Proceedings of the Musical Association,* 65th Session (1938-1939), 127.
[35] Price, 109-114. See also David Collins, "A 16th-Century Manuscript in Wood: The Eglantine Table at Hardwick Hall," *Early Music* 4/3 (July 1976), 275-279.

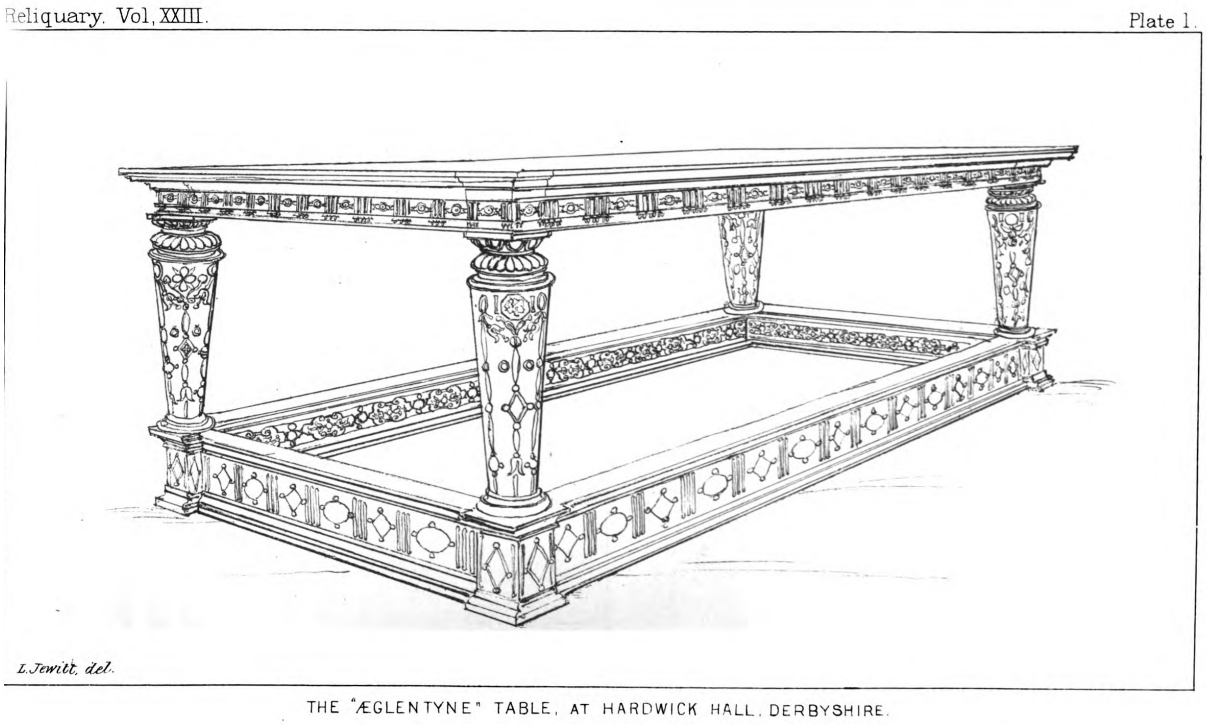

Figure 4.1: Engraving of the Eglantine Table at Hardwick Hall[36]

Figure 4.2: Top view of the Eglantine Table on exhibit at Hardwick Hall

[36] Llewellyn Jewitt, "The 'Aeglentyne' Table, at Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire," *The Reliquary* vol. 23 (1882/83), Plate 1. Image from HathiTrust Digital Library, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/coo.31924087793828. Accessed July 24, 2019.

Figure 4.3: Detail of readable lute tablature on Eglantine Table.[37]

Sometime during the year in 1598 the family also hosted an unnamed Frenchman to entertain them on the lute.[38] By 1602 another musical associate of the family by the name of Mr. Starkey had sold them a "spur violl," bandora, treble lute, and treble and bass viols. In addition to the instruments, the family purchased Byrd's *Cantiones Sacrae,* Yonge's *Musica Transalpina*, Marenzio's madrigals in 5 and 6 parts, and other music books "viz. Musica melodia divina, olimpica harmonia celestia, balleti petre Phelip (inglise), madrigale Horatio Vecchy."[39] The selection of books, to Price, reveals that the family took the study of music seriously. Though by this point several instruction manuals had been released, the family is not known to have purchased any of them. It would appear that if a tutor were present, didactic music books were seen to be unnecessary – an important distinction between music tutors and didactic books. With such a wealth of opportunities to learn from seasoned musicians, the Cavendishes elected to purchase books of repertoire over didactic books.

Jane Flynn's study of song schools also shows that music education for children was also alive and well in choir schools and shows the kinds of exercises children were expected to do, as

[37] To my knowledge the title of this piece has yet to be identified. National Trust Images, John Hammond, "Hardwick Hall's so-called 'Aeglentyne' [or Eglantine] Table – circa 1568," furniture, 90 x 302 x 129 cm, Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire, UK http://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/object/1127774. For more on the table itself see Christopher Page, *The Guitar in Tudor England: A Social and Musical History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 18-20.
[38] Price, 109-114.
[39] Ibid.

well as how these expectations evolved over the second half of the sixteenth century. The statutes of St. Paul's Cathedral required the choirmaster to:

> ...have eight boys of good character and respectable kindred, whom he should maintain and educate in moral training. And also let him see that they be instructed in song and writing, and that they be able to do all things appropriate to ministers of God in the choir.[40]

Flynn notes that the education received by choristers, especially prior to the Elizabethan statutes, was well-rounded and geared toward professional activities both within and outside of the Church. This was true both for the choristers and for students at the adjoining grammar schools, who also learned "song" – comprised of Latin grammar and chant – as well as reading, writing, and the memorization of psalm tones and texts. Also important to Flynn's reconstruction of the daily musical activities of children at choir schools was the prescription in the first edition of Sternhold and Hopkins, which recommended young singers learn by rote, specifically getting their notes from the experience "of someone that can already sing, or by som Instrument of Musicke, as the virginals."[41]

After 1565, choristers appear to have been trained more extensively on musical instruments, including the viol. Flynn notes that the indentures for masters of choristers in the late sixteenth century had shifted from placing emphasis on improvisational skills to the ability to play instruments.[42] The course of education for young choristers had become more specialized toward composition. The manuscripts Flynn studied from this time, like *Lbl* Add. 31390, present the full breadth of musical formatting and content, including in the case of this manuscript an early instance of table-book layout as I will discuss in more detail in Chapter 3. [Fig. 5] She describes them to be "intended for performance by choristers (not amateurs), who sang them (using solmization syllables) or played them on instruments."[43] Flynn also notes that in the 1560s schools began to record references to choristers being taught to play the viol and the clavichord. Choristers at Ely learned the viol in 1567.[44] In 1581 John Colden left his "clavycordes and all [his] song Books" to his successor.[45] Upon his death in 1582 Sebastian Westcote left a "cheste of vyalyns and vialles to exercise and learne the children and Choristers" to the Almonry at St. Paul's.[46] By 1597 the song school at Newark-on-Trent possessed "five violine bookes" and "five violins." The choir schools, a source of university students, by the late sixteenth century would have done a thorough job of preparing students in both vocal and instrumental music before they arrived at Oxford or Cambridge. What fell away by the end of the century was the emphasis on choral improvisation, and what had been added was the study of instrumental music, including the clavichord, viol, and violin, as well as lutes and virginals.

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[40] Flynn, 180.
[41] Flynn, 182.
[42] Flynn, 194.
[43] Flynn, 197. Also see Oliver Neighbour, *Consort and Keyboard Music of William Byrd,* 27).
[44] Godfrey Arkwright "Note on the instrumental accompaniment of church music in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,"in *Six anthems by John Milton,* ed. G. E. P. Arkwright (London: J. Williams, 1901), 13-14. Also see Flynn, 197.
[45] J. Bunker Clark, "Dr. Gyles and the Choirboys," *Diapason* 71 (October 1980), 3. See Flynn, 197.
[46] Public Record Office, Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 14 Tirwhite. See Flynn, 197.

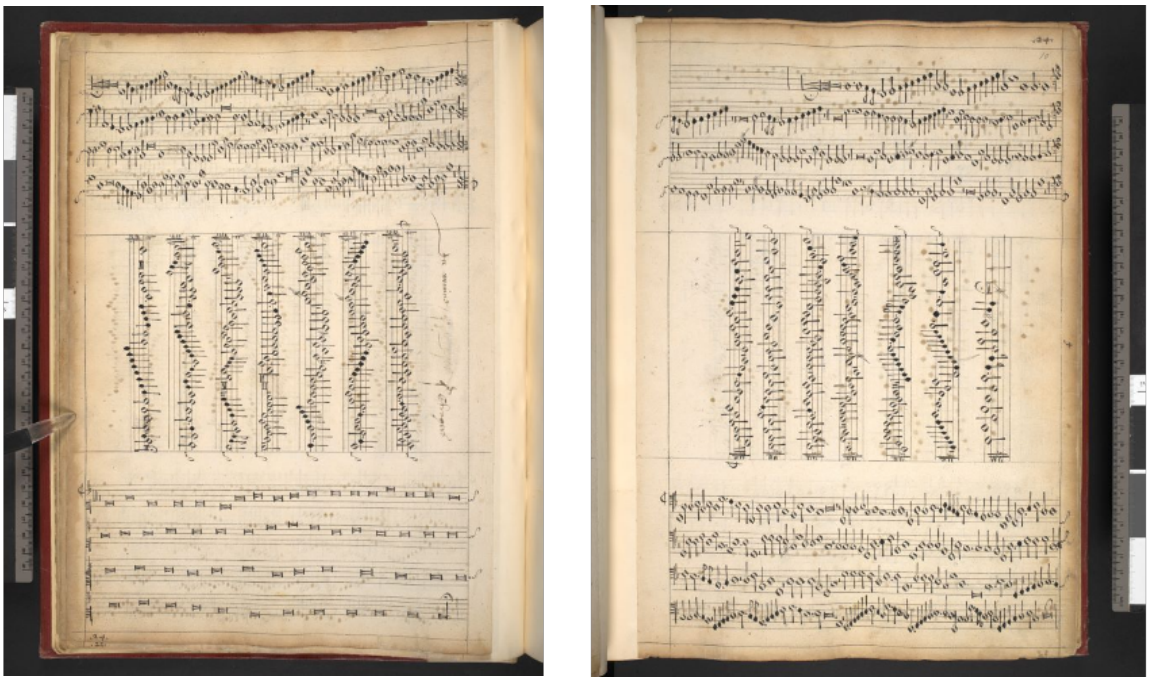

Figure 5: *In Nomine*, *Lbl* Add. 31390

Students who attended grammar schools also may have had musical training if they attended the right institutions. Not all grammar schools offered musical training at the end of the sixteenth century, but schools like St. Paul's and the Merchant Taylors' school encouraged it.[47] In the case of St. Paul's, the school operated both a choir school and a grammar school, and students in each respective school were sometimes able to cross over for musical or grammar instruction. Richard Mulcaster, the headmaster of the Merchant Taylor's school and later at St. Paul's, was a strong proponent of music education. In his book the *Elementarie* (London, 1582) Mulcaster makes strong recommendations both about singing and about instrumental music in the training of children:

> For the matter of *musik*, which the childe is to learn, I will set it down how, and by what degres & in what lessons, a boy that is to be brought vp to sing, maie & ought to procede by ordinarie ascent, from the first term of Art, & the first note in sound, vntill he shal be able without anie often or anie great missing, to sing his part in priksong, either himself alone, which is his first in rudenesse, or with som companie, which is his best in practis... For I take so much to be enough for an Elementarie institution, which saluteth but the facultie, tho it perfit the principle, & I refer the residew for setting & discant to encrease of cunning, which dailie will grow on, & to further years, when the hole bodie of *musik* wil com, & craue place. And yet bycause the childe must still mount somwhat that waie, I will set him down som rules of setting & discant, which will make him better able to

[47] Price, 37.

> iudge of fingring being a setter himself, as in the tung, he that vseth to write, shal best iudge of a writer.[48]

In Mulcaster's plan, boys began their musical education by learning pricksong (that is, learning to read mensural notation), and progressed through singing discant (improvising a melody above or below a plainsong), ultimately gaining the ability to compose their own discant and "set" pieces of music for fretted instruments. *PEIPM* also presents much of this material in a nearly-identical sequence. Even with childhood education, there was a strong link between printed instructions and student learning by the end of the sixteenth century. It is unclear the extent to which the new books were used in schools, but the consistency with which the musical course of education itself was described and implemented points to a concerted effort on the part of music educators for educational reform.

"Setting" presumably involved the use of tablature. Mulcaster's discussion of "fingering" suggests that he expected his students to gain enough familiarity with an instrument through instruction that they could not only read music written for the lute but also judge the best fingerings for playing it, something best expressed (at least for the lute) in tablature. Mulcaster's ideals for early modern English music education show that both singing and instrumental music had priority at the Merchant Taylors' school. Furthermore, the ability to read music was also an important aspect of this education. Students were expected to become self-sufficient readers capable of making their own judgments about the pieces they read, and as with Flynn's observations about choir school education, they were also expected to make these evaluations about vocal and instrumental music alike. Thus, regardless of the preparation young people made for attending universities, it is likely that a large percentage of the pool of supplicants for university degrees would have a good amount of *practical* experience with vocal and instrumental music prior to attending university. The emphasis on *musica practica* would follow these students into their university studies.

If a large number of incoming university students were already well-versed in *musica practica* it would make sense that universities would eventually respond to this skill set, offering courses that would supplement this knowledge. By 1592 *musica practica* appears to have appeared as a topic in music lectures at Oxford. Lord Burghley notes that during the Queen's visit to Oxford in 1592 that "There was... a Lecture in Musick with the practice thereof by instrument in the common schooles."[49] It is unclear what the "instrument" in this case was – perhaps either a monochord or a demonstration on *the instrument* (the organ), as was stipulated in the entrance exams to Gonville and Caius College – but it does suggest that demonstrations of musical concepts or even recitals were conducted at universities, though perhaps with less frequently than the bored lecture absentees at Oxford and Cambridge would have preferred. Nevertheless, Gilbert's proposal for a new school also attests to the fact that people were considering music education to be more than demonstration, but individual practice upon an instrument.

Music does appear to have had support within the universities even if students did not attend lectures regularly. Many lecturers advocated for music even if it was not their primary

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[48] Richard Mulcaster: *The First Part of the Elementarie* (London: Thomas Vautroullier [sic], 1582), 58-60.

[49] This music lecture occurred in the morning, at the same time as the public lectures in Divinity. See *Elizabethan Oxford* Reprints of Rare Tracts. Ed. Charles Plummer, pp. 251, 259. In "Music Education in Tudor England," 128.

subject, like Henry Peacham, whose *The Compleat Gentleman* (1622) dedicated a chapter to the importance of studying music:[50]

> *Tullie* saith, there consisteth in the practise of singing, and playing upon Instruments, great knowledge, and the most excellent instruction of the mind: and for the effect it worketh in the mind, he tearmeth it, *Stabilem Thesaurum, qui mores instituit, componitque, ac mollit irarum ardores, &c.* A lasting Treasure, which rectifieth and ordereth our manners, and allayeth the heate and fury of our anger, &c.[51]

He continues to say that "I desire no more in you than to sing your part sure, and at the first sight, withall, to play the same upon your Violl, or the exercise of the Lute, privately to your selfe."[52] Peacham's chapter on music treats many subjects, including the defense of music against puritanical censure by invoking the Ancients, and a consideration of many of the great composers of his age, but it also makes clear that music's pedagogical value lies in its practice.

We should not underestimate the extent to which young people learned music prior to advancing in their studies. As the sixteenth century progressed the options with which to acquire musical skills grew wider, especially with the didactic music book beginning to flourish as a genre. However, the evidence of music education in different contexts shows that, while many of the same people were engaged with different modes of music education (Mulcaster, for instance, who was both headmaster at the Merchant Taylors' School and St Paul's and the author of the *Elementarie* and also another book on education), didactic books probably remained distinct from other forms of education, as extant family records do not list even the newest didactic books as part of their libraries, even when these families were consuming other high-end music books rapidly. What remains a constant between private tutoring, choir schools, and the grammar schools that stressed music education, was that the bulk of musical instruction that actually happened was practical, with a smattering of theoretical material if time and ability permitted.

Thomas Morley and the "Oxbridge Aura"

The desire for practical music instruction, which would eventually find acceptance at the universities, produced a ready audience for printed didactic music books. These didactic books came in many formats and degrees of complexity. All three of Barley's 1596 primers were hastily assembled books in the same small oblong format, suggesting that Barley – an astute businessman more than a musician – tried to get his books into print before anyone else could. By 1597, Morley had his much more substantial *PEIPM* completed, registered, and printed by Peter Short. Unlike Barley's books, *PEIPM* clearly was intended to carry its weight as a serious scholarly book. Its folio format makes it more suitable for study at a desk than leisurely reading. Its title page features the quadrivium personified, arranging music with geometry, arithmetic, and astronomy. Morley is billed as a "batcheler of musick" on the title page [Fig. 6], stressing his university ties in addition to his position within the Chapel Royal. Learning to sing, according to this book, was not merely a social grace to be attained (though this is an important motivation for

[50] Henry Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman* (London: Francis Constable, 1622), 98. Peacham's citation from "Tullie" is from Cicero.
[51] Peacham, 96-104.
[52] Peacham, 100.

the students in the dialogue within) but a serious course of study to be followed diligently and progressively.

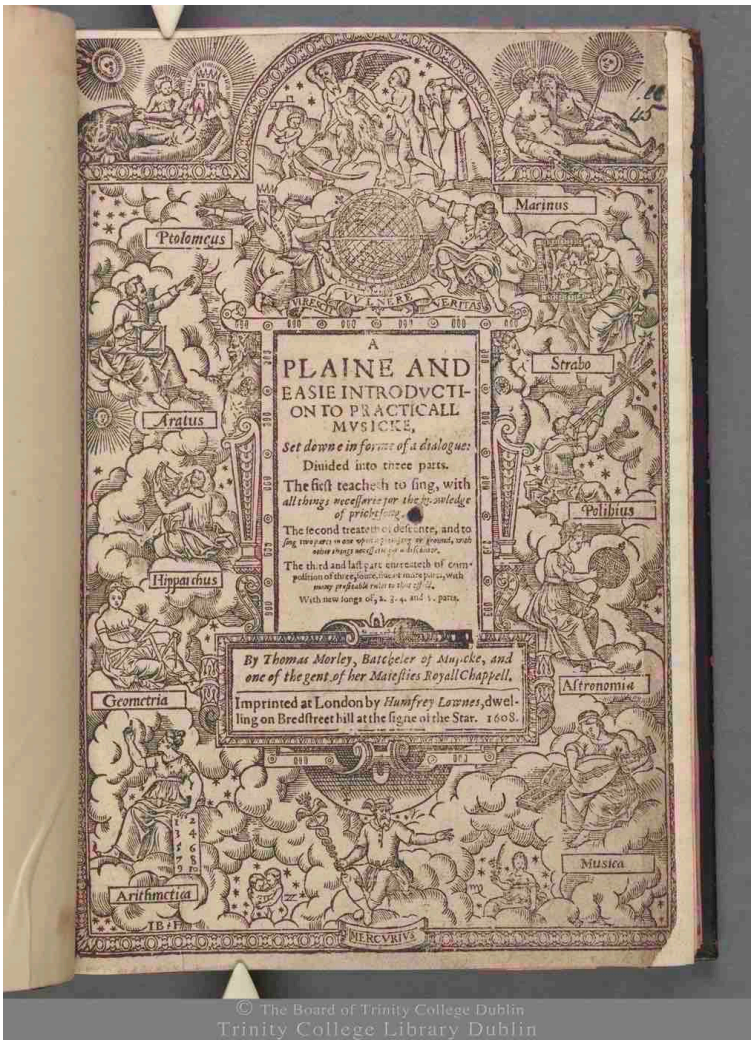

Figure 6: Title Page of Morley's *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (1597)

As Stephen Orgel has noted, *PEIPM* shares the woodcut used on its title page with several other (unrelated) academic books originally printed by John Day: William Cunningham's *The Cosmographical Glasse* (1559), the *Works* of Thomas Bacon (1560 and 1564), Euclid's *The Elements of Geometrie* (1570), and several other books by English theologians during the 1560s and 1570s. Eventually inherited by Peter Short, the woodblock was later used as a title page for several other volumes of music by Dowland and Rosseter. Though the contents of these books have little in common, the elaborate title page grants prestige to all of them, leading Orgel to declare that "the basic point in all these instances seems to be simply that large expensive books need to have elaborate title pages."[53] Orgel's project tackled the issue that most of these books

[53] Stephen Orgel, "Textual Icons: Reading Early Modern Illustrations," *The Renaissance Computer: Knowledge Technology in the First Age of Print* (Routledge, 2010), 59-60.

did not relate the title page illustration clearly to the contents of the book. The physical presentation of these books falls in line with Zachary Lesser's evocation of the concept of "aura." For Lesser, "Oxbridge aura" was conveyed to London readers through visual cues associated with university publishing. Writing about the printer Simon Waterson's relationship with the public, Lesser sees this printer as an intermediary between university ideas and a wider public:

> As a "university man" located at the center of the London book trade, Simon situated his business along the shifting and constantly (re)constructed boundary within early modern print culture between "elite" and "popular," the world of university learning and the world of ballads and chapbooks... His career depended instead on tilling that middle ground between Cambridge and London, selling the universities and their textual forms to a London book market far more heterogeneous than the students in the university towns... He wanted books that carried an Oxbridge aura but that were still accessible to Londoners who might *or might not* have been to university–and that were all the more desirable for that reason.[54]

PEIPM certainly had this kind of aura. In comparison with Morley's other output of that time, quarto partbooks of canzonets and madrigals, the folio format and title page of *PEIPM* set it apart. Several other music books that went into print in the decades immediately following Morley's *PEIPM* (also unlike those of Barley in 1596) were large in format and contained detailed title pages stressing the university affiliations of their authors. Thomas Robinson's *The Schoole of Musicke* (1603, Fig. 7) and Robert Dowland's translation of Besard's instructions in *Varietie of Lute-Lessons* (1610, Fig. 8) are two examples of this trend toward producing books that contained and marketed university aura. Robinson's title page does not name a university degree for Robinson, referring to him simply as "Lutenist," but the book was produced in connection with Simon Waterson himself.

As far as instruction to read tablature and play the lute were concerned, the content between scholarly and general interest books did not vary as much as one might assume. Tablature was simple enough that a simple set of rules is enough to explain how it should be read. The larger format books did, however include many extras in the form of explanatory dialogues, more elaborate engravings and musical pieces (what the "lessons" actually were). While the flagship example of music instruction books from this period, Morley's *PEIPM,* did cover the complete sequence of topics taught in grammar school, the other books approached music education through a variety of lenses including intabulations for musical instruments. Thomas Robinson's *The Schoole of Musicke* (1603) for example also featured a large format, dialogue and table-book layouts and an elaborate title page, but introduced its contents as intabulated songs, duets, and solos.[55] [Fig 8] Several other printed books of music also feature this large format and title page, including Dowland's *Varietie of Lute-Lessons* (1610). [Fig. 9]

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[54] Zachary Lesser, "Shakespeare's Flop: John Waterson and *The Two Noble Kinsmen,*" *Shakespeare's Stationers: Studies in Cultural Biography*, ed. Marta Straznicky (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 181-82.

[55] *The Schoole of Musicke* and other related titles will be covered in greater detail in Chapter 3.

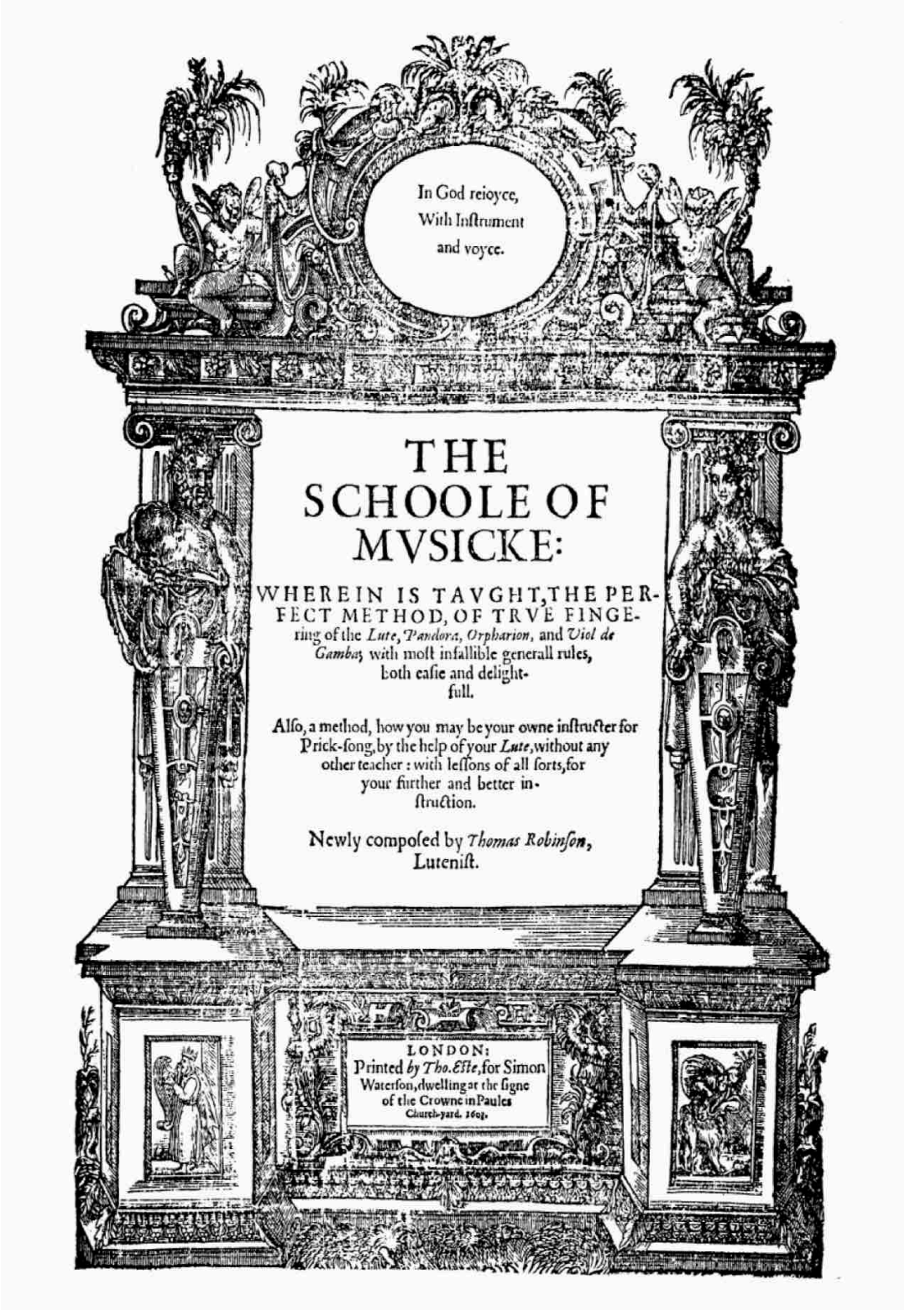

Figure 7: Thomas Robinson, *The Schoole of Musicke* (1603)

Figure 8: Robert Dowland, *Varietie of Lute-Lessons* (1610).

The emergence of books with university aura is evidence of much more going on than just a growing market for printed didactic material. When called upon to produce new material for this market, musicians did what worked for them all along: *musica practica.* While Boethius was still a focus of music studies at university it was practical music – composition and performance – that secured degrees. Of course, a strong grasp of music theory was necessary to this end, but ultimately it was the creation of new music that drove the degree process. When musicians wrote books, they then prioritized these kinds of musical thought. Though university classes did not yet reflect this change in 1597, *musica practica* appears to have already claimed a strong grasp on the intellectual climate of those close to it, specifically the playing of instruments outside the existing canon, and in the case of Morley, singing improvisationally, as may have been what Bull demonstrated in his lectures. Teachers for these skills could already be found in other places: private instruction and choir schools, for examples. No new content emerged with these books, but their presentation gave credibility to kinds of education still being kept out of the university curriculum. Given how strongly multiple advocates lobbied for the implementation of new academies and universities that taught a curriculum including music, such institutions were needed and requested urgently. The universities just had finally to catch up to practices already in place, but book publishers like Short, East, and Waterstone beat them to it in the meantime. "Plaine and easie" books bridged the gap between formalized education within institutions and the remaining unfulfilled needs of communities these institutions did not yet reach.

Nevertheless, the point using "university aura" extended beyond the contents of such books. As Master Gnorimus reminds Philomathes and Polymathes at the end of *PEIPM,* musical training was but one stepping stone on a path to social competency.

> *Pol:* Tomorrow we must be busied making provision for our journey to the Universitie, so that we cannot possiblie see you againe before our departure, therefore we must at this time both take our leave of you...
> ... *Phi:*[I] pray you that we may have some songes which may serve both to direct us in our compositions, and by singing them recreate us after our more serious studies...
> ...*Ma:* Farewel, and the Lord of Lords direct you in al wisdom and learning, that when hereafter you shall be admitted to the handling of the weighty affairs of the common wealth, you may discreetly and worthely discharge the offices whereunto you shal be called.[56]

This passage illustrates several crucial dimensions of musical schooling for early modern English elites. First, they often achieved some level of competency before heading to University; second, they considered the study of music to be a light distraction from their more "serious studies;" and third, these skills carried over in the same manner when they assumed high positions in the running of the country. The point of attending school for many wealthy people in early modern England was for the social connections and cultural capital attending these institutions fostered; it was not just about what you learned but who you met. The connections to universities and aura bottled by publishers of both musical and non-musical didactic books at the end of the sixteenth century was part of a marketing campaign to such learners, suggesting that the marketing strategy deployed by several of these printers was to harness and use the cultural capital that came with attending University as much as possible.

[56] Morley, *PEIPM,* 182.

University statutes and printed books give us a sense of what music pedagogues were concerned about at the close of the sixteenth century. We must turn to student accounts to understand better what their actual experience was. As should be expected, people learned music in all of the aforementioned ways. They sought out teachers. They went to lectures, and sometimes they taught themselves from books. What worked for one student may not have worked for another, and I do not intend for a comparison of students to serve as elimination of one technique or another from the possible ways students learned (and continued to learn) music. Instead, the following accounts show the addition of new techniques to the teachers' arsenal as the century drew to a close, and gives compelling evidence that students were using books as a method of instruction as they became available, engaging with newer philosophies of music education as they happened. The experience of two such students, Henry Howard, first Earl of Northampton (1540-1614) and Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury (1582-1648), are examples of the changes occurring around practical music education in university towns. Attending university more than thirty years apart, during which the number of self-instruction manuals multiplied, the evidence of their study of the lute tells two different stories: one of tutelage and one of autodidactism.

Henry Howard's petition to find a lute teacher is evidence of one kind of instrumental music education at an Elizabethan university, specifically, one of a student that sought traditional person-to-person instruction on the lute. Most of the evidence for Howard's tutoring came from when he attended Cambridge in the 1560s and ended up teaching there, but it was likely soon after his return to London that Howard wrote to Michael Hickes, secretary to William Cecil, to ask if he knew of any suitable tutors for the lute:

> Mr Hycke, forasmuche as I am nowe of late very well dysposed to bestowe some ydele tyme uppon the lute I thought good to request you that yf you canne hear of any commendyde for that qualyty and bente to serve that you wyll send hym to mee whear he shall fynde entertaynment. I pray you make dylygent enquyry after suche a one and retourne me an awnswer by this bearer yf you canne in so shorte tyme wherynne yf yt please you to wryte suche newes as arre most constantly and humbly reportyd you shall doo me great pleasure and that wyth my most __ commendyng to your self not forgettyng Mr. Duttone and Mr. [paper damaged]. I send you farewell from Cambridge this present Monday.
>
> Your assured frende
> Henry Howard[57]

However innocent Howard's request might seem it also navigated significant political intrigue; the Howard family had come under suspicion of supporting Catholic opposition to the return of Protestantism when Queen Elizabeth ascended to the throne in 1558/59. Howard's request for a lute teacher to fill his "ydele tyme" also may have served as proof that Howard had no interest in subversive behavior, in a sense working as an early example of avoiding conflict with music.[58]

Edward Herbert (1582-1648), who would later become Lord Herbert of Cherbury, attended Oxford under different circumstances. A poor economy had kept many students from

[57] Henry Howard, Letter to Michael Hickes, British Library Lansdowne 109, 51.
[58] I am grateful to Davitt Moroney for bringing the political nuance of this letter into focus. For more on the Howard family and their conflicts with the Crown see See Stephen Alford, *Burghley: William Cecil at the Court of Elizabeth I* (London: Yale University Press, 2008), 238.

matriculating because they could no longer afford it.[59] This economy probably would have driven some students, especially those who did not have the economic means to follow a more traditional route of tutelage, to seek other new avenues of instruction in music. For some students, this meant self-instruction using a book. Herbert appears to have been one such student, or at least he claims to be in his autobiography, in which he states that: "I attained ... to sing my part at first sight in music, and to play on the lute with little or almost no teaching; ...my intention of music was for this end, that I might entertain myself at home, and together refresh my mind after my studies, to which I was exceedingly inclined, that I might not need the company of young men, in whom I observed in those times much ill example and debauchery."[60] It is not possible to know the extent to which Herbert's account – and any of his statements – were true. Regardless of the veracity of Herbert's claims, however, by the mid-seventeenth century, when the autobiography was penned, Herbert thought it a good idea to mention that he taught *himself* music among many other skills. In the autobiography Herbert claims to be writing for his children, so that they could learn by example how to be good citizens of the world.[61] This goal would have been achieved through a variety of means, including (apparently) self-instruction. But all this posturing begs the question: Could Herbert have done it? To what extent was this mode of instruction available – and possible – during Herbert's time at Oxford from 1595?[62]

By the time Herbert was at university, he would have had potentially at least three lute manuals and two singing treatises at his disposal, adding Morley's *PEIPM* and the books of William Barley and Anthony Holborne to the earlier list of didactic books from before 1596/97. It is much more likely that his education on the lute "with little or no help from any teacher"– a phrase commonly used in the prefaces of didactic books published throughout the century – would have been inspired by these instruction manuals. Though the publishers of these books (Barley and East) operated in London, bookshops in the university towns were also allowed to stock those titles upon approval of the Stationers.[63] Many self-help books appeared on the

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[59] Many factors contributed to the economic turmoil of the late sixteenth century including a population boom and large numbers of religious migrants leaving the country to escape persecution. The economy couldn't keep up with the changes, leading to inflation and a scarcity of resources in many avenues. See John Guy, "The Tudor Age," *The Oxford History of Britain* ed. Kenneth O. Morgan (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 257-326.

[60] Edward Herbert, *The Autobiography of Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury* ed. Sidney Lee (London: John C. Nimmo, 1886), 43.

[61] Ibid.

[62] Working out the dates of Herbert's attendance at Oxford is tricky. Anthony Wood claims he matriculated at Oxford in 1595, aged 14. He himself claims to have married in 1597/98 and returned with her to the watchful eye of his mother shortly thereafter. This would mean that he married while still attending Oxford, sometime around the age of 16. See A. Wood, *Athenae Oxoniensis,* 239, and Edward Herbert, *Autobiography,* 42.

[63] Murray mentions one such anecdote from Manasses Vaultrollier, a bookseller in Cambridge, who wrote that "the Merchantes at London doe usuallie allowe unto the stacioners there, and all those that buy bookes of them, to sell them ageine three shillings in every pownd, and so this deponent doeth allowe unto Mr Legate and Burwell here in Cambridge when they doe buie bookes of this deponent three shillings in every pownde accordinge to the said custome." *Thomas Morley, Elizabethan Music Publisher,* 102. Quoted from Elizabeth Leedham Green, "Manasses Vautrollier in Cambridge," *Book Trade and its Customers,* ed. Hunt, Mandelbrote and Shell, p. 17. Original is Cambridge University Archives, VCCourt III.2 (191).

inventories of Cambridge and Oxford booksellers. Considering the number of self-help books already for sale in university towns, it seems unlikely that instruction books for the lute would not have found their way to such musical towns. Thus, in the Oxford of the late 1590s, Herbert would most likely have found access to books as conveniently – if not even more so – as he would have to teachers.

By the early seventeenth century, music lecturers and the conferral of music degrees appear to have resumed in earnest, including a full professorship at Oxford founded by William Heather in 1626.[64] Heather, who sang in Westminster Abbey choir and joined the Chapel Royal in 1615, intended the post to provide both practical instruction in singing and a weekly discourse on theory. These weekly sessions did not appear to last very long, and what had more lasting importance to the university was the donation of instruments and music books.[65] Another inventory from Oxford in 1624 lists music among its principal classes again, though it does not specify whether this coursework would be for students at the undergraduate or graduate level.[66] Holdsworth's "Directions for a Student in the Universitie," (ca. 1647) only lists the study of music once in a section dedicated for topics that may be pursued by students "such as come to the University note with the intention to make Scholarship their profession, but only to gett such learning as may serve for delight and ornament and such as the want wherof would speake a defect in breeding rather than Scolarship, may instead of the harsher studies prescribed Callendar read some of these or the like." Holdsworth lists no titles for music books in these directions but lumps them together with heraldry at the very bottom of the list.[67] Though the study of *musica speculativa* appears to have continued to struggle, throughout the seventeenth century students at Oxford and Cambridge continued to invest in instruction in practical music, both as choristers and as instrumentalists.

Whether one studied singing, instrumental music, or both, there were many ways to receive a musical education in late sixteenth-century England. Much of the didactic material available during this time came not through the university but through childhood education at grammar and choir schools, and later through printed instruction manuals by writers with university degrees. Thus, this chapter began with Bull and university education, but is also about the extensive network of lecturers, teachers, authors, printers, and readers that were all responding to what they saw as a clear problem in music education for adults. Bull's education itself and his university ties specifically – are symptomatic of the political and religious turmoil about the practice of music in the universities. Not everyone was fighting for the same dramatic changes in music education, but many people teaching music at a high level (Morley, Bull, Robinson, and others) were pushing against existing conditions through new avenues available in 1597.

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[64] Price, 24.

[65] Jack Westrup and Penelope Gouk. "Heyther, William," *Grove Music Online*. Accessed September 25, 2015 (http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music).

[66] Listed in Queen's College, Oxford, MS 199. 4r-254r; Bodl. MSS Add. 68 and Rawlinson D 984; University College MS 155. See Sears Reynolds Jayne, *Library Catalogues of the English Renaissance,* 71-72.

[67] Holdsworth, "Directions for a Student in the Universitie," in Harris Fletcher, *The Intellectual Development of John Milton,* vol. 2 (University of Illinois, 1956), 647-48. For the approximate date of the document, see John A. Trentman, "The Authorship of "Directions for a Student in the Universitie," *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographial Society,* 7/2 (1978), 170-183.

Bull's lost lecture marks a specific historical moment – 1597 – in which the confluence of print, patronage, and university mandates allowed for a noticeable, public change in thinking about music education and society. However, this moment had many components, and many factors influenced its emergence and lasting impact. Students old enough to direct their own studies began seeking out novel ways of obtaining information, and in doing so brought about much-needed change within the system as well.

Chapter Two

Behind Closed Doors and Behind Closed Covers: Music Books and Music Education in Early Modern England

The 1590s witnessed shifting priorities within music-making communities about what kinds of music education were necessary and how they could be acquired. While universities maintained their claim to the speculative music that had been taught before practical music – singing, playing and composing – was making significant inroads. New books such as Morley's *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* offered ways to learn skills previously taught through private lessons and lessons at grammar and choir schools. Though debates wore on about the role of music in sacred, secular, public and private spaces and at the university level, the music-making activities of people in their day-to-day lives continued apace. By many accounts, the City of London was a musical place throughout the early modern period. Monarchs, including Henry VIII and his sisters Margaret and Mary, played instruments, sang, and danced.[1] Queen Elizabeth I was known to play the lute as well as the keyboard. Musical activities – both vocal and instrumental – permeated the daily activities of Londoners from all walks of life. Tradesmen had their own unique songs, which were captured in stylized forms in songs like Orlando Gibbons's "The Cries of London."[2] In the nineteenth century, W. Chappell encapsulated musical London thus:

> Tinkers sang catches; milkmaids sang ballads; carters whistled; each trade, and even the beggars, had their special songs; the base-viol hung in the drawing room for the amusement of waiting visitors; and the lute, cittern and virginals, for the amusement of waiting customers were the necessary furniture of the barber's shop. They had music at dinner, music at supper; music at weddings; music at funerals; music at night; music at dawn; music at work; and music at play…[3]

This passage offers tantalizing anecdotal evidence, listing some of the genres, instruments, occasions of a great deal of music-making, as well as the professions of many of the people

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[1] On the musical skills of Henry VIII and his family, see Nicholas Orme, *Education and society in medieval and Renaissance England* (London: Ronceverte: Hambledon Press, 1989), 173.

[2] Bruce Smith has discussed the potential to mine songs such as this for historical evidence of early modern musical soundscapes. Several different *in nomines* survive featuring the cries of London street merchants, with a great deal of similarities between them. See Bruce Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).

[3] I encountered this citation attributed to Thomas Deloney, *The History of the Gentle Craft,* in Jonathan Willis, "'By these Means the Sacred Discourses Sink More Deeply into the Minds of Men': Music and Education in Elizabethan England," *History* 94/3 (2009), 308. However, it doesn't appear actually to have been included in Deloney's text, but rather it appears to be a claim made by W. Chappell, in *Popular Music of the Olden Time*, Vol 1. (London: Cramer, Beale & Chappell, 1855), 98. Willis himself cites Foster Watson, *English Grammar Schools to 1660: their curriculum and practice* (Cambridge: University Press, 1908), 209. Deloney's observation was the following: that an impostor shoemaker had been found out because he could not "sing, sound the trumpet, play upon the flute, nor reckon up his tools in rhyme." But the text in question comes later, See William Chappell, *Popular Music of the Olden Time* (London: s.n., [1859?]), 98.

producing music. The music making itself remains frustratingly elusive. Apart from the catches, ballads, and whistling one might hear in the streets the kinds of music played in taverns, barber shops, drawing rooms, weddings, funerals, and suppers, remains elusive. Chappell gives no titles or specific names, and such generalities only raise more questions about who made music in these situations, how they learned to play and sing, and what kinds of repertoire they would have learned along the way.

If early modern England was as musical as it seems to have been, the question of music education arises, including how students gained access to instruments, music, and training. The point of access different students enjoyed undoubtedly also depended upon their economic and social standing as well. Song and grammar schools were available to older children, catering mostly to those who could go on to sing in cathedrals. As we've seen in the previous chapter, universities offered training in harmony to older students, and leaders were looking ahead to incorporating more practical music in their curricula. To learn musical instruments, one could hire a teacher; records sometimes show the employment of music masters to teach instruments, and some early manuscripts of lute and keyboard music were most likely compiled by teachers for their students, but the nature of such lessons has gone largely unreported.[4]

Some proponents of music education like Richard Mulcaster published treatises on what kinds of music should be taught to children. Mulcaster advised that learning music could help one "judge well of sounds."[5] Learning to play the lute, viol, or keyboard instrument would teach students many skills at once: They would be able to entertain themselves and their guests with music, but learning music also was a way to teach proper comportment in its most elementary forms – controlling bodies to fit established societal expectations – and it was a way to teach students to be better listeners. Mulcaster's *Elementarie* (1582) made specific prescriptions for music education, and described a combination of instruction in both singing and playing of instruments, where the one reinforces the other:

> As for *Musik,* which I have devided into voice and instrument, I will kepe this currant. The training up in *musik* as in all other faculties, hath a speciall eie to these thre points: The childe himself, that is to learn: the matter it self, which he is to learn: and the instrument it self, whereon he is to learn.[6]

Though Mulcaster acknowledged a clear distinction between vocal and instrumental music, he also gave them almost equal standing in his educational program. Singing came first, with students learning to sing pricksong (plainchant), followed by descant (polyphony) and setting (composition) in their later years. The progression of education on musical instruments is more vague; it seems that it is interwoven with education in singing, "alwaie provided that pricksong go before playing."[7] Mulcaster also proposed publishing music that could be either sung or

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[4] Some examples of the early lute manuscripts of students are the Osborn Lute Manuscript (*US-HHb* Osborn Music MS 13) and the British Library MS RA 58, which includes an eclectic mix of vocal and keyboard music in mensural notation, as well as several pieces for the lute in alphabetic tablature. Matthew Spring discusses these sources in *The Lute in Britain* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 69-71, as does John Ward in *Music for Elizabethan Lutes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 22-37.

[5] Richard Mulcaster, *The Elementarie,* (London, 1582), 41.

[6] Mulcaster, *Elementarie,* 58.

[7] Mulcaster, *Elementarie,* 59.

played on fretted instruments or keyboard instruments, suggesting that although these musical skills may have been taught separately out of necessity, ultimately they were meant to be interchangeable, or at least to overlap in performance.

This interchangeability of singing and playing was reflected in the music published at the end of the sixteenth century, both in terms of repertoire and in terms of instruction manuals that promised to help readers learn to play and sing "without the help of any teacher." These included the English translation of Adrian Le Roy's lute method (1568), its expanded reprint of 1574, several books on singing and playing instruments by printer William Barley (1596) – the lute instruction of which draws heavily upon the Le Roy's *Instru[c]tion*, Thomas Morley's *PEIPM* (1597), William Hoskins' *A playne and perfect Instruction for learnynge to play on ye virginalles by hand or by book* [1597, lost] and Thomas Robinson's *The Schoole of Musicke* (1603).[8] The most popular kind of book to publish during these years appears to have been a run-off between books of repertoire, and books on how to play music from them.

At the heart of this chapter lies the problem of who these books were intended for. While Chapter 1 argued that a market clearly existed for music instruction books at the turn of the seventeenth century and the priorities of what comprised a university degree in music were changing, the precise makeup of the market for printed didactic books is unclear. The changes slowly taking place at the university level did not mean that these books were exclusively intended to be used as textbooks; nor did the lectures given in public by Bull imply that everyone could have access to the same kinds of musical lectures. The kinds and venues of music education were in a state of flux, and not everyone had equal access to the same resources. Beyond the availability of lessons in traditional venues didactic books still navigated even further boundaries to education including those broken across socioeconomic, geographic, political, and gendered boundaries. Given this uneven access to resources the question arises of whether self-instruction books catered to the needs of students in the most mainstream paths of music education, or whether, in addition, they intended to fulfill yet another set of unfulfilled needs. In other words, were these books used by students in their school and private lessons, or used independently for self-guided learning, or both? These student readers, their access to education, social networks, and resources help to position the value of a "plaine and easie" guide to music in a larger network of music education and music circulation. The social standing of musicians, students, instruments, repertoire, and education all intersected to shape how music instruction books functioned in early modern England.

Mulcaster offers some evidence regarding who students might have been. In *The Elementarie* he mentioned education for boys specifically. In his earlier work, *Propositions for the training up of Children,* he also addresses music education for girls, though his feelings on the subject are mixed. On the one hand, he felt that music was desirable for young women when it was available.[9] On the other, he disregards the intelligence of girls, claiming they do not have equal intellectual capacity to their male counterparts. Although it is not surprising, the voices notably absent from this discourse are often the very ones whose education was in question:

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[8] The only remaining evidence of Hoskins' book is its entry in the Stationers' Register. While no known copies of the book survive, the title reinforces the idea that keyboard instruments were also represented in the didactic literature of the late sixteenth century in England. All of the surviving books dispense verbally with in-person instruction to one degree or another. Many even use the phrase "without a teacher" as a selling point, either printed on the title page itself or featured prominently in the address to the reader.

[9] Richard Mulcaster, *Propositions for the training up of Children,* 232-233.

women and children, and while it is not surprising to see so few of their voices in printed literature of the time period, their silence still points to the question of how they navigated all of the prescriptions being set for them (and against them). While these voices remain silent, traces of the activities of these readers and musicians linger at the edges of didactic books, offering clues in the forms of dedications, characters and role-playing within the dialogues of some tutors, and the gendered (or gender-less) language of the instructions themselves.

To date, the contents of music instruction manuals have been called upon to stand in for what cannot be recovered about early modern music lessons: what actually happened during them. Their materiality demands a more nuanced examination. While a clear intended purpose of a music instruction book was to stand as a surrogate to the in-person music lesson – a way for students to learn "without a teacher," the motivations for doing so seem to have been much richer than the prefaces of these books describe. While many books may well have been sent to remote parts of England and Scotland that could not financially maintain a full-time music teacher, Mace's *Musick's Monument* (1676) shows a much richer clientele than isolated dilettantes. Mace lists his subscribers in the preface of his book, and while some hailed from as far away as York, Nottingham, and Norwich, most lived much closer to London, either in the university towns or London, whether in the City itself or at the Inns of Court. Furthermore, the book was purchased by knights, baronets, gentlemen, academics, Masters in Musick, doctors, lawyers, and clergy.[10] The full list of these subscribers can be found in Appendix 6.

Of course, this concern may imply the degree to which music circulated without being written down; if tunes circulated through oral tradition music books would have been irrelevant to the problem. Music instruction books did tread a middle ground between oral and literate traditions elsewhere in Europe during the sixteenth century. Kate van Orden's work regarding music instruction and ABC books in France shows a confluence of basic text alongside known melodies to help young children learn to read and write. Contrary to what English music books appear to have done, these books used singing to teach reading rather than the other way around. The Continental sources of these "ABCs" included printed books and broadsides, and some conclude with a Guidonian hand and instructions for singing. Van Orden calls upon the presentation of these instruction books and the ways they diverge from high literate traditions of music composition to argue for slippages between conventional notions of orality and literacy and show the wide spectrum of knowledge that musicians could have acquired from studying these guides. She explains that such books also engaged with musical orality within Jesuit schooling, and that young readers could fall back on what they had learned by rote as they learned to read from written texts.[11]

In Protestant England Jesuit musical training was not prevalent and it comes as no surprise that these ABC books with musical content were not produced in England. However, slippages between orality and literacy were still fundamental to the functioning of English music instruction books; tablature was one way in which readers could equate pitch to notated music in lieu of in-person instruction, using tablature to fill in missing concepts and act like a teacher in a way akin to what Leo Treitler dubbed the "written" tradition, an intermediary between orality and literacy where notated music still contained a large amount of orally transmitted information. Treitler raised this issue concerning the earliest known notation systems in Europe, but more

[10] Mace's book is, admittedly, reflective of a very different scenario of music education from that of the turn of the century – the course of which was interrupted by civil war – it still (to me) shows where the earlier books were headed. Thomas Mace, *Musick's Monument* (1676), c1r - d1r

[11] Kate van Orden, *Materialities,* 117-124. This was true prior to the sixteenth century as well.

recently Christopher Marsh also cautioned against conflating musicality and musical literacy in assessing the level of musical accomplishment of people in early modern England.[12] Marsh focused more on the parts of English music circulation that skewed more closely toward the side of orality, including chapbooks which contained little to no musical notation but facilitated music performance nonetheless, metrical psalmody which hinged on memorized and formulaic tunes, and broadside ballads memorized by their audiences and sellers alike, etc. I believe an argument can also be made for audiences drifting between, or in and out of, varying levels of musical literacy.[13] Given these slippages between oral, literate, and semi-literate "written" traditions, music instruction in England also moved between written forms and those that could be understood without books or notation, depending on who was doing the learning and who was doing the teaching, what their skills and literacy levels were, and how they approached connecting the dots.

What kinds of access student readers had to music instruction depended on many determining factors: who they were, their socioeconomic status, their geographical location, and the access they had to which instruments. Instrumental music permeated every level of early modern English society, but that did not mean that every musical instrument had equal social standing. As with instrumental music-making on the Continent, London and its surrounding countryside had stratified ranks of professional musicians, some of whom taught and others of whom made their living solely from performing for other people. Town waits could be employed to make ceremonial music and could be kept on salary in wealthier places. Beggars would play in the street to earn their keep. As diverse as musicians could be in early modern England, diversity did not guarantee universal acceptance of musicians and the music they played as desirable.

Professional musicians, as Marsh describes, had a considerably harder time than amateurs in early modern England, and what professionalism even entailed also changed over time. The term "minstrel" shifted from a neutral label for a professional musician of lower social rank to one that was derogatory, based a great deal on the belief that such musicians would play during church services, luring congregations away from religious devotion and into a morally questionable state of mind.[14] Minstrels could even wander into – and remove pious listeners from – religious settings through the power of their music. Over the course of the sixteenth century some instrumentalists – fiddlers and pipers in particular – faced persecution across England because they were seen as a threat to organized religion. Stability and stillness preserved musical and moral virtue, whereas itinerancy made music dangerous. Musicians hoping to preserve their good name united against minstrels, creating a new professional class of composers and "professors," who not only taught but also defended music against what they perceived as a dangerous onslaught of moral degradation as performed by (in the words of Thomas Lodge writing in 1580 about the issue) "pipers… and merye beggars." Marsh also describes how as the distance between "professional" musicians and minstrels grew, claims about what even counted as music began to be partitioned off as well, with professionals staking out music that followed

[12] Leo Treitler, "Oral, Written, and Literate Process in the Transmission of Medieval Music." *Speculum* Vol. 56, No. 3 (Jul. 1981), 471-491.
[13] Christopher Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 256.
[14] Marsh, 51.

"rules" of harmony being the true music, and music performed by "custom" being wild and unsafe.[15]

The instruments musicians learned and played were also markers of class distinctions because of their cost, the kinds of music written for them, and the networks of musicians through which they traveled. Even among instruments sharing many organological traits, such as the guitar and the lute, the history of the lute with its ties to Orphic legend elevated it above the others, even when the music to be played was the same. Marsh also notes that although the kinds of available instruments were also intended to differentiate social levels, these distinctions blurred at their edges; instruments belonging to the upper crust – lutes, viols, and virginals – shifted from being markers of social distinction to becoming the agents of social mobility. Instead of reinforcing social boundaries, these instruments began to dissolve them. As time progressed, they became less and less exclusive.[16] Thus, students seeking out self-instruction books might have been wealthy, noble amateurs or well-heeled merchants looking to improve their social standing.

Publishers of instruction manuals at the end of the century – especially William Barley – seem to have picked up upon and encouraged this fluidity of musical boundaries, publishing music books in tablature marketed for use on a variety of instruments, often including these instruments in the same title. Barley's *A new Booke of Tabliture* (1596) is subtitled "Containing sundrie easie and familiar instructions, shewing howe to attaine to the knowledge, to guide and dispose thy hand to play on sundry Instruments, as the *Lute*, *Orpharion,* and *Bandora*: Together with divers new Lessons to each of these Instruments."[17] While not completely identical, the similarities between the three named instruments is telling about Barley's project. Although the noble lute gets pride-of-place, its cousins the orpharion and bandora suggest that *A new Booke of Tabliture* was intended to be a more pedestrian book than something like Morley's *PEIPM,* which follows the content and pacing of what practical music would have been taught in grammar schools but did not deal with playing instruments. Barley's other two self-authored publications of that year for the orpharion and bandora further establish that the lute was just one of several instruments available to study.[18] Considering that these instruments were effectively similar enough in terms of stringing, tuning, and fretting that they can be represented by the same tablature, it seems that both the instruments and the music books written for them upset the rigid distinctions between instruments for different demographics of people. Add to this upset the fact that this book was a smaller, more affordable print, and the widespread use of even more elite instruments begins to come into focus as a more pervasive activity than might otherwise be assumed.

In this sense, the more passive activities of music making – amateurism among wealthier circles and the employment opportunities that this kind of music making would have provided for professional musicians – would have been ways of keeping people and the ways they socialized with music separate as well. The upper crust could have their lutes and virginals, the lower classes their catches and citterns, but printed instruction books threatened to upend these

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[15] Marsh, 269.
[16] Marsh, 182. Also, Taylor, *All the Workes,* vol. III, p. 506.
[17] William Barley, *A new Booke of Tabliture*, title page.
[18] I am grateful to Davitt Moroney for pointing out the similarities between the layout of Morley's book and the plan for grammar school training in song outlined by Richard Mulcaster. The first part of *PEIPM* teaches readers how to recognize notated music, or "pricksong," the second teaches improvisation, and the third teaches composition. See also Richard Mulcaster, *The Elementarie*, 58-60.

class distinctions as more and more people gained access to training in playing the lute, playing the virginal, and singing. For printers gauging the market in 1596-97, the venture of breaking new ground socially and economically would have most likely seemed to be to their benefit.

It is difficult to know how successful these printing ventures were beyond the entries in the Stationers' Register listing when items were printed. As with their modern counterparts that can still be found in bookstore music departments, "teach yourself" books may have offered varying degrees of musical success for different readers. As a part of the larger educational venture in music for early modern English students, they do raise issues about who they were intended for, what kinds of activities they encouraged, and whether they mirrored practices in classrooms or private music lessons or resisted these practices instead. As historians of the book have shown, printed and manuscript objects could be sites of resistance to the status quo – means not only of subverting it but also blurring the edges of who could gain access to knowledge, and who got to be the gatekeepers of knowledge. For underrepresented groups such as women, and children, whose voices are not evident in written accounts of educational ventures to the extent as male pedagogues, finding the sites of such resistance offers a glimpse of the extent of music education in early modern England and the kinds of social accomplishments education like this was meant to encourage.

If self-instruction manuals offered alternatives to existing modes of education, it is worth looking at to what they were in opposition. Chapter 1 laid out how students at grammar schools and universities fared in terms of their music education; to this in-person tutors join the list. Few if any direct accounts of in-person music lessons remain from the late sixteenth century, so understanding who sought which kinds of music education – as scholars have done for Continental sources – depends on assembling a collage of educational "residue" in the form of iconography, journal entries, letters, working manuscripts, and printed material, among others. Students may have come from many walks of life, and factors such as socioeconomic status, age, and gender would have shaped the ways students sought out and interacted with teachers. In some cases, these factors may have been serious barriers to educational access to be worked around. These factors, including the above-mentioned list, also may have had profound effects on who was represented in depictions of music lessons, both visually and in prose.

Visual representations and prose descriptions of lessons do, however, offer a great deal of evidence for the nature of in-person music lessons. Depictions of music lessons for women survive in both English and Continental, including several slightly later Flemish paintings of music lessons (including several by Vermeer and Steen), poems and accounts of women playing instruments, and even scenes depicting music lessons in Shakespeare's plays.[19] Regardless of whether children went to a brick-and-mortar school or whether tutors visited them in their homes, it stands to reason that boys and girls alike would have been able to make use of their access to music teachers, especially if they could do so as a group. In the introduction to Thomas Robinson's *The Schoole of Musicke,* readers learn that the hypothetical knight who has hired Timotheus as a music teacher has more than one child:

> Knight: You are hartelie welcoome into the countrie, and the better welcome, for that you come at the first sending for, for it is an old saying, that cunning men are curious, especially Musitions.

[19] For more information, see Katherine Wallace, "Lessons in Music, Lessons in Love," *Conjunctions of Mind, Soul, and Body from Plato to the Enlightenment,* Studies in the History of Philosophy of Mind 15, ed. D. Kambaskovic (2014), 155-1570, 155-156.

> Timotheus: Sir, if I had thought I should not have beene welcome, you might have thought me unwise to have taken all the paines: againe, it was my promise to instruct your children, and am readie at your pleasure…[20]

Although the identities – and even the number – of these children are undeclared, Timotheus appears to have been hired to teach them all. The possibility remains that Timotheus, and by extension Robinson himself, would have been a teacher of both girls and boys. Timotheus refers to "manie, both men and women, that in their youth" could play.[21] Furthermore, the premise under which he was hired was to serve as the live-in music tutor for these children on a country estate under the watchful eye of their father. Thus, the fictional teacher of Robinson's book navigated many of the above listed boundaries, traveling away from London to be paid a (presumably) sizeable sum of money to teach privileged children in their country home.

The availability of music education or independent instruction through books for family units does not level out gendered distinctions that were hashed and rehashed over the sixteenth century regarding the appropriateness of varying levels of musical skill, which instruments could be played, and when and where musical performances would be appropriate. Nevertheless, in comparison with other topics of instruction the ways in which language was gendered in music books leaves these distinctions vague. Other topics of instruction were gendered; in *Toxophilus* and other guides for more masculine pursuits such as archery and animal husbandry, the language of the "to the reader" sections specifically evokes a male audience. Robinson also addresses his book to "Gentlemen," although later in the book he changes his language to allow for reading by boys and girls. For example, one long sentence of Ascham's "To the reader" from *Toxophilus*, contains the word "man" no less than seven times:

> My mind is, in profiting and pleasing every **man**, to hurt or displease no **man**, intending none other purpose, but that youth might be sturred to labour, honest pastime, and virtue, and as much as lieth in me, plucked from idleness, unthrifty games, and vice: which thing I have laboured only in this book, showing how fit shooting is for all kinds of **men**; how honest a pastime for the mind; how wholesome an exercise for the body; not vile for great **men** to use, not costly for poor **men** to sustain, not lurking in holes and corners for ill **men** at their pleasure to misuse it, but abiding in open sight and face of the world, for good **men**, if it fault, by their wisdom to correct it.[22]

For a militaristic topic such as archery, Ascham's audience would presumably have been exclusively male, and thus he could have addressed his dedications accordingly, speaking of "Englishmen," "yeomen," and simply "men" without any word of caution or justification.

Conversely, books conceived for women also reveal their audience through gendered pronouns. Pierre Erondelle's *The French garden for English ladyes* (1605) has a specific audience in mind. Erondelle notes that:

> It is to be wondred, that among so many which have written (& some very sufficiently) principles, concerning our French tongue, (making Dialogues of divers kinds) not one

[20] Robinson, 1.
[21] Robinson, 2.
[22] Roger Ascham, *Toxophilus* (London: 1545), Fa1r – Fa2r.

> hath set foorth any, respecting or belonging properly to **women**, except in the *French Alphabet…* For, seeing our tongue is called Lingua **Mulierum**, and that the English **Ladyes** & **Gent-tle-women**, are as studious & of as **pregnant** spirits, quicke conceites & ingeniositie, as of any other Country whatsoever) me thinketh it had bene a verie worthie and spacious subject for a good writer to employe his Pen.[23]

While the language of this passage no doubt demonstrates a level of paternalism, the fact that books specifically for women were produced in the early seventeenth century confirms that women should not be miscounted as a large portion of readers of self-instruction manuals. Erondelle also makes a point of proclaiming how "the generalitie of these Dialogues is such, that any (of both sexe) may reape great profit by it, by reason it maketh mencion of things belonging as well to men and women, as also unto children."[24] Far from undermining women as an intended audience, Erondelle positions their concerns – and those of children as well – as something that anyone (read: men) can and should care about, and as topics worthy of learning in French as well as English.

Erondelle's conversation book also provides an account of how private tutoring in music may have occurred in a wealthy household; the day would have been occupied by a series of lessons in different topics and on different instruments. There is a singing master that also teaches them to play the virginal, and there is a second teacher specializing in fretted instruments, namely the lute and the viol:

> Charl[otte]: Our dauncing Maister commeth about nine a clocke: our singing Maister, and he that teacheth us to play on the virginalles, at tenne: he that teacheth us in the Lute and the Violl de Gambo, at foure a clocke in the after noone: and our French Master commeth commonly betweene seaven and eight a clocke in the morning.[25]

This passage leaves unclear the number of teachers that visited the house on a given day; there could be as many as three music teachers: the singing teacher, the virginal teacher, and the Lute/Viol teacher; singing teacher and the virginal teacher may also have been the same person. The French translation clarifies this; the phrase "nostre maistre a chanter et qui nous apprend a Iouër des espinettes" refers to only one person. It also remains unclear whether this dialogue is representative of the normal musical activities of young well-to-do women, or whether the scenario has been hyperbolized to allow for French translations of "singing," "virginal," "lute," and "violl da gambo." What is clear is that Erondelle thought it necessary for well-to-do young women to be able to speak – in both English and French – about the musical activities of their day, which could include learning to sing and play on a variety of instruments.

Not all students could afford to have multiple teachers come to their homes, and in these moments music books could have filled in. The neutral language of most music instruction books encourages reading by everyone, and the investment in such books also belies participation by both men and women in their creation. William Barley's *A new Booke of Tabliture , Containing sundrie easie and familiar Instructions* is geared toward a wide audience; the dedication is to a female patron – Lady Bridgett, Countess of Sussex – and in his address "to the reader" Barley

[23] Pierre Erondelle, *The French garden for English ladyes and gentlewomen to walk in* (London, 1605), to the reader.
[24] Erondelle, B2r.
[25] Erondelle, F3v-F4v.

uses "he" only once.[26] After this moment Barley addresses the reader in the second person, not returning again to gender-specific language for the rest of the book. Certainly, some of this gendered language comes packaged with the practicalities of publishing in the late sixteenth century; if Lady Bridgett bank-rolled the publication, of course she would receive a dedication at the beginning of Barley's book. A surprising number of instruction manuals printed in London are dedicated to women, in addition to Barley's *A new Booke of Tablature* books by Dowland, Morley, and Cavendish also were dedicated to women. Robinson's *Schoole of Musicke*, a dialogue book, is not dedicated to a woman but mentions in its dedication to King James I that Robinson had been "thought fittest" to teach Anne of Denmark, James's wife, when she was at Elsinore. There is a reasonable amount of evidence that women supported the production of both instruction manuals and books of musical repertoire, they certainly used them, and it seems that some books were dependent upon their support to come into being. Another book, William Byrd's *My Ladye Nevells Booke* (1591?) was compiled for Byrd's noble patroness. Lady Nevell was a significant patron of music; after marrying she became the "Ladie Periam" to whom Morley dedicated his book of two-part Canzonets in 1595. It was not uncommon for music books to be dedicated to women; Morley's *Canzonets* (1593) were dedicated to Mary Countess of Pembroke, and Hunnis's *Seven sobs* (1597) were dedicated to Lady Francis Countess of Sussex, and Kirbye's 1598 madrigals are dedicated to the daughters of the politician Sir Robert Jermyn (1539-1614). Kirbye's dedication is perhaps the most enlightening; he writes "I have made the choise of you to patronise these my labours, ... for the delight, knowledge, and practice which you have in Musicke, in the which few or none (that I know) can excell you. Vouchsafe therefore (worthy Mistrisses) to undertake the tuition of that, which by right & equitie, you may challenge for your owne..."[27] Female patronage also bespoke the level of engagement female patrons had with music books, and music instruction books in particular. The genders of Timotheus' charges in *The Schoole of Musicke* (henceforth SM)are never revealed. Although the students in Morley's *PEIPM* are adolescent boys, the context in which Philomathes was embarrassed – a dinner party – included both men and women, and in fact it was the mistress of the house who asked him to play in the first place.[28] While the participation of women in music-making was not up for debate, their presence in instruction manuals as skilled participants, however briefly, attests to the levels of proficiency they also achieved.

This lack of gendered language suggests that the books were intended for all, but avoiding gendering the bodies of student readers in this context can also be read against a backdrop of gendered, physical and by that nature sexualized interactions between pupils and their tutors. Instruction on musical instruments itself requires physical contact, both between player and instrument, and sometimes between instructor and pupil. Proper hand position, posture, fingering on fretted instruments, where one's attention falls on the frets, keys, and sheet music, are all aspects of musicianship that are most easily taught by showing and by shaping – specifically, by touching – bodies rather than by purely spoken description. While instruction books indeed used verbal descriptions to achieve these ends, the physical relationship of bodies and instruments was something that teachers would normally negotiate carefully in person.

Short of this dynamic, the staunch refusal of authors like Robinson to specify the intended audience of their instruction manuals may have simply been a ploy to make sure everybody saw themselves in the narrative of the lesson book. *SM* was not a book for boys *or*

[26] William Barley, "To the Reader," *A new Booke of Tablature* (London: William Barley 1596).
[27] George Kirbye, *The First Set of English Madrigalls* (London: Thomas East, 1597), dedication page.
[28] Morley, *PEIPM,* B2r.

girls; it was for everyone. Possibly the most radical part of this publication, then, was how comfortably girls could fit within its narrative, additionally reinforcing Robinson 's connections to royalty, and using these connections to cement his rightful place among the lute most-esteemed instructors and composers of his day: the Dowlands, the Rosseters, Pilkington, etc. Although Robinson himself was also a successful composer and arranger, his surviving book is more didactic than it is a collection. As we will see in subsequent chapters, the marginalia and annotations in the surviving copies of *SM* attest to its use for learning.

While Robinson's professional goals may have prompted him to think carefully about his intended audience, the reasons some parents may have sought out his book may have had even higher stakes. The degree to which books like Robinson's may have served to insulate young learners against harm may have run deep and had several reasons for coming into being. Grammar schools – despite the fact that for many they served as one of the only attainable options for schooling – appear to have been chaotic places, full not only of cacophonous sounds but also violence and disarray. Robert Whittington's *Vulgaria,* an account of schooling in the early sixteenth century, equates a student receiving a beating at the hands of his grammar school master, to the master having "taught me to synge a newe song to daye."[29] Continental depictions of schoolrooms also show scenes of violence mixed with instruction. In Fig. 1, showing a woodcut probably from the 1570s, schoolboys recite and study in the same room, while one of the instructors flogs a student. Music hangs in the background, though none of the writing is particularly clear. In another example, a horse quietly studies plainsong while chaos erupts around it in the classroom.[30] In these examples chaos and violence reign. Disobedient boys were beaten, and while the farcical nature of these Continental woodcuts may make light of the situation the pain and trauma they endured would have been real.[31]

[29] Robert Whittington, *Vulgaria* (London: Apud Wynandu[m] de Worde, 1520), Ff7r.
[30] Kate van Orden cites this example in *Materialities,* 116-117.
[31] It is not my intention here to make anachronistic claims about what early modern parents would have felt to be too harsh or too lenient in terms of schoolmasters disciplining the students under their supervision. Philippe Ariès suggests that the control placed on pupils was quite rigorous, forbidding them to leave the college without permission, drink at taverns, converse with women or bring them back into college buildings, etc. See Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life* (New York: Random House, 1962), 168-171. What I do intend to suggest is that not everyone may have felt the same comfort level regarding these regulations, however widely they may have been accepted, and might have looked elsewhere for different options to acquire an education. The woodcut has a handwritten "1592" in the top corner, but is more likely from the 1570s. From the collection of W. L. Schreiber (1855-1932).

Figure 1: Chaos in the music classroom[32]

Private lessons also introduced the potential for uneven power dynamics. In the case of female pupils, the relationship between a music teacher and their aristocratic pupil may have added to the so-called "topsy-turvy power dynamic" of the music lesson described by Marsh. Remarking on a painting one hundred years later by Jan Steen titled *The Harpsichord Lesson* (c. 1660-9, Fig. 2), Marsh writes:

> The music teacher who visited a wealthy household was both a menial servant and a figure of authority. Here, he stoops submissively while pointing a little sharply at his demure young pupil. The sexual tensions of the encounter – unspoken and unspeakable – are also expressed through the interplay of openings and closures (the virginals and their key, the sensuous painting on the wall with its half-drawn curtain, the girl's tightly laced bodice and the door which must not be shut).[33]

In an in-person lesson touch would have added an additional, potentially erotic, dimension to the student-teacher relationship. Even in Steen's painting the two figures remain separated spatially, pointing to the fingers on the keyboard rather than risking any pedagogical intervention more intimate than that, but the distance belies a convergence of motion, with the teacher standing over his charge and appearing to move toward her while gazing at her bodice. While the teacher

[32] This unknown woodcut is taken from the Hulton Archive/Getty Images collection, and is credited to a book titled *A Text Book In Ye History of Education* (c. 1600).
[33] Marsh, 200.

may well have been correcting what is a terrible wrist angle, modeling a better position with his own hand, the relationship between his position and intentions and those of his charge remain ambiguous. The key hanging prominently on the wall in the middle of the painting adds to this unsettling ambiguity.

Figure 2: Jan Steen, *The Harpsichord Lesson*[34]

Visits by music teachers did not always produce only the intended results; sometimes there were also unintended consequences of tutors and their young female pupils interacting under such intimate circumstances. Katie Nelson's study of Thomas Whythorne's career as a music teacher revealed that he sought the affections of his female students on multiple occasions, and that he was not alone in his pursuits. As Nelson observes:

> Professionally, [music teachers] occupied a nebulous space somewhere between the gentleman and the lowly "minstrel" – respectable enough for the household mistress to consider romantically, but still undeniably mere employees. Socially, they walked a delicate line between master and servant – being simultaneously one and the other… And in their (sometimes intimate) daily interactions with household females, tutors operated within the complex, gendered dynamics of sex, love and power.[35]

[34] © Wallace Collection, London/Bridgeman Art Library, TWC 62159.
[35] Nelson, 18.

John Wilbye, John Danyel, and John Attey all reference in some way or another intimate relationships they had at one point or another with their female patrons. Danyel's dedication of *Songs for the Lute Viol and Voice* (1606) to Mrs. Anne Greene is particularly telling. The poem opens with the lines "That which was onely privately compos'd/ For your delight, Faire Ornament of Worth,/ is here, come, to bee publickely disclos'd:/And to an universall view put forth./Which having beene but yours and mine before,/ (Or but of few besides) is made hereby/ To bee the worlds: and yours and mine no more…"[36] In a society that valued propriety as much as early modern England did, privacy was dangerous, especially with an unmarried male teacher. Presumably, as Hugh Chomley – grandson of Sir Richard Cholmley (1580-1631), a nobleman whose younger daughter fell in love with and married her music teacher – advised:

> [This] may be a good monition to posterity to be cautious how they entertain persons of that profession and quality, or if they do, not to suffer their daughters to have much familiarity or to be at any time alone with them, for [in] my own time I have heard [that] diverse young women of quality have suffered in their reputations and had such or worse mischa[nce] by those who taught [them] to sing and dance.[37]

If teachers were to come into the home, they should be closely watched, and noblewomen should not be permitted to be alone with them, lest the passions of the music sweep them off their feet toward scandalous elopements.

Lecherous teachers appear to have been able to infiltrate even the highest households in the land; in 1626/27 rumors abounded that the lutenist Jacques Gaultier, a minor celebrity with powerful protection at court from the Duke of Buckingham, and from 1625 a Musician in Ordinary at court, had sought an affair with his then student Queen Henrietta Maria.[38] The affair was documented in letters sent by the Italian ambassadors Alvise Contarini and Amerigo Salvetti regarding the goings-on at court. A letter from Alvise Contarini to the Doge on 15 January 1627 reported that:

> A certain Frenchman, a lute player, Gotiers by name, who was in the Queen's service, has been put in the Tower. It seems he proposed to murder the duke... really, however he traduced the king himself and the duke and poasted that by the dulcet tones of the lute he could make his way even into the royal bed and he had been urged to do so in a manner that became well-nigh nauseous.[39]

This would appear not to have been the first time Gaultier crossed unacceptable boundaries regarding his behavior toward his female students. At best, he was guilty of *lèse-majesté*; at

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[36] John Danyel, *Songs for Lute Viol and Voice* (1606), dedication page.

[37] Sir Hugh Cholmley, *The memoirs of Sir Hugh Cholmley, Knt. And Bart. Addressed to his two sons* (London: 1787), 9. The account was transcribed and published by Hugh Cholmley's descendant Nathaniel Cholmley in 1787, but refers to events that took place in the mid-seventeenth century as the civil wars unfolded. In referencing this account Nelson also notes that the tutor named by Cholmley, Dutton, was actually successful in his courtship of Cholmley's daughter, and infers that she may already have been pregnant. See Nelson, 23.

[38] Spring, 308-311.

[39] This letter from Contarini is translated and recounted in Ian Spink, "Another Gaultier Affair," *Music & Letters,* 45/4 (Oct. 1964), 345-347.

worst, treason. Another letter from Contarini details a second affront, this time against "the daughter of the Earl of Carlisle."[40] The whole thing was eventually hushed over, perhaps to protect the honor of the women involved, but at any rate Gaultier was back in the King's service soon after the affair, where he remained for years.[41] Far from the symbolic implications of a painting, this real-life scandal cast a shadow over the role of music teachers in the lives of their female students.

Lecherous music teachers also made their way into public consciousness by way of the theater. Shakespeare alludes to this in *The Taming of the Shrew*, in which both Kate and Bianca fend off forward advances from suitors under the guise of music lessons. In Act II Hortensio attempts to give Kate a lute lesson, and is rebuked not only for the quality of his instrument but is also called a "fiddler":

> Hortensio:
>
> I did but tell her she mistook her frets,
> And bow'd her hand to teach her gingering
> When, with a most impatient devilish spirit,
> "Frets, call you these?" quoth she "I'll fume with them."
> And with that word she struck me on the head,
> And through the instrument my pate made way:
> And there I stood amazed for a while,
> As on a pillory, looking through the lute,
> While she did call me rascal fiddler
> And Twangling Jack, with twenty such vile terms,
> As she had studied to misuse me so.[42]

Kate's dismissal of Hortensio as a "rascal fiddler" may have been a fairly serious insult. Marsh explains that fiddlers experienced great difficulties as itinerant musicians during the late 1500's, condemned often because they were seen to be difficult to monitor and control. Control and power, indeed, feature prominently in each of these student-teacher interactions. If Thomas Whythorne could advance his socioeconomic standing through music, John Danyel could publicly flirt with his female student through his dedication pages, and if the power dynamics of the music lesson were so skewed that Gaultier could claim he could even seduce the queen, some people may have felt that the music lesson was no longer neutral, safe enough territory for their children to enter, meaning that in order to attain musical proficiency they would need to go about it another way.[43]

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[40] Ibid.

[41] Ibid. Details of Gaultier's activities after 1627 in England are also mapped by Matthew Spring in *The Lute in Britain,* 311-313.

[42] William Shakespeare, *The Taming of the Shrew,* Act II, Scene I, 155-167.

[43] Publicity, and the exposing of private words to the public, have been discussed in other more overtly political contexts by Jürgen Habermas. Here, a similar kind of power is deployed by making visible the topsy-turvy relationships that existed in private lesson spaces, but the degree to which this would have influenced anyone's actions is unclear. See Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. Translated by Thomas Burger with Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge, Mass: 1989), 57-58.

By the time John Milton penned his *Areopagitica* in 1644, some had come to the conclusion that although music was dangerous it was also far too difficult to control for any attempt at containing it to be successful. Milton states that music "will ask more [than] the work of twenty licencers to examin all the lutes, the violins, and the ghittarrs in every house… The villages also must have their visitors to enquire what lectures the bagpipe and rebbeck reads ev'n to the ballatry, and the gammuth of every municipal fidler."[44] In addition to illustrating the slipperiness of music practices Marsh identified, several other aspects of this passage stand out when viewed in the context of what kinds of practices musical performance could encourage. First, the bagpipe and rebeck were said to be lecturers, implying that listening to music could also be educational, or at the very least polemical. Milton is being ironic; by labeling the bagpipers and rebec players as lecturers Milton is making a joke at their expense, placing them on the same social playing field to illustrate how out-of-place they seem against the organ or even the lute. However, the joke still depends on the ability of some instruments to serve as "lecturers" to work. Second, the fact that licencers had to examine the instruments themselves, rather than the music they would be used to play, implies that the physicality of performance on a musical instrument was also something that couldn't be policed, although some authorities may have wanted to try. By the middle of the seventeenth century some members of more conservative religious groups went so far as to destroy the instruments entirely, as Solomon Eccles did after his conversion to Quakerism in 1660, "publicly executing" his lutes and viols by smashing and burning them on Tower Hill.[45] Surprisingly, many of the surviving calls for musical censorship seem less concerned with the contents of music books than the instruments being used to play them. While the long-fought battles over the role of music in churches raged on, even instruments.

These complaints centered around more elite instruments such as the lute – with their rich literate repertories – also suggest that to at least a certain extent the concern was with actions, not with texts. And actions themselves also appear to have been policed even by proponents of instrumental music; prose describing good playing posture and how to hold one's hands to play would have circumvented some of this power dynamic. It also would leave some professional distance between the author and their readers to keep these sections as formal as possible, thus avoiding the aforementioned topsy-turvy power dynamics of the lesson playing out between the bookish teacher and readers.

Many instruction manuals for learning musical instruments feature similar phrasing concerning the position of the body to the instrument. The 1568 translation of Adrian Le Roy's lute tutor featured details of how "to conducte and dispose thy hand unto the lute." The 1574 revised version also included the same phrase on the title page, though the title itself was altered from "A Brief and Plain Instruction to learn the tableture" and "a brief and plain instruction to set all Musicke of eight divers tunes in tableture for the lute." William Barley's *A new Booke of Tabliture* (1596) advertises a method "to guide and dispose thy hand to play on sundry instruments, as the *Lute, Orpharion,* and *Bandora."*[46] Thomas Robinson introduces the instrument through posture in *SM* (1603), instructing his charges to:

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[44] John Milton, *Areopagitica* (London: s.n. 1644), 16. Marsh, 62-63.

[45] Marsh, 64.

[46] One of Barley's other music book for fretted instruments of the same year, *A new Booke of Tabliture for the Bandora*, makes no direct mention on the title page of this kind of instruction, but it does reference the book for all three instruments. This suggests to me that they were possibly sold together, perhaps even with a book (on singing), so additional guidance on "disposing the hand" may have been redundant.

> First sitting upright with your bodie, leane the edge of the Lute against the table, and your bodie against the Lute, not too hard for hurting your Lute, neither to softlie for letting of it fall, for the table, your bodie, and your right arme, must so poyes the Lute, that you may have your left hand at libertie to carie to, and fro, at your pleasure, letting the middle part of the neck of the Lute, slide up and downe the brawne of the thumb which is against the nayle of the said thumb, houlding out the wrest of the hand, and alwaies carrying your thumb against your forefinger in any stop whatsoever, for so shall your hand be the more comelie, the more readie, and with the more ease, stop any stop the cleaner…[47]

Thus, harmony was the product not only of good taste but of sober, reasoned intelligence and controlled bodily gestures.[48]

Though Robert Dowland also does not include a passage about the hand on the title page of *Varietie of Lute-Lessons* (1610), he does include in his translation of Jean Baptiste Besard's lute instructions the passage that deals with how to stretch one's fingers to accommodate the lute (sometimes even using the lute itself, if it is larger than one's hands).[49] The instrument, and the books teaching how to play it, not only convey information to learners, but also compel them to adapt their bodies – in the case of Besard actually physically altering the shape of their hands – to play the instrument in question. Even the dedicatory preface to Frederick V and Elizabeth Stuart of *Parthenia* (c. 1613) alludes to both hands and bodies, claiming how wondrous it is that "Harmony is the Soule thereof multipliciously varied of fowre bare notes as the Body is of the fowre Elements," and hoping that Elizabeth would "lend [her]… hands" to play the music for Prince Frederick. [50]

More than a century later Thomas Mace continued this trend of noting the relationship between bodies and music in his *Musick's Momument* (1676), remarking upon the importance of posture for instrument playing, not only for the comfort it would provide while playing but also for its praiseworthiness:

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[47] Thomas Robinson, *The Schoole of Musicke,* Bv.

[48] Marsh, 83-84.

[49] The passage in question reads "First and formost chuse a LUTE neither great nor small, but a midling one, such as shall fit thine hand in thine owne judgment. Yet I had rather thou didst practise at first on a LUTE that were somewhat greater and harder, unlesse thy hand be very short: because that is good to stretch the sinewes, which are in no sort to be slackned. For there are which do sometimes without a LUTE forceably pull and lengthen their fingers. Others there that are laying their hand on a Table, or some like thing, does spread their fingers as broad as they can possibly. Others there are that oftentimes annoint their fingers with oyle of *Tartar.* Though I know the use thereof is good to make a nimble hand, rather by the often report of many others, then by any approved experience of mine owne. Howsoever, it is most necessarie at least for the beginner to handle the LUTE often, yet never but when thy *Genius* favours thee, that is, when thou feelest thy selfe inclyned to MUSICKE: For there is a certaine naturall disposition, for learning the ARTS naturally infused into us, and shewing it in us rather at one time then another, which if one will provoke by immoderate labour, he shall fight against Nature. Therefore when thou shalt finde thy selfe aptlie disposed, and hast time and opportunitie, spare no paynes, yet keepe this course." Besard "Necessarie Observations," translated by Robert Dowland in *Varietie of Lute-Lessons* (London: Thomas Adams, 1610), sig. Bv. For the title page of *Varietie of Lute-Lessons,* see Chapter 1, Fig. 8.

[50] Byrd, William, Dr. John Bull, and Orlando Gibbons. *Parthenia, or the Maydenhead* (c. 1613), dedication page.

> The *First Thing* I would have you *regard,* is your *Posture,* viz. *How to sit, and hold your Lute:* For the *Good Posture* has two *Commodities* depending upon it.
>
> The first is, it is *Comely, Credible,* and *Praise-worthy.*
>
> The 2d. is, it is *Advantageous,* as to *Good Performance,* which upon your *Tryal,* you will soon perceive, although very many do not mind it.
>
> Now, as to *This Order,* first set your self down against a *Table,* in as *Becoming a Posture,* as you would chuse to do for your *Best Reputation*.[51]

For Mace, good praiseworthy posture was intertwined with good playing. It not only made a player better at performing on their instrument, it also bonded their performance to good social graces. Music education, and education on musical instruments specifically, was not only meant to produce good people in the sense that they would choose good music and participate in pious activities (like singing in church). It also helped to shape and position the bodies of musicians to be better members of (especially) the elite levels of English society, where good manners and comportment superseded receiving praise for one's playing. As we will see in Chapter 5, this embodied writing about the lute and those that played it extends to ethical and even spiritual dimensions, connecting proper playing with generational concerns about lutes, lute players, and their past, present, and future, much like the *sprezzatura* invoked by Castiglione.[52]

Music instruction manuals traveled within this world of bodies in motion. Teachers physically struck students as part of their instruction and flirted with their private charges. Singing and speaking foreign languages not only gave students new information but shaped their physical bodies into sounding bodies. For students living in a culture that invested heavily in differences of gender, their bodies – and the people and forces permitted control and shape them – became the unspoken focus of pedagogies and polemics alike. Students of music had to maneuver their bodies and minds through a minefield of inappropriate conduct and other undesirable modifications of their bodies to attain the very skills that would have given them an advantage within their social groups. For women, protecting their female bodies from being pulled in any one direction by the men who said they knew better required education not only in the subject matter but in the methods of achieving it as well. At a time when few opportunities were available for women to demonstrate agency in their lives, practices such as music making provided one avenue through which to apply gentle resistance. The book as an object is itself a tool in resistance. It can be concealed, transported undetected, and can contain any number of things. Manuscripts and printed books, even the ones that were entered into the Stationers' Register, participated in a larger struggle over the role of secular music in early modern England: one that was not fought in polemics against music issued by church authorities or Puritan protesters, but a more subtle struggle of who got to play music, what kinds, and what one was expected to gain from doing so. The voices most notably absent from this conversation – those of the students themselves, and especially female voices – are loud in their silence.

Considering the entirety of the early modern venture in music education, from the middle of the sixteenth century through the civil wars of the seventeenth century, the goals of music educators, the evidence of schooling and lessons, the polemics of its opponents as well as the defenses leveled by its apologists, it becomes clear that the bodies and minds of young learners –

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[51] Thomas Mace, *Musick's Monument,* 71.

[52] Baldessare Castiglione, *The Courtier of Count Baldessar Castilio* trans. Thomas Hobby (London: John Wolfe, 1588), D6r.

both male and female – were seen to be up for grabs in the ideologically, politically, and religiously charged atmosphere of early modern England. Music served many purposes, including instilling good social and physical graces in young people, but also conditioning their minds to resist undesirable thoughts and activities. While at first blush secular music-making and instrumental music making in particular appear to have escaped censure by opponents of music, the music lesson was still a site of political turmoil in terms of shifting societal, moral, and ethical concerns. The new genre of self-help music books was a part of this tumultuous ethical landscape, and by examining thoroughly this educational venture, their role within it begins to emerge.

Chapter Three

"Tune your voice to the lute":
Tablature, Pedagogy and Thomas Robinson's *The Schoole of Musicke* (1603)

In 1603, the year following the death of Thomas Morley, Thomas East produced his second masterpiece of printing in lute tablature.[1] The book, Thomas Robinson's *The Schoole of Musicke,* (henceforth *SM*) served as an important introduction to the lute, offering instructions on how to play the instrument, pieces to play, and a section using lute and viol tablature to form a bridge between playing and singing called *Rules to instruct you to sing*. Unlike John Bull's lost Gresham College lecture, whose reconstructed first page of text reveals valuable information about Bull's ties to the university culture in which he participated, the contents of Robinson's book survive in their entirety. However, it is the loss of the pages from one surviving copy of the book that may reveal as much about musical learning at the turn of the seventeenth century as if Bull's lecture had been preserved.[2]

As Jeremy Smith has observed, while in some cases the music printing monopoly in England stifled the kinds of opportunities available to printers like East, at other times it also encouraged collaboration between composers, editors and typesetters, especially when composers (Tallis, Byrd, and later Morley) held the printing patent themselves, which itself fostered innovation in musical typesetting and other printing techniques including type design, page layout, paper, format, among others.[3] East's printing allowed Robinson to experiment with pedagogical techniques and formats, combining known methods of layout and format with new approaches to teaching solmization and reading tablature. These pedagogic ideas were executed masterfully in print by East, who ensured that each page was not only functional but beautifully constructed. David Lumsden, who praised *SM* as "the first truly English lute tutor," also praised Robinson's "ideas and teaching methods [as] sound and generally well (sometimes humorously expressed)."[4] Lumsden's identification of *SM* as the "first" English tutor follows Wilburn Wendell Newcomb's assertion in 1960 that Barley's *A new Book of Tabliture* was the "earliest printed English lute book." Barley's book, however, copies precisely the wording that Newcomb cites as critical to understanding the popularity of the lute in Britain from the translation of Le Roy. Therefore, the statement "there are a number of good wits in England, which for their sufficient capacitie and promptness of spirit, neither Fraunce nor Italie can surpasse..." actually is a common rhetorical maneuver used by authors of music instruction manuals on the Continent and in England alike, and should not be taken as direct evidence of musical practice without a grain of salt. Robinson's book, then, becomes more central, as his technique, and the pieces he recommends for lute repertoire are independent from anything imported from France. It is this experimentation, and synthesis of many competing pedagogic ideas, that set *SM* apart from its English-language predecessors as much as the precedent it sets as the first surviving printed lute instruction book, original in form and content, fully penned by an Englishman.

What prompted Lumsden give *SM* this distinction in addition to Robinson's work was that it featured music almost exclusively by English composers. The precedent set for lute

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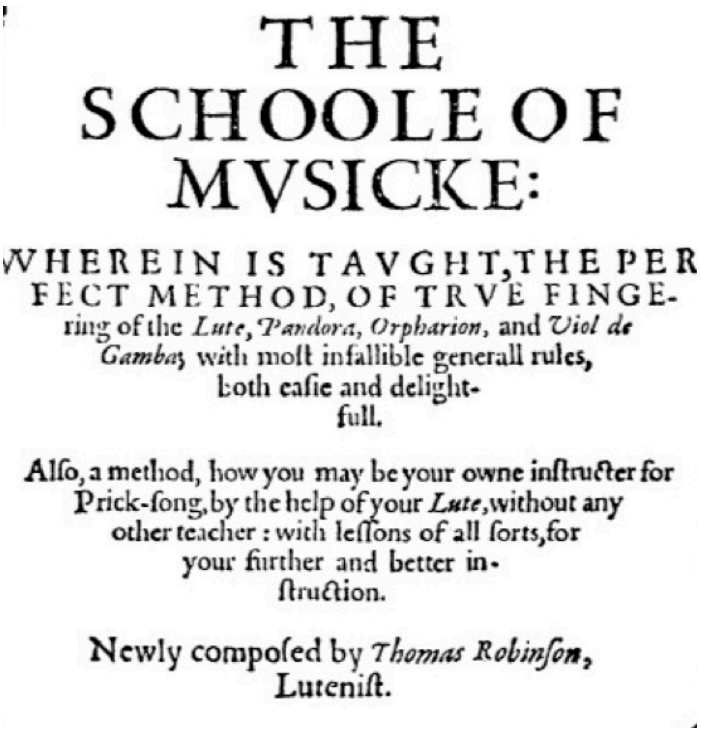
[1] The first was Dowland's *The Second Booke of Songs or Ayres* (1600).
[2] For More on Bull's inaugural lecture and its publication, see Chapter One.
[3] Smith, 128-129.
[4] See David Lumsden's critical edition of *The Schoole of Musicke* (Paris: CNRS, 1971). On Robinson's teaching methods, see Lumsden, XI.

instruction books before this point were from translations of Continental sources. The three earliest printed English-language lute tutors were more-or-less direct translations of those produced by Adrian Le Roy: *A Brief and easye instru[c]tion* (1568), *A brief and plaine Instruction* (1574), and William Barley's loosely adapted reissue of the 1568 *Instru[c]tion* – titled *A new Booke of Tablature* (1596) – which keeps most of Le Roy's rules for reading tablature although its repertoire is new. *SM* keeps the two sections defined by these earlier prints, that is, an instructional preface and some pieces (or "lessons") to play. From there, Robinson departs from the scheme in several critical ways: he and East swapped the oblong octavo format for upright folio; instead of a simple cover East used an elaborate wood block for the title page; and in terms of how the material in *SM* is presented, Robinson turned away from the simple formats of earlier tutors and instead borrowed from other English sources of music instruction like the dialogue format used by Morley in *PEIPM.* Finally, he adds a third section to the book, the "Rules to instruct you to sing."[5] Although *SM* appears to be primarily a book of lute music with an extensive instructional preface, the creativity of its construction lies in a curious section at its end that claims to teach its readers to sing by reading from lute tablature, a method of notation normally reserved for instrumental music, based mainly on hand positions on the instrument itself.

In the first two sections Robinson assimilates ideas from many existing instruction manuals. His rhetoric also reflects popular descriptions of lesson books during this time period; the title page in particular aligns *SM* with previous sources in several ways. [Fig.1] It reads:


THE
SCHOOLE OF
MVSICKE:

WHEREIN IS TAVGHT, THE PER
FECT METHOD, OF TRVE FINGE-
ring of the *Lute*, *Pandora*, *Orpharion*, and *Viol de*
Gamba; with moſt infallible generall rules,
both eaſie and delight-
full.

Alſo, a method, how you may be your owne inſtructer for
Prick-ſong, by the help of your *Lute*, without any
other teacher: with leſſons of all ſorts, for
your further and better in-
ſtruction.

Newly compoſed by *Thomas Robinſon*,
Luteniſt.

Figure 1: Title of Thomas Robinson, *The Schoole of Musicke* (London: Thomas East, 1603).

[5] William Case's 1960 study of *SM*, interestingly, does not acknowledge the final section of this book. Though the section is reproduced in the facsimile in volume II, the psalms are not catalogued, nor are they discussed in volume I.

The idea that the book itself could be a "schoole" resonates with other didactic books of the time – some musical and some note – including Roger Ascham's *Toxophilus the schole, or partitions of shootyng,* which itself also discusses the study of music in addition to archery.[6]

Robinson's use of the phrase "without any other teacher," draws on the language used by many other lute tutors, both Continental and English. This concept was first evoked in English-language music books in the 1568 translation of Adrian Le Roy's lute tutor, in which the preface claimed that "thou mayest easily learne by thy selfe, with very small helpe of a teacher."[7] This language was revisited twice in the 1574 edition of the text; Le Roy himself mentions that he has "brought to light and publick knowledge this Musicall methode for the Lute to be more easily lerned by everione by him self without any teacher," and the printer James Rowbotham directs his readers also to give thanks to Adrian Le Roy, thanks to whom they "shal become good players on the Lute without further helpe: chiefely those being farre from Cities and teachers."[8] It was reused again in Barley's *A new Booke of Tablature* in 1596, advertising rules by which "thou maiest in a short time learne by thy selfe with very small help of a teacher."[9] Barley's instruction book for the orpharion from the same year also mentioned the books' usefulness to students who could not "at all times have a Tutor."[10] Thomas Morley's *PEIPM* also claimed to help "any of but meane capacitie, so they can but truely sing their tunings, which we commonly call the sixe notes, or ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la, may without any other help saving this booke, perfectly learn to sing, make discant, and set partes well and formally together."[11] Robinson continues to draw upon Morley's example by opening his lute instructions with a dialogue between a teacher and a student-proxy (the knight, who – although not a student himself – is a suitable interlocutor to ask questions about the lute and its music). Much like Morley used the three characters of Philomathes, Polymathes, and the Master to present dialogue between a teacher and his two pupils, Robinson framed his dialogue as a discussion of issues related to holding, tuning, and playing the lute. This format enlivens the discussion of lute playing, and illustrates to Robinson's student readers where the usual pitfalls in the early stages of learning the instrument might be. Robinson departs from this dialogue method, however, when providing instruction in the very thing that Morley used it for: teaching readers to sing. Instead of teaching singing either through the extensive prose passages of Morley or by rote, as Jane Flynn has described in her recent study of the instruction of choirboys in cathedral choir schools,[12] Robinson relies on the lute tablature itself to show his readers how to teach themselves to sing from parallel lines of the same music in mensural notation, tablature, and a kind of solmization that Jessie Ann Owens has identified as specifically English. By playing the notes on the lute first, complete musical novices – those who had never sung from written music before – could teach themselves how to sing (to use the terminology of the time) "by book."

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[6] For a more substantive, though by no means complete list of such books, see Appendix 1.
[7] Adrian Le Roy, *A Brief and Easye Instrution to Learne the Tableture… Englished by J. Alford Londenor* (London: Ihon Kingston for Iames Rowbotham, 1568), Preface.
[8] Adrian Le Roy, *A brief and plaine Instruction to set all Musicke of eight divers tunes in Tableture for the Lute* (London: James Rowbotham, 1574), Aiiv – Aiiir.
[9] William Barley, *A new Booke of Tablature,* preface to the reader.
[10] William Barley, *A new Booke of Tablature for the Orpharion* (London: William Barley, 1596) A4.
[11] Thomas Morley, *PEIPM* (London: Peter Short, 1597).
[12] Flynn, 180-199.

Robinson experimented with pedagogical techniques and formats, combining known methods of layout and format with new approaches to teaching solmization and reading tablature. It is this experimentation, and synthesis of many competing pedagogic ideas, that set *SM* apart from its English-language predecessors as much as the precedent it sets as the first lute book fully penned by an Englishman. Although *SM* departs in identifiable ways from its English-language predecessors, to view it in a class all by itself misses several important aspects of its pedagogic machinery, as well as ways in which it intersects with a much larger picture of musical pedagogy in Europe at the turn of the seventeenth century. Its combined use tablature and mensural notation may have been preceded by William Hoskins' *A Playne and perfect Instruction for learnynge to play on ye virginalles by hand or by booke both by notes and by letters or Tabliture* (1597). The mention of both "letters" and "tabliture" begs the question of what precisely is meant by each term. Of course, the use of "tabliture" may have just been a point of clarification, reasserting that "letters" were a didactic tool in addition to "notes" (staff notation). The pairings of terms in the title cast some doubt on this distinction. The title promises that the reader will be able to play either "by hand" or "by booke," while at the same time there are "notes" and "letters or tabliture" put to use to accomplish these goals. The distinction between hand and book and the distinction between staff and alphabetical notation do not necessarily correlate with one another. Playing by hand and by book refer to the means by which music was remembered and transmitted, "hand" referring to memory and practice, and "book" referring to written transmission. If "by book" refers to the writing and storing of music then both staff notation and tablature would help with that task, but what Hoskins meant by playing "by hand" as mediated by both notation systems remains unclear. There are potentially four modes of music-making here; memorization as taught by both staff notation and tablature, and written music preserved in both staff notation and tablature. Though this book is lost as detailed above, in the Introduction, and the only evidence it existed is its entry into the Stationers' Register, nevertheless the striking promises made in its title suggest that using tablature to teach musical concepts previously believed to be reserved for mensural notation and private instruction was not as rare as might be imagined.

William Bathe, whose *A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Song* (Thomas East, 1596) encourages using the "helpe of an instrument" to "tune" the voice.[13] Tuning one's voice to an instrument, in fact, appears to have been even more common than the recommendations in Robinson and Bathe. The page introducing the Gamut in *The Patheway to Musicke* (Barley, 1596) depicts the notes of the Gamut as organ pipes. [Fig. 2] This imagery occurs prior to the 1597 moment as well, and can be found in the 1562 Sternhold and Hopkins *The Whole Booke of Psalmes* – the only known edition of this famous metrical psalter to contain instructions for singing. It too represents the Gamut as organ pipes. [Fig. 3] The imagery of the organ pipes fits into a longer history of music pedagogy; prior to the English prints of the 1560s Continental sources introduced organ pipes as an organizational scheme for the gamut; Gaffurius used the device in 1492 for his *Theorica musicae* (Milan: Philippium Mantegatium). [Fig. 4] Robert Fludd also adopted the use of organ pipes as representations of hexachords in his *Utriusque*

[13] William Bathe, *A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Song* (Thomas East, 1596). The earlier version is entered in the Stationers' Register, although to my knowledge no copy of the 1584 version survives. The citation reads "Entered for his copie under th[e h]andes of the Wardens, *A brief Introduction to the true arte of musicke,* sett forth by WILLIAM BATHE Student at Oxford. yt was a former copie printed by **Abell Jeffes** *anno* 1584 And is by him sett over to master **East** as appeareth by his letter written to the wardens to have it nowe entred for Master **Eastes** copye… vj*d."* See Arber, 26.

cosmi...medaphysica (1617) to show the three different kinds of hexachords he discussed (natural, hard and soft).[14] Fludd's illustration underscores its pedagogic import as explained in his accompanying text. First, it maps out the fundamentals of music in many different ways. In addition to the natural, hard and soft hexachords it also shows the monochord mapping out the harmonic series (as well as Pythagoras observing the blacksmiths that inspired his formula), a Muse posing as a singing teacher pointing to a board with music on it (much like in the images of schoolrooms discussed in the previous chapter) and a clock showing the relationships between different mensuration signs.

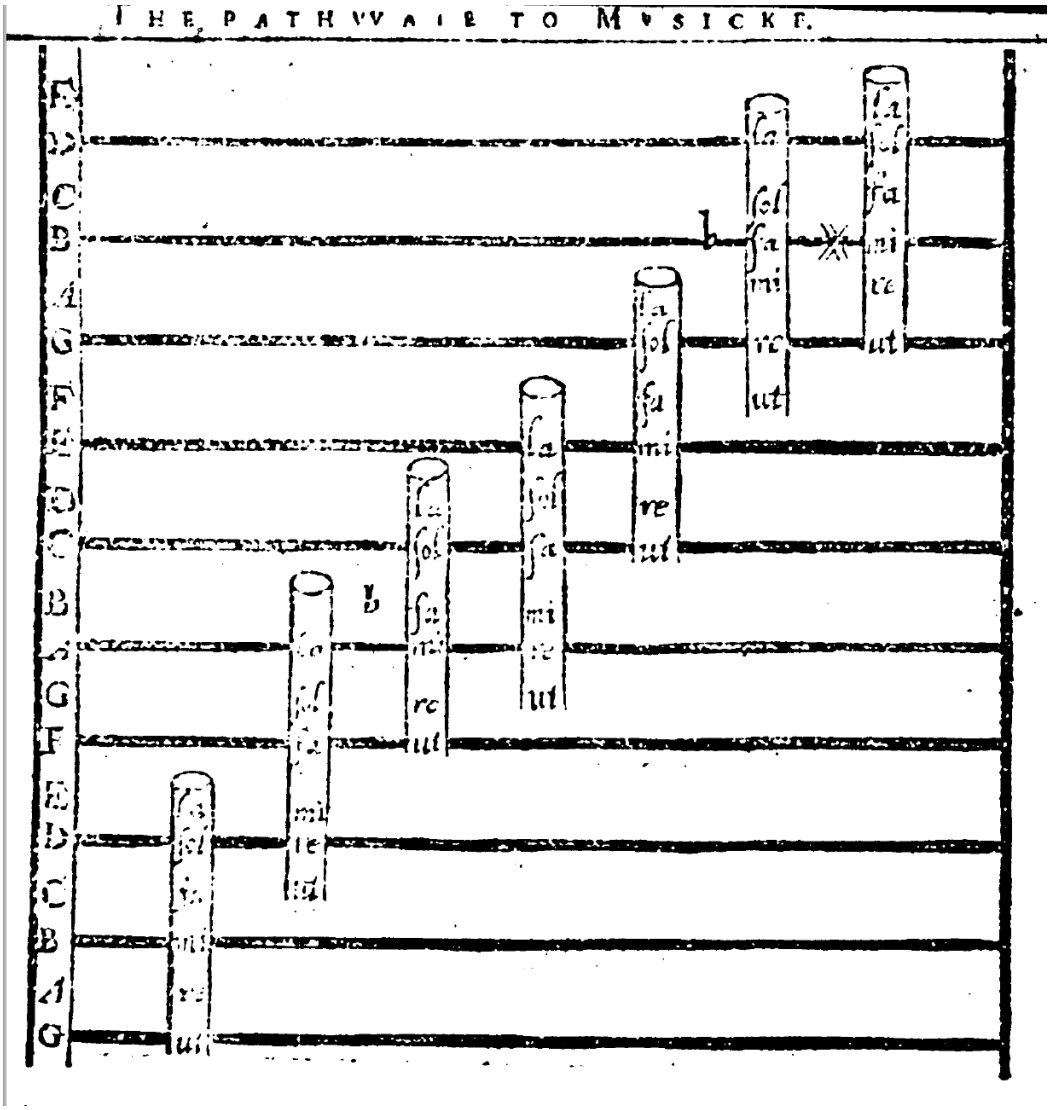

Figure 2: Gam-ut from *The Patheway to Musicke* (London: William Barley, 1596)

[14] See Chapter Five, Figure 9.

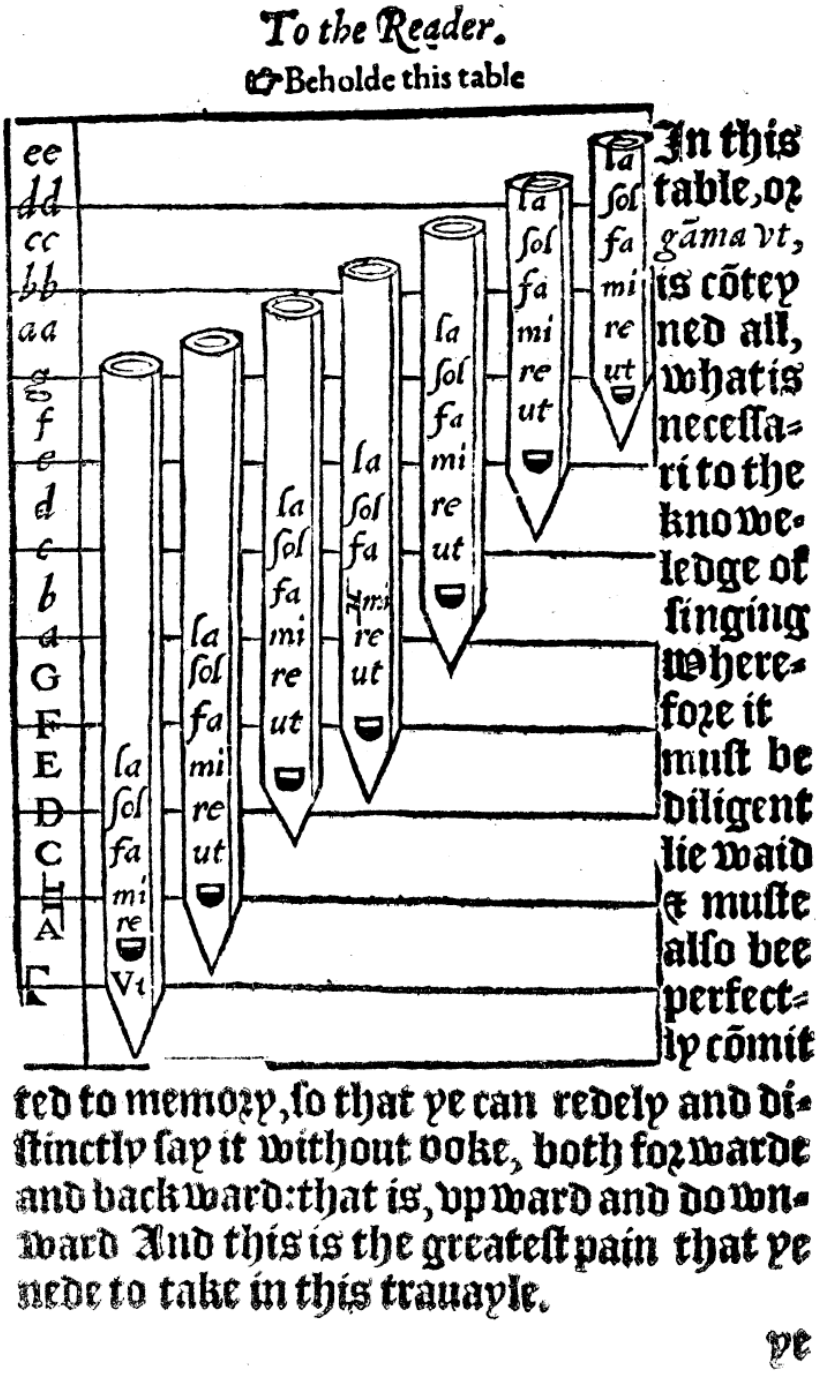

Figure 3: Sternhold and Hopkins, *The Whole Booke of Psalmes* (1562)

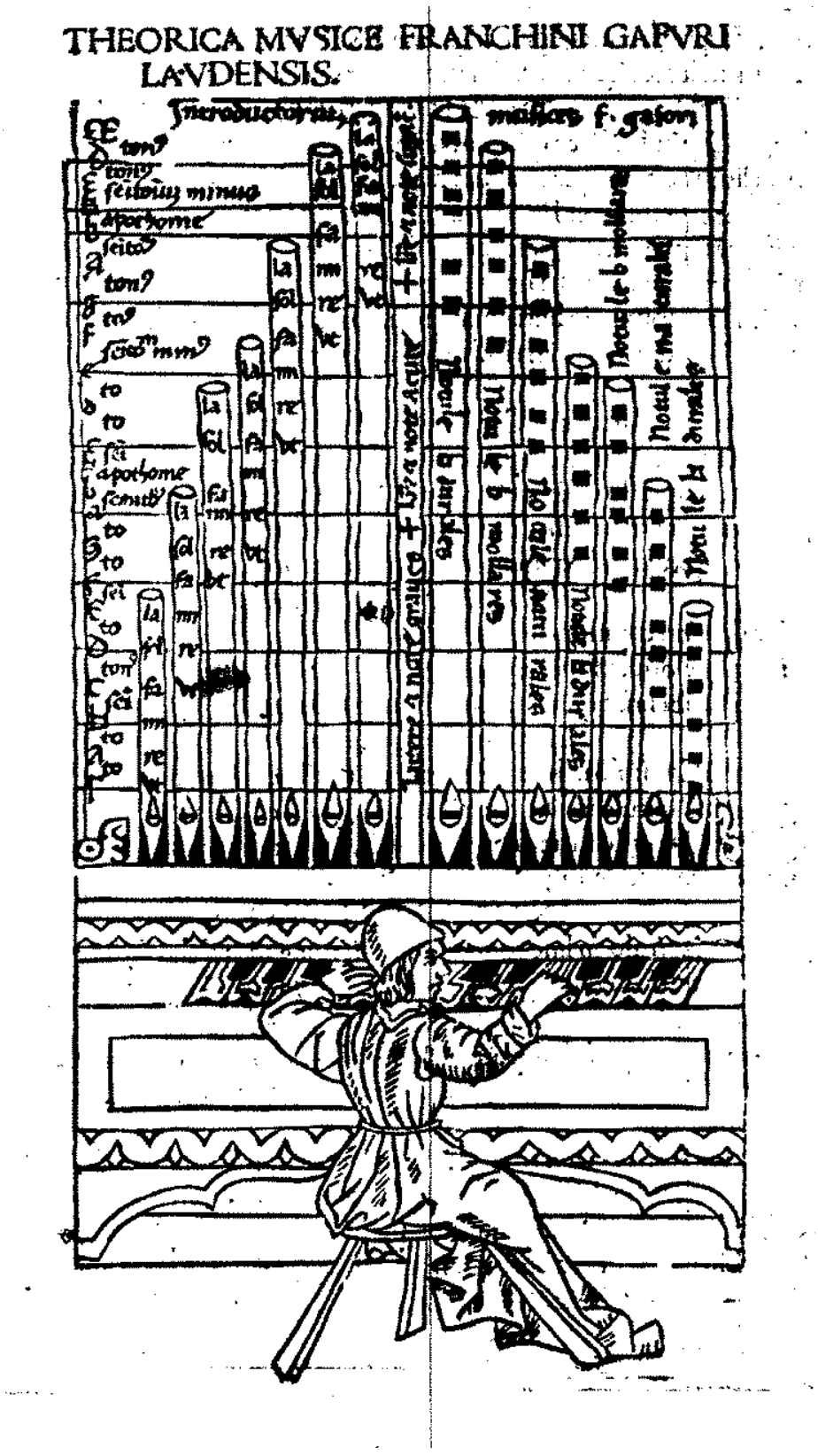

Figure 4: The gam-ut as illustrated by Gaffurius in his *Theorica musicae* (1492)

The alignment of instrument and voice, as well as the dialogue format and use of intabulation to teach a variety of topics also reflect developments from several decades earlier on the Continent. Vincenzo Galilei's *Fronimo* (1568, second ed. 1584), for example, combines a dialogue between tutor and pupil to teach intabulation for the lute which also doubles as a means of forming a polemical response to rival music theorists in his orbit.[15] In England, as Christle Collins Judd has noted about Morley's use of dialogue, Robinson also steers clear of using his characters to make a polemic response to earlier music theories, instead using their dialogue to encourage readers to participate more actively in their own instruction. This unique combination of features, especially the ones that combine vocal and instrumental music pedagogy, illustrates the ubiquity of using intabulated instrumental music to teach singing – both on the Continent and in England – and that the ways in which *SM* departs from similar Continental models illustrate a particularly "English" version of learning music by book from the turn of the seventeenth century, encompassing recent musical trends as well as reflecting themes of social and religious reform of the time.

The format of *SM* also appears to have even further-reaching precedents. Kate van Orden has shown in her study of Continental ABC primers and catechisms how the material forms of these documents, copied onto a flyleaf, a loose sheet bound into a volume – remind us that "literacy itself began with highly fugitive teaching moments requiring just a scrap of paper, a margin, or a slate, if that."[16] For students learning to read on the Continent, ABC primers and catechisms offered a great degree of overlap between religious texts, singing, and reading that can be successfully traced only through their most miniature, ephemeral traces. While at first blush Robinson's folio-format book does not seem to fit this more subtle and evolving musical landscape, *SM* borrows deeply, as we shall see, from both oral traditions and ephemerality, masking beneath its more substantive form elements of its materiality that are more dynamic, interactive, and fleeting than advertised on its cover page. Although on its surface Robinson pitched his book toward elite audiences, giving his book a typographical university aura and using a format better-suited to close study than casual practice, in reality *using* the book moves it closer to cheap, ephemeral prints and the orality still preserved through the transmission of printed music.

The publication of *SM* fell into the gap between the death of Thomas Morley in 1602 and the music printing monopoly passing to William Barley in 1606. Morley had taken over the monopoly after William Byrd's patent had expired, granting him the right to control almost all music printing in England, and his printing monopoly was set to last another seventeen years. Without Morley at the helm of the music printing enterprise in England it was unclear who would take over and make decisions about what kinds of music would be printed. East – the assign of Morley since 1600 – continued to print music, with most of his time and energy taken up by the new print run of *The Whole Booke of Psalmes* (1604). Although the gap wasn't officially acknowledged until 1604, Jeremy Smith explains that publishers like East were able to continue publishing even though they did so more cautiously than in 1596, relying on publishers

[15] For more on this topic see John Griffiths, "Juan Bermudo, Self-Instruction, and the Amateur Instrumentalist," *Music Education in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance,* ed. Murray, Forscher-Weiss, and Cyrus (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010).
[16] Kate van Orden, *Materialities,* 163-63.

like Simon Waterson to take on the risk of violating a (technically) still-standing monopoly. Still, it was under this cautious freedom that *SM* was published.[17]

These "cautiously" printed volumes included several safe bets, including East's prints of *The Whole Booke of Psalmes* (which, as sacred music, fell outside the legal technicalities of the music-printing monopoly entirely), Michael East's *Madrigales,* and Thomas Bateson's *English Madrigales,* all in 1604. It is unclear whether East's sole 1602 music publication, the second edition of Morley's *Canzonets a 3*, was printed before or after Morley's death.[18] Presumably it was started some time before. *SM* was East's first publication of new material after Morley's death, following his reprint of Morley's own *Canzonets* in three parts (1602). An entry in the Stationers' Register for Robinson's *Medulla* (an intabulation of Byrd's and Ferrabosco's canonic tour de force, "40tie severall waies," now lost), suggest *SM* was not Robinson's first or only contribution to the publishing ventures of the time. He also was in good standing with the court of the incoming King James I, much of his notoriety, as far as we know, was based on his service to the court abroad, not in London itself.[19] On the one hand, this printing venture may have been an attempt by Robinson to improve his audience in London. On the other, East may have chosen to take on this project because it offered something that previous books had not in terms of its pedagogy and the collection of settings of popular tunes it offered. Additionally, the support of Simon Waterson, who took on some of the risk of printing this unusual book, may also have allowed for greater creativity and experimentation in the form and structure of the volume itself.

The tension between these different supposed goals for Robinson and East raises questions about who would have been the intended audience for *SM.* The frequency by which self-instruction music manuals were issued suggests that they were a safe economic venture. The people reading these books, however, left few traces behind. Anecdotal accounts are rare, wills and inventories frequently only list music prints under generic titles like "music book" or "lutynge book," and marginalia written by music students, apart from a few exceptions mostly in Morley's *PEIPM*, are minimal in these sources.[20]

Some conjecture about Robinson's audience can be made based on the decorum Robinson expresses throughout *SM,* which changes in register throughout the book. In the introduction, he writes:

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[17] Jeremy Smith, *Thomas East and Music Publishing in Renaissance England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 115-116.

[18] Psalm books were the only music books not covered by the music printing patent held by Morley and Byrd. As a result it was possible for this instruction book to be printed regardless of what the patent holders thought about the activity. See Smith, 24.

[19] Although no copies of the *Medulla* survive Robinson makes mention of another book in the preface to *SM,* claiming that he was prompted to publish a second book in 1603 based on the good reception of the first: "your favourable acceptance of my first fruits from idlenesse hath eccited mee further to congratulate your Musicall endeavours…" Very little is known about Robinson himself outside of what he wrote about himself in the prefaces to his *Schoole of Musicke* and *New Citharen Lessons* (Barley, 1609). See also Rebecca Herissone, *Music Theory in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), and Diana Poulton and Robert Spence, "Robinson, Thomas," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press) accessed May 11, 2017, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/23600.

[20] For information on the titles of books in inventories and wills, see Sears Jayne, *Library Catalogues of the English Renaissance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1956).

> Right courteous Gentlemen, and gentle Readers, your favourable acceptance of my first fruits from idlenesse, hath eccited mee further to congratulate your Musicall endeavours. And in my conceit, I can no way better fit your good and willing mindes, then in shewing you how you may very soone, and very perfectly instruct your selves to play (upon your best beloved instrument) the *Lute*… any lesson (if it bee not too too trickified) at the first sight.[21]

Robinson's address to both Gentlemen and gentle readers, who could have been a much larger audience, suggests that he intended this book to be for a large readership.

The record books for the Cavendishes of Chatsworth also complicate the distinction between ability to afford music teachers and books, showing that they were not necessarily exclusive. In 1604 the family is recorded to have spent the large sum of 39*s* on a set of music books including: "sixe sette of englishe songe bookes viz. 4. 5. and 6. pts of Watsons. Wilkes sett. Est his madrigalls. Rosetters booke, Dowlands 3 bookes. Robinsons schoole of musicke."[22] Another gentleman, John Ramsey, is noted to have owned a copy of Robinson, though his inventory does not specify whether the book is *SM* or *New Citharen Lessons* (1609) or even *Medulla*, if it ever actually made it to print.[23] The choice to pay for music instruction books instead of in-person lessons was not necessarily driven by economic factors, even if economic factors did play a role for many. Female students, as discussed in chapter two, could avoid impropriety by using instruction books instead of being forced to accept private tutors, but this tension and avoidance may well have been a part of education for boys as well. As David C Price has observed, however, patrons like Ramsey were "related to powerful men at court but nevertheless decided to lead a life well away from what he saw as its excesses. His musical choices thus showed an appreciation for the more restrained moral and musical atmosphere of Elizabeth's Court."[24] Though the student readers of Robinson's books may have included members of the nobility, they were distanced from court – either by necessity or by choice – and needed training not from a court musician, but through their own industry. Access always appears to have been central to the importance of music instruction manuals, and could have been pitched either to members of the highest social orders that lived far from court, or those living in the city but without access to teachers, who would need the book in order to teach themselves. Robinson had the challenge of pitching his book high enough that it would not insult his elite readers, but also not so high as to discourage readers from lower social ranks.[25]

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[21] Yes–he does write "too" twice at the end of that passage. Robinson, 3r.

[22] See Craig Monson, "Elizabethan London," *The Renaissance, from the 1470s to the end of the 16th Century,* Music & Man series, ed. Iain Fenlon (Basingstoke, UK: MacMillan, 1989), 336; and David C. Price *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 116. Price also remarks that manuscript preferences for works by Holborne, Cutting, Dowland, and Robinson suggest that these manuscripts were influenced by a network of private patrons in addition to the influence of the court. See Price, 204.

[23] Price, 187.

[24] Price, 188.

[25] Monson also notes how earlier in the century the town waits of London were only allowed one apprentice, and were forbidden from teaching privately, in order to curb what was at the time seen to be too many professional musicians entering the marketplace. I wonder if this still created a bottleneck for the newly established wealthy members merchant elite to get teachers for their children or themselves. See Craig Monson, "Elizabethan London," 328.

The first section of *SM* (eight pages) illustrates the variety of registers through which Robinson introduces his material. He uses a dialogue between a knight and the teacher he has hired for his children, named Timotheus, to set the scene for the lute instruction. As Roger Harmon has remarked, these passages summon connections to Antiquity: Timotheus asserts that music can shape the "divine harmony of the soul," alluding to both Classical and early modern conceptions of harmony and piety, and the name Timotheus itself may refer to the same Timotheus of Miletus, who famously (nearly) compelled Alexander the Great to war with the power of his lyre.[26] This passage becomes an impromptu lesson for the knight himself after he confesses having forgotten the lute lessons he learned as a child. Timotheus avoids agreeing that the knight cannot play the lute, opting instead to agree with the knight insofar as forgetfulness applies to all students of music:

> Sir, it is verie true, that manie, both men and women, that in their youth could have played (for that kinde of play) passing well, in their age, or when they once have beene married, have forgotten all, as if they had never knowne what a Lute had ment.[27]

The knight agrees, persuaded that Timotheus has "hit the marke," and grants him permission to teach the children, on the condition that Timotheus allow him to observe the instruction and ask questions, and furthermore that the instruction be recorded in written prose so that it may be revisited later, to which Timotheus responds: "You say well it shall be so, and at your pleasure aske what questions you please, and I will shew you the reason for it to the full, and I hope such as shall satisfie you fullie, wherefore in the name of God I thus begin." In this moment the knight also potentially steps in to monitor the lesson as a concerned parent, both to ensure that his children are benefitting from their studies, but also to chaperone the encounter with an as-yet untested teacher, as discussed earlier in Chapter Two. At this point the "Generall Rules" begin, and Timotheus's rhetorical register drops. In the instructional passages Timotheus's speaking becomes more direct, telling readers how to pick up and hold their lutes, and directing – rather than politely inviting – them to sounding their first notes:

> First sitting upright with your bodie, leane the edge of the Lute against the table, and your bodie against the Lute, not too hard for hurting your Lute, neither to softlie for letting of it fall, for the table, your bodie, and your right arme, must so poyes the Lute, that you may have your left hand at libertie to carie to, and fro, at your pleasure...[28]

In this section the polite phrases of "if it pleases you," used to show distinctions of social rank are absent. Rather than bowing to the authority of a socially superior knight, Timotheus now addresses the children (and through them the readers learning from the book), using the simpler rhetoric to emphasize the distinction between patriarch, teacher, and pupil. The knight is still in the scene, asking questions occasionally, but his presence is felt much less for the remaining

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[26] Roger Harmon, "Timotheus' Speeches in Thomas Robinson's *The Schoole of Musicke* (1603)," *Lute Society Journal* 41 (2001), 40. For Fronimo's comments on Timotheus, see Vincenzo Galilei, *Fronimo*, trans. Carol McClintock, Musicological Studies and Documents 39 (Hänssler-Verlag: American Institute of Musicology, 1985), 88.
[27] Robinson, Bir.
[28] Ibid.

pages of the "Rules." As the instructions progress, the knight's role in the dialogue diminishes, and eventually Timotheus has taken over almost entirely. Once in a while the knight asks a further question, and Timotheus responds with the appropriate decorum of deferential language. But in general the tone of the conversation shifts to a much more direct and commanding one on the part of Timotheus. In this sense the relationships between the knight and Timotheus, as well as the implied relationship between Timotheus and the knight's children, still resemble those remarked upon by Christopher Marsh about private tutors and students in the Renaissance:

> All in all, a music lesson was a complicated encounter: social superiors placed visiting inferiors in a position of artistic authority over them, then reasserted their own social superiority by preserving their technical inferiority. The situation was further complicated by the fact that, on many occasions, the socially superior pupil was a girl or young woman, and thus – according to two further hierarchies – inferior to her teacher. Music tutors had to choose their words carefully when addressing their charges, striking an appropriate balance between authority and deference.[29]

When Timotheus makes small talk with the knight, he embellishes his speech to a greater extent than when he is teaching. In a small way, the music lesson would have given this fictional teacher a level of authority he otherwise would not have had. This imitation of the decorum of a private lesson not only reflects a standard power dynamic in the lesson room, but also draws its readers in. He is no longer just speaking to the knight; his language, leveled on a more even register also speaks directly to us (the readers). Timotheus, and the book containing him, become the teacher.

Through this directness Robinson can also have Timotheus deal with real, tangible concerns of lute playing. His instructions deal as much with the physical requirements of playing – posture, hand position, facilitating ease of movement, etc. – as with more theoretical concerns. The above passage describing holding the lute uses familiar household objects such as a table as additional guides to how to properly hold an instrument even without the guiding hand of a teacher present. Whatever reinforcement of posture and stability would come from the physical world around a reader – a space they would create for themselves. The steps that follow are progressive and systematic, and are not unlike what more recent "teach yourself" books encourage. Beyond holding the instrument, Robinson takes an active approach to having his readers learn the names of strings and frets by rote, requiring them not only to observe and remember but *say* the names of the strings as they play them. He then supplies brief scale exercises designed to be played even before students understand rhythm markings, allowing them to play right away. Then, rhythmic markings are explained, with more exercises to practice these skills as well.

Once Robinson's readers have mastered the rudiments of tablature they can move on to the second section, (35 pages) a collection of pieces, or "Lessons."[30] Though these lessons do

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[29] Christopher Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 199.

[30] It is worth noting here that the word "lesson" as it was defined in Randle Cotgrave's *A Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues* did not necessarily mean lessons like the kind one might take today, nor did it refer to etudes that exercised particular technical skills either; just pieces to play, in addition to generic documents or readings. Cotgrave's definition of "leçon" reads "A lesson; Lecture, Document,

not focus on one technique specifically, they still have pedagogical value. Mixed among sundry "Toys" and "Gigues" are several settings of some of the most popular songs of the time, including "Robin is to the greenwood gone," "The Spanish Pavin," and "My Lord Willoughbie's Welcome Home," which have concordances in many other manuscripts and printed volumes, including many whose compilation dates fall at least in part before 1603.[31] The settings are relatively simple, and Robinson allows the melody to be instantly recognizable. Presumably, at least some of these pieces would be familiar enough that readers could have an idea of whether or not they were being played correctly, even without the reassurance of a teacher. In addition to familiar tunes, several of the pieces also seem to be pedagogic in nature. "Twenty Waies upon the Bels" and "Ut Re Mi Fa Sol La 9 Sundry Waies" both offer variations of a simple melodic idea with a variety of rhythmic patterns and ornaments.

Another means of reinforcing students' learning "without a teacher" would have been through the use of duets. Robinson thus extends his use of dialogue into the musical pieces as well. Many are in the form of treble and ground, the use of which Robinson articulates by writing "To the better instruction of all scholars for the Lute, I will (God willing) set downe some, *Trebles*, which shall containe all manner and kinde of points for the fingering, in their due place of my booke, and the grounds also to be playd with them ,when they please, (and can have the ground plaid to them)."[32] William Casey made this connection as well in his survey of lute instruction manuals, which foregrounds Robinson's book as an exceptional example for a case study. He cites Thomas Morley's statement about duets in *PEIPM* to prove his point:

> Here be some following of two parts which I have made of purpose, that when you have any friend to sing with you, you may practice together, which will sooner make you perfect than if you should study never so much by yourself.[33]

Duets encourage study by several musicians at once. While this collaboration could be between tutor and pupil, it also existed between students of varying degrees of musical skill, using the duets as a means of strengthening each others' abilities. This practice would be in keeping with a larger picture of dialogues, in which the dialogue becomes a "script" for a lesson, telling the students not only what their questions might be, but also what the teacher would respond, a concept called "inverse catechism." *PEIPM* is the most iconic English example of such a book from this period, not only detailing exchanges between tutor and pupil but also including moments where the pupil makes mistakes, and needs help to understand the material. Robinson's dialogue, while not as extensive as Morley's, still uses the knight as a means of questioning Timotheus, as any student might. When Timotheus begins by teaching left-hand fingerings for the instrument without explaining rhythms the knight questions this order, allowing Timotheus to respond "I have set it with all one time over head, as you see, untill the lesson be perfectly had, & both the name & nature of that time well committed to memory, and this lesson had, than will

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Instruction, Precept." See Randle Cotgrave, "Leçon," *Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues* (London: Adam Islip, 1611).

[31] For these concordances, see the list compiled by David Lumsden in the modern edition of *The Schoole of Musicke.* (Paris, 1971), xxxiv-xxxix.

[32] Robinson, introduction to *The Schoole of Musicke.* Also see William Casey, *Printed English Lute Instruction Books,* 106-107.

[33] William Casey, *Printed English Lute Instruction Books, 1566-1610, vol. 1*. Ph.D. Thesis University of Michigan, 1960, 107. Also see Morley, *PEIPM,* 55.

I instruct [your children] in all the varieties of tymes."[34] If two students were to read together, this participation in explaining the motivations behind the "Generall Rules" would help to cement the rules in the readers' memories, as well as making it much more entertaining to practice. Other dialogue books also encourage this kind of participation.[35] Many dialogue books are believed to have worked on this principle; Joan-Luis Vives notably encourages this kind of reading in his *Dialogues*, intended for schoolboys to read aloud as they learned to speak Latin.[36] In these scenarios one student had to take the role of teacher, and in doing so they not only modeled proper instruction by a teacher but also echoed the ways of learning that would be absent without a teacher.

The differences between *SM* and other didactic tablature books of the previous decades highlight this moment in music printing as significant for music students in Britain. Instead of serving as another means of importing music from Italy and Spain – a popular practice at the time – Robinson's book was dedicated almost entirely to music by local composers, in the locally preferred notation (imported French letter tablature rather than the numerical tablature systems in favor in Italy and Spain). With respect both to its content, and to the techniques it teaches, this was a book designed with the music of Britain in mind. It was neither a treatise on counterpoint nor a guide to composition. Instead it introduced popular local music and ended with instructions not for improvising vocal counterpoint but for singing and accompanying Psalms "by book."

Robinson's *The Schoole of Musicke* enriches the existing view of the confluence of vocal and instrumental music, but on unique terms that both foreground the lute as a pedagogical tool and encourage locally written music in place of imported alternatives. Books like *SM* do not exist in a vacuum of printed media; rather they interact with the oral histories of which they form a periphery. The four psalms in "Rules to instruct you to sing" do not advertise how they are to be used; although a treble, bass, and viol/lute part exist for each of the psalms intabulated, no text was printed, and more often than not the psalm was identified only as "a psalme" rather than by its textual incipit. Putting the pieces together would have required previous knowledge of psalm singing – an activity which was common in early modern England. What it didn't require was a working knowledge of how to play the lute, a common refrain that seems to be told when lute instruction manuals are discussed, that tablature does not provide the necessary instruction to play an instrument, that a teacher is essential, and that the very concept of tablature eschews good musical practice since it denies a teacher access to students, or eliminates the need to consult one. While these dimensions of autodidactic musical learning are certainly true today, and were almost certainly true back then, they are not as mutually exclusive as they might seem. Musical knowledge – especially of popular song tunes and psalms – would have been critical for understanding *SM*, even if understanding how to play the lute was not. Instead of an "either/or" situation, readers would find themselves applying knowledge they didn't know they had to

[34] Robinson, Bijr.

[35] Several scholars have made note of this use of dialogue-as-play, and its pedagogical aims: I am grateful to Davitt Moroney for discussing the ways dialogue and duet are interlinked in Morley's text with me in a personal conversation; Kristine Forney has remarked on the use of dialogues about music in Gabriel Meurier's *La Guirlande des Jeunes Filles* (Antwerp: Aertssens, 1618) to educate young women to speak about music in both Dutch and French. See: [DM CITE], and Kristine Forney, "'Nymphes gayes an abry du Laurier': Music Instruction for the Bourgeois Woman," *Musica Disciplina* 49 (1995), 167.

[36] See Foster Watson's introduction to *Tudor Schoolboy Life: The Dialogues of Juan Luis Vives,* trans. Foster Watson (London: J. M. Dent & Company, 1908), xxi-xxii.

concepts they had not yet learned. This process allowed writers like Robinson to do what they always had done – capitalize on what students already knew, to teach other concepts.

In effect, Robinson's readers did not learn how to "sing;" they most likely already knew how to do that by the time they purchased the book, from years of devotional singing. In this case especially, it would be no coincidence that Robinson chose psalms to teach these concepts. Instead of learning from scratch, Robinson's readers were able to fall back upon what they already knew in order to figure out how the knowledge they already had fit into a larger scheme of music making during the seventeenth century. This scheme incorporated singing, lute playing, intabulation, collaborative and improvisatory practices into a larger practice of amateurs making music in early modern England. The intersections of such texts and musical practices confirm that few students of music possessed no prior musical knowledge, and that the process of learning, reading, and making music was almost always a process of re-reading, or reading through new notation, rather than reading for the first time. Instruction manuals complicate the narrative of musical learning from the sixteenth century forward, making musical knowledge more easily attainable while simultaneously beginning to trace the lines between what would later be considered expert and more pedestrian kinds of knowledge. While more specialized kinds of musical learning had always been reserved for those with the means to attain it, the rise in musical literacy throughout the sixteenth century, and the perception of this rise, served as a catalyst for crystallizing what was the purview of amateurs, and what was left to the experts.

Despite its importance to the history of English lute music, *SM* has not fit comfortably into the narratives woven thus far about amateur music instruction in the renaissance and early modern periods.[37] It receives only passing mention in most histories of didactic music, including *Music Education in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (2010). Perhaps this is because Robinson's book doesn't function the same way as others of its generation. It certainly does not contain the erudite, complex instructions of Boethius, or their distillation into rules for making "practicall musicke" by Morley in *PEIPM*. It treats some musical concepts only in passing, giving the topic of tuning nearly as cursory a discussion as William Barley in his much-maligned *A new Booke of Tabliture* (London: 1596).[38] What makes it stand apart from other contemporary books is the creativity and variety of forms with which Robinson presented his material, forms that illustrate how musical pedagogy was changing at the turn of the seventeenth century and open up avenues to see otherwise invisible intersections between oral and literate musical practices of the time.

[37] *SM* receives only passing mention in most histories of didactic music, including *Music Education in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (2010), in which discussion centers around didactic books dedicated more exclusively to teaching the practice of singing. See Murray, Weiss, and Cyrus, eds. *Music Education in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2010).
[38] This is presumably the book John Dowland scoffs at in the preface to his *First Book of Ayres* when he writes "there have bin divers Lute lessons of mine lately printed without my knowledge, falce and unperfect." See John Dowland, *The First Booke of Songes or Ayres,* A1r.

A Bibliographic Approach to *The Schoole of Musicke*

As an object of study, *SM* both fulfills and confounds expectations of early modern bookishness.[39] On the one hand, it is an example of the fine book design of Thomas East that demonstrates the wealth of techniques and technologies available for printing music in the early seventeenth century. On the other, some aspects of the book's construction render its use opaque, providing seemingly incomplete information about how its readers might have used it. The third section in particular – titled "Rules to instruct you to sing" – contains few written rules at all and instead relies on tablature to teach its main concepts. A fresh consideration of this section – as reconstructed from the three known surviving copies of *SM* – allows a more nuanced interpretation of its contents, and East's method behind the supposed untidiness of "Rules to instruct you to sing." By considering that the oddities of this final section may have been the result of deliberate choices by Robinson and East, it is possible to interpret the book in such a way that these pages emerge as a freestanding companion to the first two sections, meant to be used independently of the earlier, more traditionally formatted sections of the book. Rather than a mismanaged print run, in which the titles and ordering of the intabulated psalms are lost, this final section situates *SM* within the elusively nebulous space of "bookish" culture, in which books – as objects, or collections of texts – are not fixed in their forms. Instead they can be shaped into the kinds of documents their readers need: table books, treble and ground, and even individual part books or sheets as necessary. Different elements of *SM* such as title pages and initials, the notes made on its pages, and the questionable history of the bindings of two surviving copies all suggest a unique history of this book but also one that challenges notions of how music books circulated and were used in early modern England.

The Three Surviving Copies and their Bindings:

Three copies of *SM* are known to survive. One is held by the Cambridge University Library, one by the British Library, and the third by the Royal College of Music, London.[40] In terms of their bibliographic descriptions they are similar, but with a few important differences. The Cambridge copy is clean and apparently intact based on its bibliographic description and facsimile, although it has been rebound. The British Library copy also is also clean for the most part, with only a very small amount of marginalia in its final pages. The relevance of these marginalia will become more clear when compared with the RCM copy, which is in some ways

[39] I draw here upon Kate van Orden's use of "bookishness" – drawing attention to book-like objects and collections of pages that might move between being books and not being books. Additionally, I wish to draw attention here to the ways that historical audiences might have conceived of the nature of books differently, referring of course to much of the literature surrounding "the history of the book," including work by Adrian Johns and Roger Chartier. See Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998) and Roger Chartier, *The Order of Books* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1992).

[40] To my knowledge, two of the copies are also available in facsimile. The British Library copy is preserved the microfilm facsimiles of the British Library holdings. The Cambridge University Library copy was used to make the facsimile available in print. See Robinson, Thomas. *The schoole of musicke (1603),* ed. David Lumsden (Paris: CNRS, 1971). This facsimile appears to also be the source for several other digital facsimiles online. The RCM copy, to my knowledge, has no facsimile.

the best preserved copy, and in others, the least well preserved copy. It, too, has marginalia, but what is most important about this copy is its binding, which seems to preserve its original foliation of the book but not the full pagination. The book is missing its final three leaves. [Fig. 5] The missing pages, in this case, also offer evidence for how Robinson's book was intended to be used. It is these missing pages, combined with what little marginalia were written into the British Library copy, that provides an alternative reading to the use of the book against more modern misconceptions of what "books" were in early modern England.

British Library Copy:

The British Library copy of *SM* is complete and otherwise well-preserved, although its bindings have been modernized to the standard nineteenth-century British Museum style. Sadly, part of this rebinding process has separated the folios at their spine. The pages are tidy and unmarked enough that, although some bottom corners appear darker than the rest of the page, as though they had been thumbed through repeatedly, the pages are otherwise completely intact. The only other signs of use come from "Rules to instruct you to sing" – notation in the music come on the first two psalms of the collection – the treble parts of "O Lord on whom I doe depend" and "O Lord that art my righteousenesse."

Royal College of Music, London, Copy:

The copy of *SM* at Royal College of Music, London, is a puzzle. The bulk of what might ostensibly be considered its content – that is, the pieces it contains, bears no comments: no marginalia, no missing pages, no traces of use beyond the re-trimming of the pages when they were rebound. However, this copy contains more annotations than the other two surviving copies of the book, and the fact that signs of use occur both at its beginning and end suggests a student may have been working through it systematically. Most tellingly, the final six pages of the book are missing.[41] Because the gatherings of this book are two-folio sheets it is interesting that the first page of "Rules to instruct you to sing" remains bound as part of the book (pasted into the bindings, as best as I can tell) since it would presumably have been removed from the bindings along with the final three leaves. Although it is possible the final three leaves could have been omitted when the book was originally bound (or later when it was subsequently rebound) the foliation suggests the missing three leaves were not an accidental loss, as efforts to preserve half of a bifolium were made.

[41] Interestingly, there seems to be a discrepancy between older versions of the catalogue of RCM library holdings and the new. In the 1909 edition of the *Catalogue of Printed Music in the Library of the Royal College of Music, London,* the bibliographic note for Robinson's book reads "Wanting last leaf" as opposed to leaves. Presumably the curators of the RCM library have protected this book over the years so it seems unlikely that pages would have gone astray… See Wm. Barclay Squire, *Catalogue of Printed Music in the Library of the Royal College of Music, London* (London: Novello, 1909), 290.

Figure 5: Binding of the RCM copy of *The Schoole of Musicke*

Annotations

The annotations in the BL copy amount to a few letters scratched at the beginning of first two psalms of "Rules to instruct you to sing," marking up the treble parts of "O Lord on whom I doe depend" and "O Lord that art my righteousenesse." Since only the treble parts have markings, one may presume that either the singer working on the bass parts was absent, or they knew more about solmization than the treble singer and didn't need to mark anything in the music. The treble singer – presumably either a woman or a child – was the autodidactic learner trying to make sense of Robinson's porous instructions. In each instance they have tried to mark which space of the staff carries notes with which solmization syllable but their errors charmingly illustrate the problems of a student trained only on tablature who approaches the mensural staff notation as an innocent novice, misreading the lines and spaces of the five-line staff as if they worked the same way as six-line tablature. In the first psalme, they labeled each space in the music with solmization abbreviations, *s-l-f-s-l* from bottom to top to indicate *sol, la, fa, sol, la.* [Fig. 6] The difficulty here, of course, is that mensural notation, unlike tablature, uses both lines and spaces, whereas tablature uses only spaces. The student wrote the fret letter or number *above* the line representing which string is to be plucked. The scribe attempts to remedy this error, writing a repeating, cyclical *f-s-l-f-s-l* ascending through both lines and spaces. [Fig. 7]

Ironically, the syllables mostly mark notes that the melody never touches, and the ones that do overlap are where the scribe still makes errors, marking the first-space "F" on the staff as *Sol*, when really it should be *Fa* if one follows Robinson's own markings immediately beneath the notes. Otherwise, however difficult it may be to read the tiny labels squeezed into the staff, the solmization follows the pattern most commonly seen in English solmization, repeating *f-s-l* as a way to make it through any possible mutation. On the final page of the book, sig. Oijv, another hand has notated "See Pricksong Sign. N" beneath "O Lord that art my righteousnesse," directing the reader back to the instruction page of the "Rules." These annotations show the confusion that can surface through a misunderstanding of Robinson's instructions on the first page of "Rules." His solmization rules encompass the whole *Gam-ut*. Beginning with *G-sol-re-ut* and working up through *re, mi, fa, sol,* and *la*, Robinson's take on hexachords appears to mimic that of Continental sources, modulating from *la* to *fa* but also observing that the lowest notes of the hexachord still use *ut, re,* and *mi.*

Conversely, in the exercises that follow, Robinson reverts to the English method of solmization that Jessie Ann Owens has traced through numerous other English singing instruction books. Here, the syllables *mi* and *fa* represent any half-step in the hexachord, and the syllable combinations *fa-sol* and *sol-la* stand in for any other whole step, omitting *ut,* and *re* almost entirely. Even *mi* is less common in this system, as once a melody has mutated, *la-fa* becomes the most common way the half-step is represented. As a result, the English version of solmization contains only four syllables instead of six.[42] Indeed, the annotations found in the BL copy include only these four solmization syllables, further reinforcing the idea that in practice the English method of solmization did away with *ut* and *re.* Perhaps most telling is that the annotations were there at all; but they prove that some readers did use – or at least attempted to use – this final section of the book, however confusing it may appear to modern eyes. This system of solmization isn't new; although this rule – *una nota super la semper est canendum fa* – did not appear in print until the seventeenth century, the ways in which singers mutated between hexachords followed this pattern.[43] However, its presence in this section reinforces the overlap between intabulated instructions and the oral history of the practices they contained.

[42] In particular, I'm referencing Owens' discussion of William Bathe's "Exceptions" to his naming rules for the gamut, where *ut* and *re* become *sol* and *la* in practice. See Jessie Ann Owens, "Concepts of Pitch in English Music Theory," 196-97.

[43] The rule quoted here, according to Margaret Bent, does not take hold until the end of the fifteenth century, and first appears in print Praetorius's *Syntagma Musicum III* in 1619. Bent explains how this rule oversimplified the rules laid out in the Middle Ages in treatises such as Coussemaker II, although it for the most part holds true. See Margaret Bent, *Counterpoint, Composition, and Musica Ficta* (New York and London: Routledge, 2002), 80, 91.

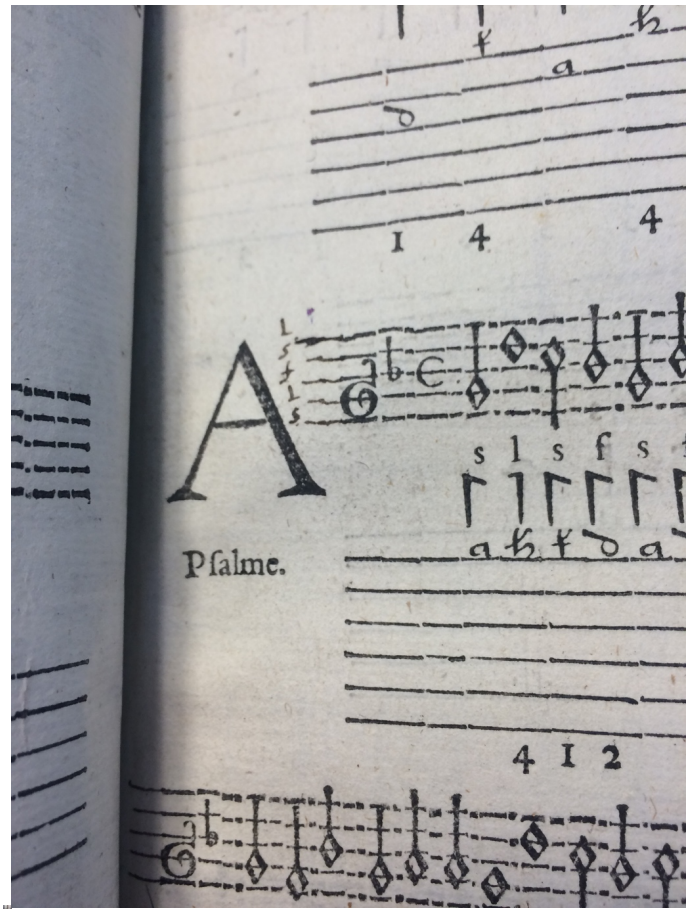

Figure 6: Annotations in the BL copy of *The Schoole of Musicke*

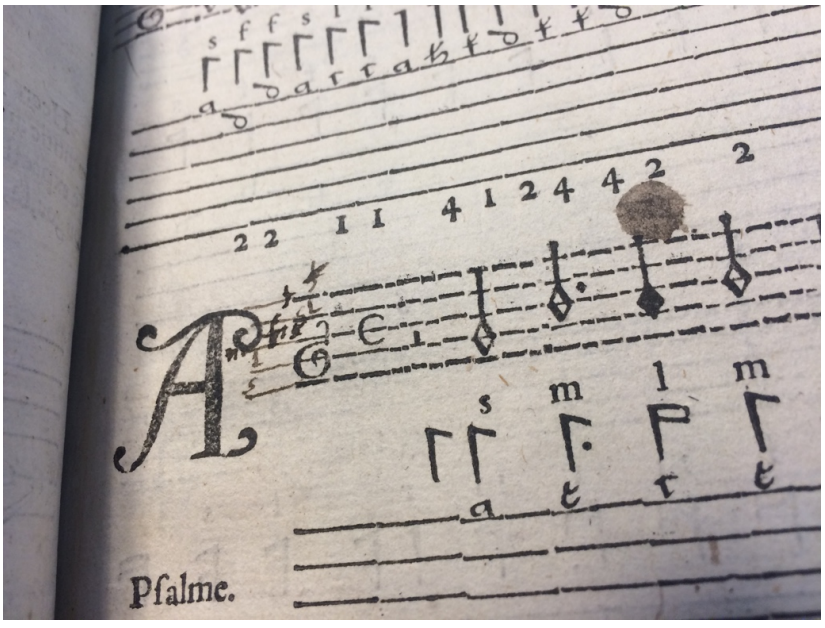

Figure 7: Annotations in the BL copy of *The Schoole of Musicke*

The RCM copy also contains traces of study in the form of annotations. In the first section a reader has underlined portions of the discussion on finger placement, such as Robinson's prescription "that where you leave no stop, leave no finger; and where you leave a stop, leave a finger, as this example following sheweth."[44] On the verso of this page, the scribe has underlined "pluck away no finger, untill you needes must."[45] It would seem that someone reading the book needed a reminder about the finger placement necessary to sound clear notes, needing to fret only where needed, and pressing the strings down for as long as possible to allow the strings to vibrate freely.

The RCM copy also contains further annotation. This writing, however, raises more questions than it answers. On Bii, smudged writing – the only handwriting that actually appears in line with the printed text – is visible, but I have not been able to make it out. [Fig. 8] On the following page, a phrase – partially trimmed but still mostly intelligible – in the margins reads "A patterne for woemen/ A patterne for woemen/ that that man is [trimmed]/ yt hath not bent/ wicked reed his ear/ Into A" The passage is fragmentary, and appears to be in two different hands. Furthermore, the angle of the text – written at nearly a right angle to the main text – suggests it was unintended to serve as commentary on the content of the page. [Fig. 9] This is unlike the annotation on the folio before, which despite being smudged to the point of unreadability sits in line with the content text and appears to comment upon it. Perhaps something can still be gleaned from the content of this passage, however. Since the phrase seems to be offering up some kind of advice or exercise for female readers, one might extrapolate that at least one of the readers present while this book was open was female. This is a far cry, however, from conclusive evidence that the owner or even a major beneficiary of the knowledge contained in this volume was a woman.

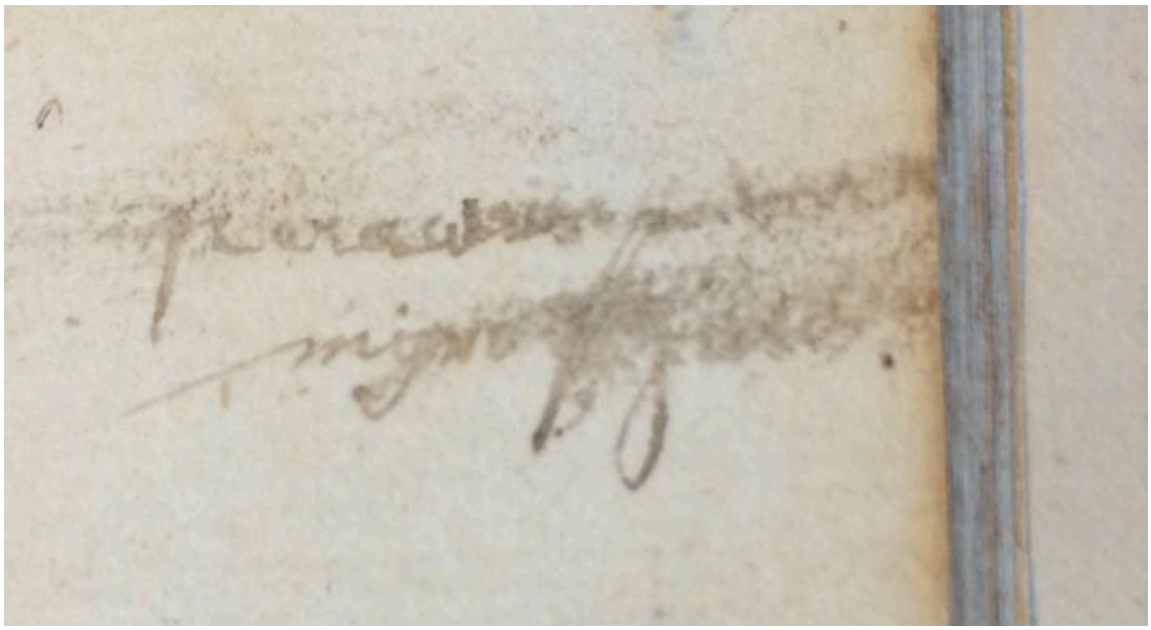

Figure 8: Marginalia in the RCM copy of *The Schoole of Musicke,* fBijr

[44] Robinson (RCM copy), Bijv.
[45] Robinson, fCr

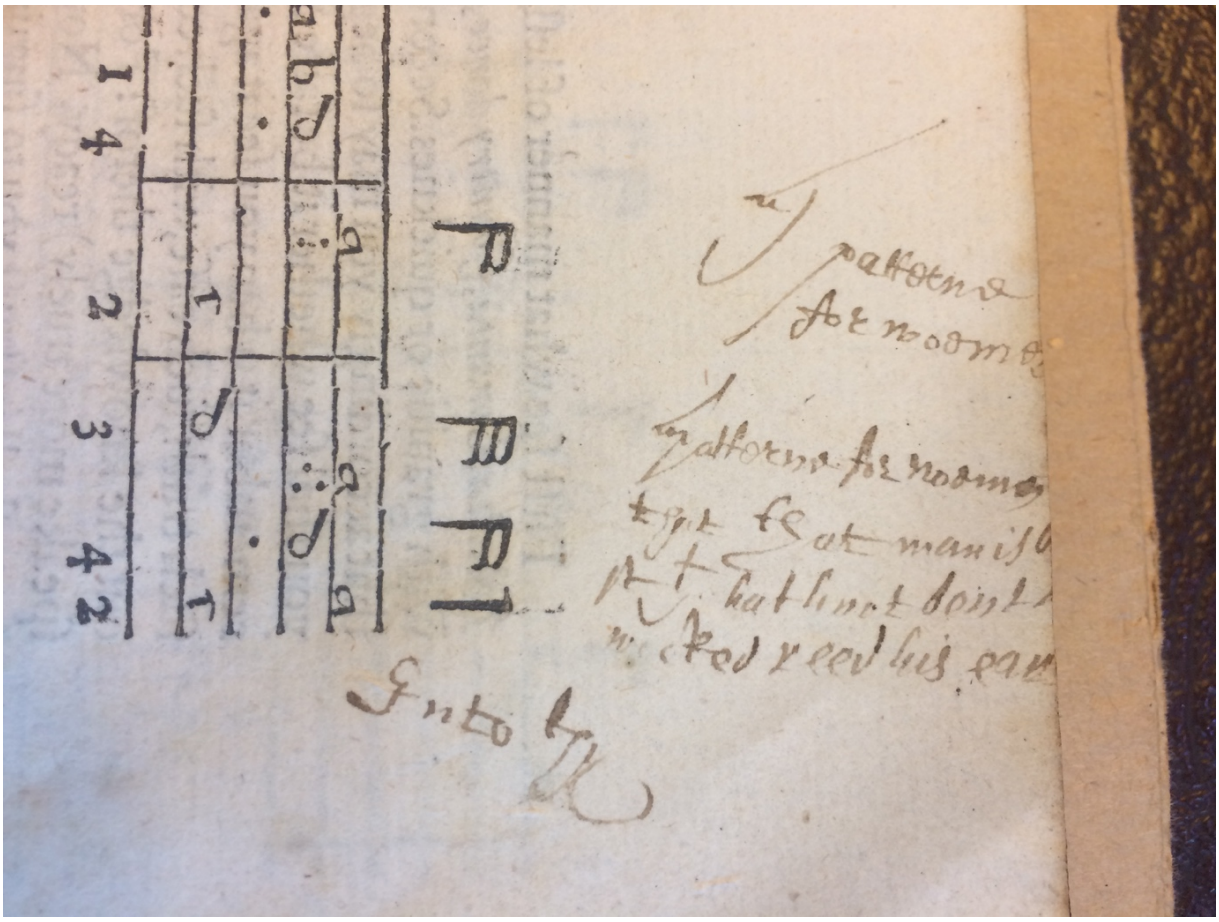

Figure 9: Marginalia in the RCM copy of *The Schoole of Musicke,* fCr

These seemingly unconnected phrases, upon closer inspection, yield several important connections. The "Patterne for woemen" mentioned may be a reference to the book written by John Mayer (published in 1619), which includes this phrase in its title: *A Patterne for Woemen: Setting forth the most Christian life. & Most comfortable death of Mrs. Lucy late wife to the worshipfull Roger Thornton Esquire, of Little Wratting in Suffolk.* The first part of this monument references several other texts that will – as we shall see – come to bear on a closer reading of Robinson's book. The book, itself billed as a "paper monument" to the late Mistress Lucy, wife of Mayer's patron Roger Thornton, serves as a eulogy to the deceased, detailing Mistress Lucy's virtues.[46] First, when discussing her wisdom, Mayer invokes King David's words: "I am become wiser then the ancient, because I keepe thy commandements."[47] He continues to say that because of her study and careful reading of scripture, she had become "like a teacher"[48]. King David is invoked yet again when Mayer discusses Mistress Lucy's resistance

[46]John Mayer, *A Patterne for Women* (1619), reverse of title page.
[47] Mayer, 11.
[48] Mayer, 12.

to sin, quoting the words "A wicked person shall not stand in my sight."[49] These words resonate with the text of Psalm I (text visible in the marginalia is shown here in bold):

> ***The man is blest that hath not bent,***
> ***To wicked rede his eare****:*
> *Nor led his life as sinners do*
> *Nor sat in scorners chair.*[50]

The text also describes that Mistress Lucy was singing psalms right up until her death, incorporating music into her piety even as her strength weakened.[51]

The full context of the marginal comment remains elusive; it does not seem to comment directly on the directions Robinson lays out on that page, which mostly have to do with alternating right hand fingerings when plucking across multiple strings. In terms of the larger structures and references found in *SM,* the annotations may still connect Robinson and his book to broader concerns of the time, and may hint at its readership. Although the marginal comment does not require that its readership be female, it may suggest that someone using this book also read books that were geared toward a female readership. Not only this, but Mayer's book appears also to have been didactic in nature, although not in the same way Robinson's was. However, *A Patterne for Women* does propose ways for female readers to be better servants of God by holding up a woman thought to have been a particularly good model. The inclusion of the text of Psalm I further shores up these connections. Not only does it appear in Mayer's text, but it also appears later in *SM*, as we shall see.

The History of the Title Page Border of *The Schoole of Musicke:*

East's printing techniques run the gamut of available options for printing music in England at the turn of the seventeenth century, including examples of the innovative new table-book layout Peter Short introduced for Morley's *PEIPM* (1597). East took care when typesetting the pages, and the title page of *SM* enjoys visual continuity with other books of lute music printed by the East firm during this time, including John Dowland's *Second Booke of Songs or Ayres* (1600), Francis Pilkington's *The First Booke of Songs or Ayres* (1605), John Danyel's *Songs for the lute viol and voice* (1606), and virtually every book of lute music printed by Thomas Snodham – godson to East, who inherited his printing equipment – thereafter. The design of the woodcut found on the title page of *SM* made its way to England in 1570 when it was copied by Thomas Marsh from one used by the Plantin press for Thomas Veiga's *Commentarii In Claudii Galeni* (1566). [Fig. 10]

When Marsh re-designed the engraving for his London printing firm he replaced the trumpet players at the bottom panels of the frame with depictions of King David with his harp and Samson and the lion.[52] [Fig. 11] The book for which this English version of the wood block

[49] Mayer, 13-14.
[50] Sternhold and Hopkins (1562), 1-2.
[51] Mayer mentions Mistress Lucy singing psalmes twice, first in health and later as her health was waning. See Mayer, 26 and 45.
[52] McKerrow and Ferguson identify the figure as Samson, but perhaps it is Hercules. For more information about alterations to the title page prior to its use in Robinson, see McKerrow, R. B. and

was copied was another academic, theological book, the *Westmonasteriensis* of Matthew Paris. Sometime later, the East firm took over Thomas Marsh's printing materials, including this title page border. There is some question about how this transition occurred; printers Thomas Orwyn, Thomas Purfoot and George Robinson were all in Marsh's orbit when he died and Orwyn took over many of the books printed by Marsh, although he apprenticed with Purfoot rather than Marsh. Thomas Marsh's son, Edward, was also lightly involved in the business during the 1590s after his father's death, but in the late 1580s Henry Marsh is named on title pages as a printer. At any rate Islip had the woodcut by 1598 for his edition of Chaucer's *Works*, and East had it in time to print Dowland's *The Second Booke of Songs or Ayres* in 1600.[53] The prints known to have used this compartment are:

1570 – Paris (M.) *Westmonasteriensis* (Thomas Marsh)
1570 – Marlorat (A.), *A catholike and ecclesiasticall exposition of S. Mathewe*. (Thomas Marsh)
1572 – Huloet (R.). *Huloet's dictionarie* (Thomas Marsh)
1579 – Bullein (W.). *Bulleins bulwarke of defence against all sicknesse.* (Thomas Marsh)
1598 – Chaucer (G.) *The workes* (Islip for Thomas Wight)
1598 – Chaucer (G.) *The workes* (A. Islip at the charges of B. Nortin)
1600 – Dowland (J.). *The Second Booke of Songs or Ayres* (T. Este, the assigne of T. Morley)
1603 – Thomas Robinson, *The Schoole of Musicke.* (T. Este for S. Waterson)
1604 – Mexia (P.). *The historie of all the Romane emperors.* (F. Kingston for M. Lownes)
1605 – Pilkington (F). *The First Booke of Songs or Ayres of 4. Parts* (East)
1606 – Danyel (J.). *Songs for the lute viol and voice*. *Composed 1606* (T. East for T. Adams)
1609 – Ferrabosco (A.) *Ayres* (T. Snodham for J. Browne)
1609 – Ferrabosco (A.). *Lessons for 1. 2. And 3. Viols.* (T. Snodham for J. Browne)
1610 – Dowland (R.). *A Musicall banquet.* (T. Snodham for T. Adams)
1610 – Dowland (R). *Varietie of lute-lessons* (T. Snodham for T. Adams)
1612 – Corkine (W.) *The Second Booke of ayres*. (T. Snodham for M. Lownes, J. Browne, and T. Snodham, assigned by W. Barley)
1613? – Campion (T). *Songs of mourning. Bewailing the untimely death of Prince Henry*. (T Snodham for J. Browne).
1617? – Campion (T.). *The third and fourth booke of ayres.* (T. Snodham)
1618 – Mason (G.) and (Earsden (J.). *The ayres that were sung and played, at Brougham castle.* (T. Snodham).

Once East obtained the compartment it appeared exclusively for prints of music books, with one exception – the time it was lent to F. Kingston to print the *historie of all the Romane emperors* in

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Ferguson, M. S. *Title-Page Borders Used in England & Scotland 1485-1640 – Illustrated Monographs* (London: Oxford University Press, 1932), plate 132.

[53] I am grateful to Davitt Moroney for the details of Marsh's printing business and the potential collaboration he had with his sons. Islip actually produced three editions of Chaucer's works, the first two of which used the woodcut in question and the final of which used a dramatically different one although the contents remain the same, suggesting that the woodcut changed hands during this cycle.

1604. While no evidence exists for East's involvement in this print, it is unlikely that the woodcut would have passed hands for just one print run. Even once the woodcut passed from East to Snodham it continued to be used exclusively for music books.

The compartment was versatile and well-suited to the printing of music, containing both musical references with the image of David with his harp and with a blank oval at the top of the page that allowed printers to insert custom-tailored commentary on the contents of the book. By the early seventeenth century the title page seems to have become one associated almost exclusively with music printed in folio format by Thomas East. John Dowland's *Second Booke of Songs or Ayres* (1600) makes good use of the oval at the top by including a canon using the text of Psalm 150: "Praise GOD upon the Lute and Violl" with its melody written out in mensural notation.[54] [Fig. 12] Robinson and East also modified this oval to read "In God reioyce, With Instrument and voice." [Fig. 13] There are several reasons why this wood block was appropriate for lute music; the first was the size; books of lute music and lute songs were likely candidates for folio format because this allowed a whole solo or lute song to fit on a single page, without requiring page turns. Additionally this format allowed for a uniform appearance for lute books from the East printing house, and in the first decade of the seventeenth century it positioned books printed by East alongside of those printed by Peter Short under Morley's patent in the preceding years, allowing books like *SM* to have the same markers of prestige as *PEIPM,* Dowland's *Firste Booke of Songes or Ayres,* and others.

[54] The text is not identical to the 1562 Sternhold and Hopkins, which reads "Praise him upon the viole and, upon the harp also" See Sternhold and Hopkins, *The Whole Booke of Psalmes* (London, 1562), 375.

Figure 10: Thomas Veiga, *Commentarii In Claudii Galeni* (1566) and detail of column base

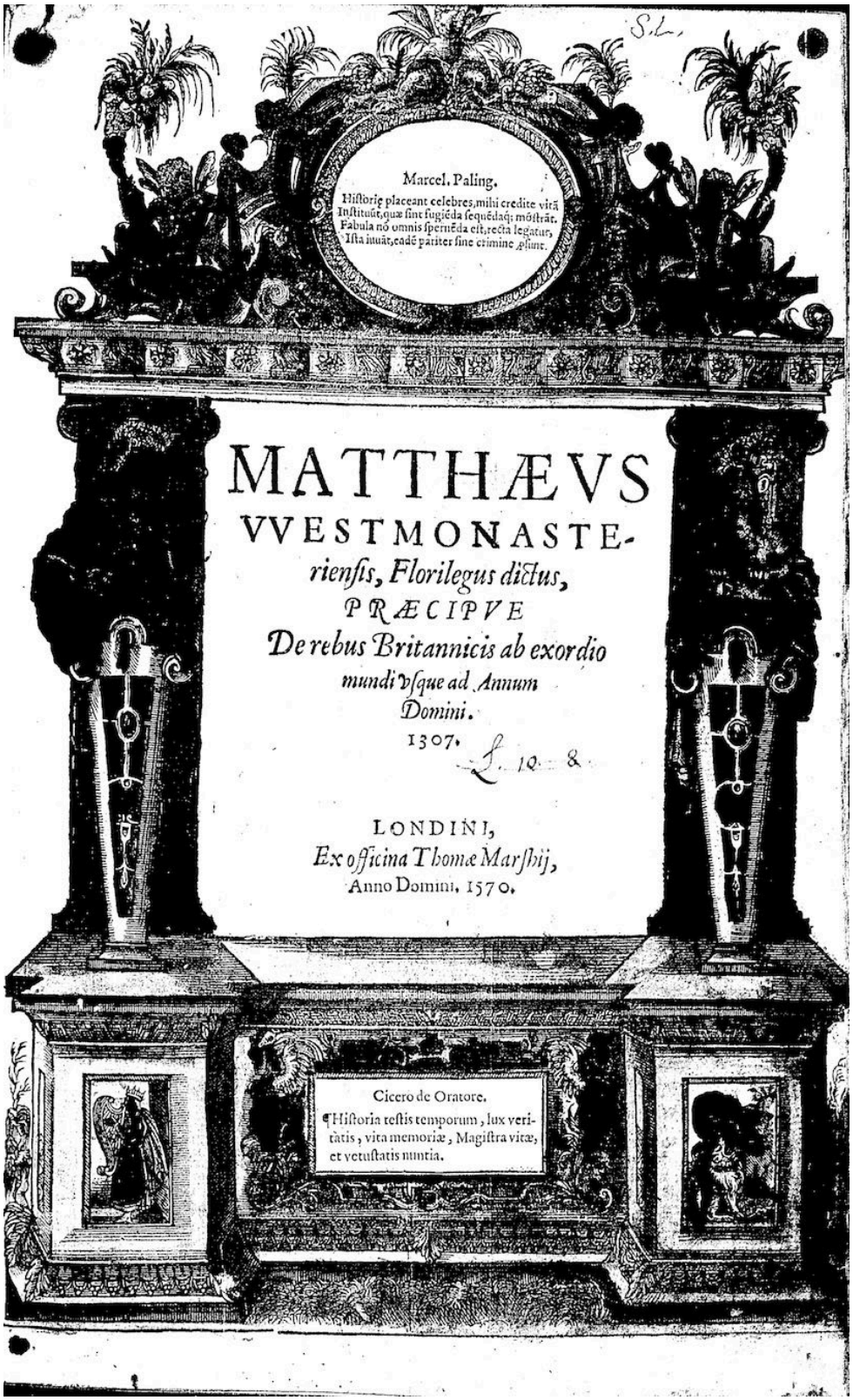


Figure 11: Reworked title page for Matthew Paris, *Westmonasteriensis, Florilegus dictus* (1570)

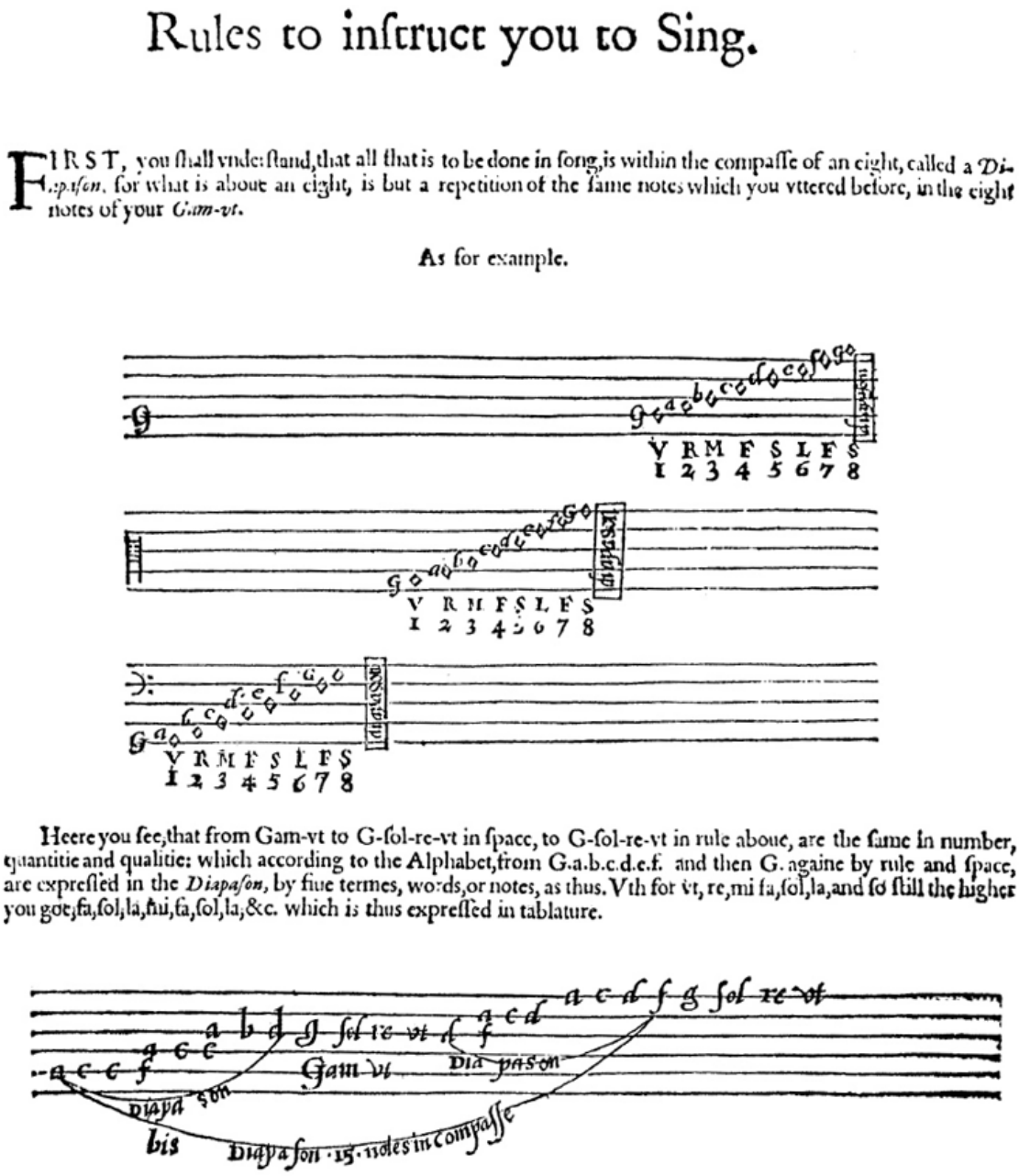
Figure 12: Canon from Dowland, *Second Booke of Songs or Ayres* (1600)

Figure 13: "In God reioyce, With Instrument and voice," from *The Schoole of Musicke* (1603)

Other Woodcuts

While the majority of the music in *SM* is typeset, the charts explaining how lute tablature aligns with mensural notation appear to have been printed from wood blocks. Unlike the rest of the text, the staff lines are continuous, letters appear atop and through staff lines, and beams linking sections of musical notation together slice through staff lines as well. [Fig. 14] The music that follows returns to being typeset, but this one page reveals the dedication that East's firm gave to the project of printing "Rules to instruct you to sing" – making blocks of their own to

print sections for which musical type and its limitations were inadequate. With movable type, one can only notate one pitch at a time, which would have precluded East's ability to print side-by-side comparisons of tablature and notation in the way that he does on the first page. Although intabulations using movable type offer a way to bypass this problem and print multiple notes at the same time, the two notation systems are not equal in terms of the labor required to print them.



Rules to inſtruct you to Sing.

FIRST, you ſhall vnderſtand, that all that is to be done in ſong, is within the compaſſe of an eight, called a *Diapaſon*, for what is aboue an eight, is but a repetition of the ſame notes which you vttered before, in the eight notes of your *Gam-vt*.

As for example.

Heere you ſee, that from Gam-vt to G-ſol-re-vt in ſpace, to G-ſol-re-vt in rule aboue, are the ſame in number, quantitie and qualitie: which according to the Alphabet, from G.a.b.c.d.e.f. and then G. againe by rule and ſpace, are expreſſed in the *Diapaſon*, by fiue termes, words, or notes, as thus. Vth for vt, re, mi fa, ſol, la, and ſo ſtill the higher you goe, fa, ſol, la, fui, fa, ſol, la, &c. which is thus expreſſed in tablature.

Figure 14: Woodcuts (staves) in "Rules to instruct you to sing"

"Rules to instruct you to sing," despite its brevity, posed a significant challenge in its execution. It is clear that due to the unexpected size of the woodblock, the end of the first page of "Rules" spills over onto the first five lines of the second page with the word Vale, forcing the bottom of that page to spill over onto the top of the third page, (one line of staff notation and one line of tablature that belong clearly with the previous page. The next page is then cramped up, breaking the boundaries of the margins, to restore the pagination plan. From then on, the printed pages present the self-contained units that Robinson no doubt originally designed. In terms of content the sections of "Rules to instruct you to sing" were designed to occupy one page each: one full page of instructions with a woodblock that unexpectedly disturbed the plan, one page of exercises to practice based on the principle of the "disiunct or abrupt" hexachords found on page 7 of Morley's *PEIPM*, two pages of treble parts for psalms (in both mensural notation and tablature), two pages of bass parts for psalms (in mensural notation and tablature), and two final pages of lute intabulations.

Initials and Page Borders

East also preserved an impressive variety of iconographic material and used many different kinds of layouts in his printing.[55] The initials of *SM* resemble those used by East in his other prints. By and large the selection of initials has more to do with books than music, featuring readers with books rather than musicians. One notable exception is the depiction King David with his harp, which can be seen in the "V" of "Vt re mi fa sol la" on folio Kv-Kii. While the use of this particular initial may be incidental, David's appearance in the border of the address to the reader enforces more continuity with his appearance on the title page of the book and the presence of psalms at the end of the book.

Spelling Discrepancies

Of all the words that could have had inconsistent spellings throughout the book, the word "music" itself seems the most surprising. Although the headings and titles of *SM* all spell the word with the "-cke" ending, the prose of the introduction leaves the "e" off the word, using instead only "-ck." Later in the same passage the spelling reverts to "musicke," and then back to "musick" once again, indicating that the typesetter was not consistent in spelling an important word that appears at the top of most pages of the book. The word "time," too, is found as both "time" and "tyme." "Bee" also loses an "e" between the dedication and the introduction and regains it again before the introduction ends. The spellings alternate even within the same page, with one paragraph containing one kind of spelling and the next containing the other, suggesting that whatever determined the spelling – perhaps switching typesetters as they tired – occurred within pages of text. Even within the same paragraph, "he" appears in one sentence and "hee" in the next. The same is true of "be" and "bee."[56] These differences are all normal within the standard variant spellings of the time.

However, it is possible that more than one typesetter worked on this book, using alternate accepted spellings. This was not an uncommon occurrence at the turn of the seventeenth century;

[55] Although the initials East used was limited by the titles of the pieces in the volume (many pieces began with the letter "A" – "A Toy," "A Gigue," "A Psalme," etc., and thus were printed using the same three variations of the "A" initial – see fig. 1.).
[56] Robinson, *Schoole of Musicke,* fol. Br.

Peter Short's editions of Shakespeare's plays at just this time have been scrutinized for such spelling discrepancies to show that multiple compositors worked on the same books, even on the same pages of books.[57] The manner in which they worked is another matter. If they were alternating, it would seem that one typesetter (the one that favored double e's) did the lion's share of the work. Many passages do not include words that follow this pattern, so in those passages it is harder to trace who was doing the typesetting.

Layout and the spacing of staves

Compared with William Barley's plainer and more straightforward typesetting, as well as the blank tablature staves typeset and printed on each page in *New Citharen Lessons* (1609), [Fig. 15] East's work also demonstrates more concern for the reader in his preparation of Robinson's music. He varied the spacing of his tablature staves, both to prevent readers from having to make awkward page turns and also to improve aesthetically the presentation of music on the page. The only exception to this is the case already discussed at the end of the first page of "Rules" which spills over onto the top of the second page, forcing the bottom of that page to spill over onto a third page. As a teacher Robinson would have had an incentive to be attentive to the experience his readers would have had following the music on the page. Accommodating the music to fit in the book without page turns necessitated the folio layout, and so longer pieces like the "My Lord Willobies welcome home." [Fig. 16] crams the music onto two facing pages to prevent it spilling over onto a third page. At other times, East was able to allow more space on the page, such as with "*BELLVEDERE."* [Fig. 17] Since cramming the staves together would still not have allowed enough space to put another piece on the page, as East did in other cases, he allows the music to breathe, centering the remaining music on the facing page. Although Barley's work was neat and organized, East's work gave a much less cluttered presentation of the music, using ink on the page only when it was necessary to print the music.

[57] Alan E. Craven, "The Compsitors of the Shakespeare Quartos Printed by Peter Short," *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 65 (January 1971), 393-397.

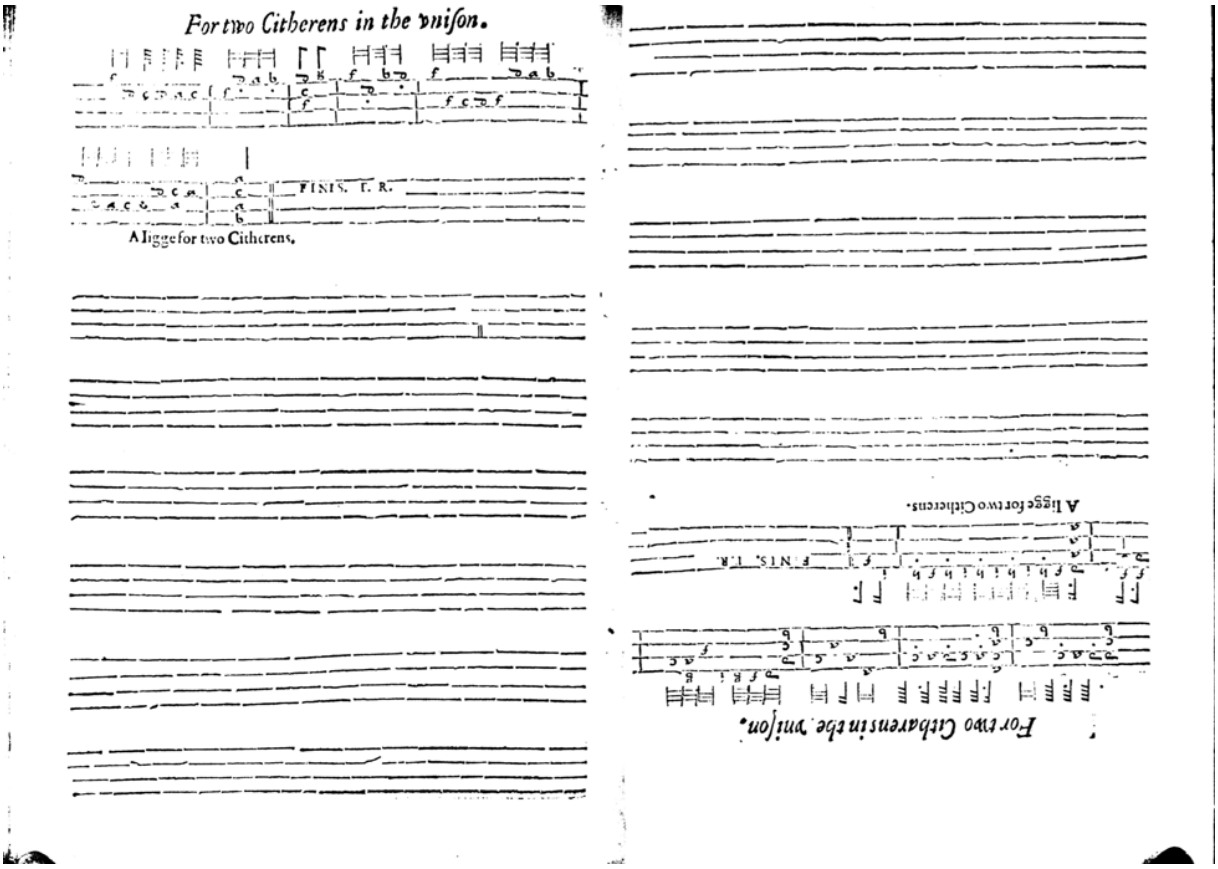


Figure 15: Barley's Typesetting in *New Citharen Lessons* (1609)

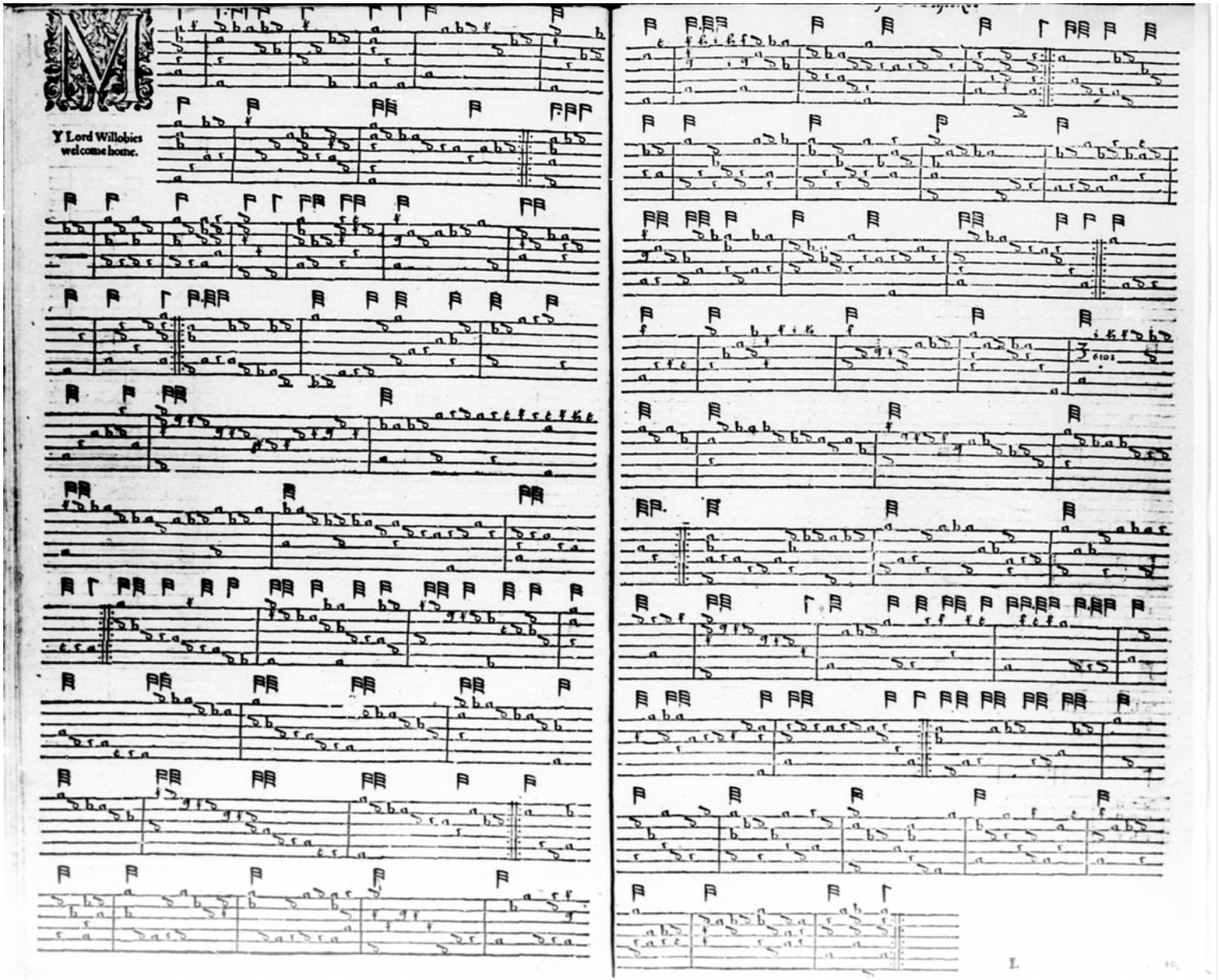


Figure 16: Typesetting by Thomas East from *The Schoole of Musicke*

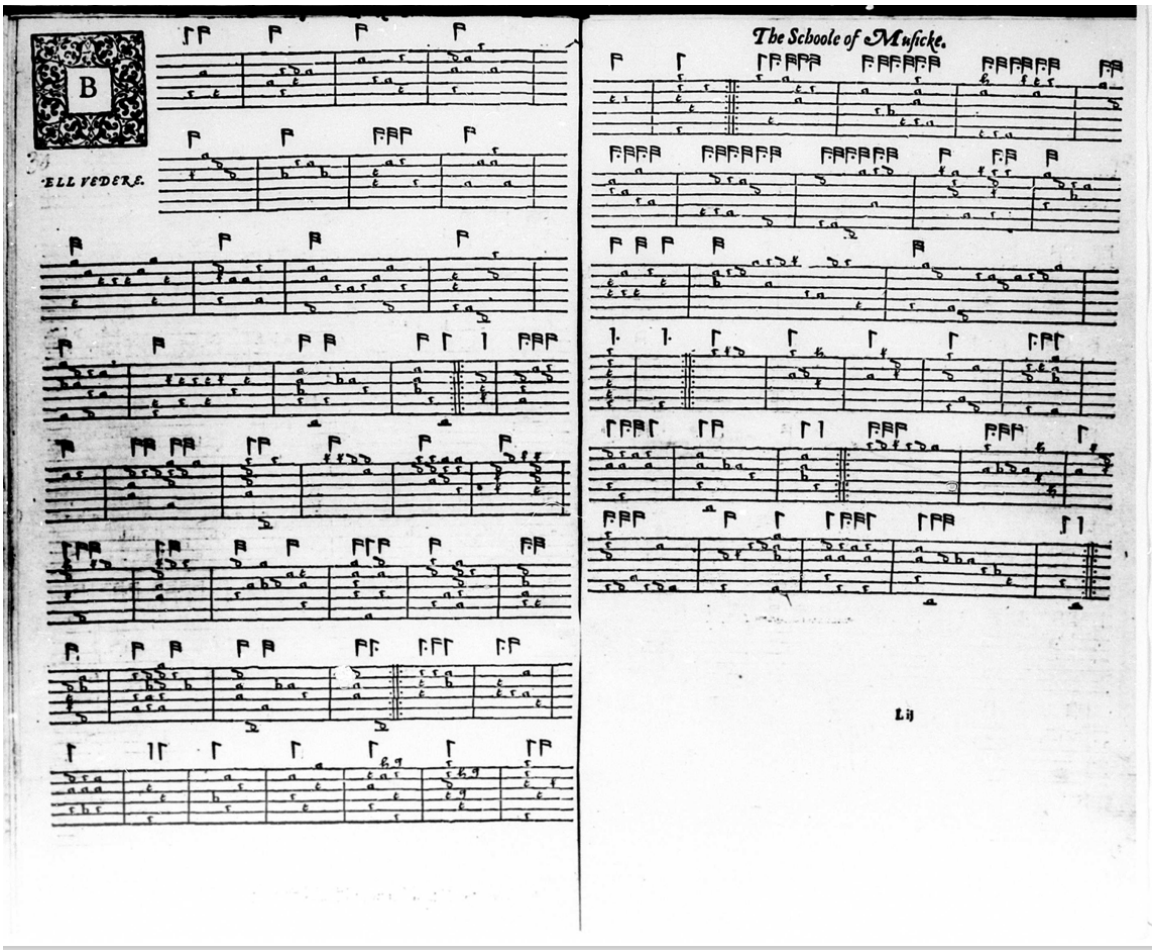


Figure 17: East's use of blank space at the end of "*BELLVEDERE*" from *The Schoole of Musicke*

Precedents for East's use of table-book layout

The ways through which *SM* enabled readers to play multiple instrumental parts from the same book made it a unique pedagogic tool. In several instances East printed lute duets in table-book layout, where one part was printed in the reverse orientation of the part on the facing page, allowing two instrumentalists to sit on opposite sides of the book when it was laid flat on a table and be able to read their respective parts. The table-book layout of the duets in *SM* was not the first time such a layout had appeared in English prints. The layout actually had been one of the most popular for printing music with instrumental accompaniment in the five years leading up to Robinson's book. Ten precedents to *SM* exist that enable multiple readers to play and sing from the same book:

- Thomas Morley, *PEIPM* (Peter Short, 1597)
- Thomas Morley, *Canzonets* – cantus part only (Peter Short, 1597)
- John Dowland, *The First Booke of Songes or Ayres* (Peter Short, 1597)
- Anthony Holborne, *The Cittharn Schoole* (Peter Short, 1597)
- Richard Alison, *The Psalmes of David in Meter* (William Barley, 1599)

- John Dowland, *The Second Booke of Songs or Ayres* (Thomas East, 1600)
- Robert Jones, *The First Booke of Songs & Ayres* (Peter Short, 1600)
- Thomas Morley, *The First Booke of Ayres or Little Short Songs* (William Barley, 1600)
- Thomas Campion and Philip Rosseter, *A Booke of Ayres* (Peter Short, 1601)
- Robert Jones, *Second Booke of Songs and Ayres* (Peter Short, 1601)
- John Dowland, *The Third and Last Booke of Songs* (Peter Short, 1603)

Peter Short appears to have been the first English printer to adopt this layout wholesale for music since he was responsible for seven of these ten books; Short's work on Morley's *PEIPM,* Dowland's *The First Booke of Songes or Ayres* (1597), Robert Jones's *The First Booke of Songs & Ayres* (1600), Campion and Rosseter's *A Booke of Ayres* (1601), Jones's *Second Booke of Songs and Ayres* (1601), and Dowland's *The Third and Last Booke of Songs* (1603) all feature the layout aligning each part with a different edge of the opening, which allowed readers to sit around the book when it was laid flat on a table. Thomas East also used this format for Dowland's *Second Booke of Songs or Ayres* (1600), as did Barley in his typesetting for Alison's *The Psalmes of David in Meter* (1599) and Morley's *The First Booke of Ayres or Little Short Songs* (1600). This near wholesale adoption of the table-book layout during these years implies Morley's role as a trailblazer and the probably musical driving force behind use of the format; in less than three years from when he took up the printing patent every one of his assigns had produced at least one book in this new format.

Table-book format remained popular for years after the publication of *SM* as well.[58] In fact, it continued through the seventeenth century and only began to wane toward the final quarter of the century (see Appendix 4). Even books that were printed again and again, such as Playford's *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick* (1651 and after), featured pieces in table-book format. Given the sheer number and variety of music books to use the table book layout, it is clear that Robinson's use of the format was true to genre, and attests to the popularity of books that allowed use by multiple players and singers at the same time. While each printer appeared to have a slightly different approach to typesetting this layout, each printing house that embarked on printing music books seems to have developed a method for allowing musicians to sit around a table and make music together. When Thomas Snodham took over the East printing firm he kept the layouts. Alfonso Ferrabosco's *Lessons for 1, 2, and 3 Viols* (1609) uses an identical table book layout to Robinson for the duets, and then adds a right-facing column of tablature down the center of the page for a third viol player on the final two pieces in the book. [Fig. 18]

[58] Ravenscroft's *Deuteromelia* (1609) and *Musical Phansies* (1611) also have multiple voice parts on the same page, but since there's no tablature I assume it could just as easily be used as a table book, so I omit it from this list. Also omitted are John Coperario's *Songs of Mourning* (John Browne, 1613), Robert Taylor's *Sacred Hymns* (Thomas Snodham, 1615), and Thomas Campion's *Third and Fourth Booke of Ayres* (Thomas Snodham, 1617?) as the orientation of the different parts does not facilitate use as a "table book" specifically.

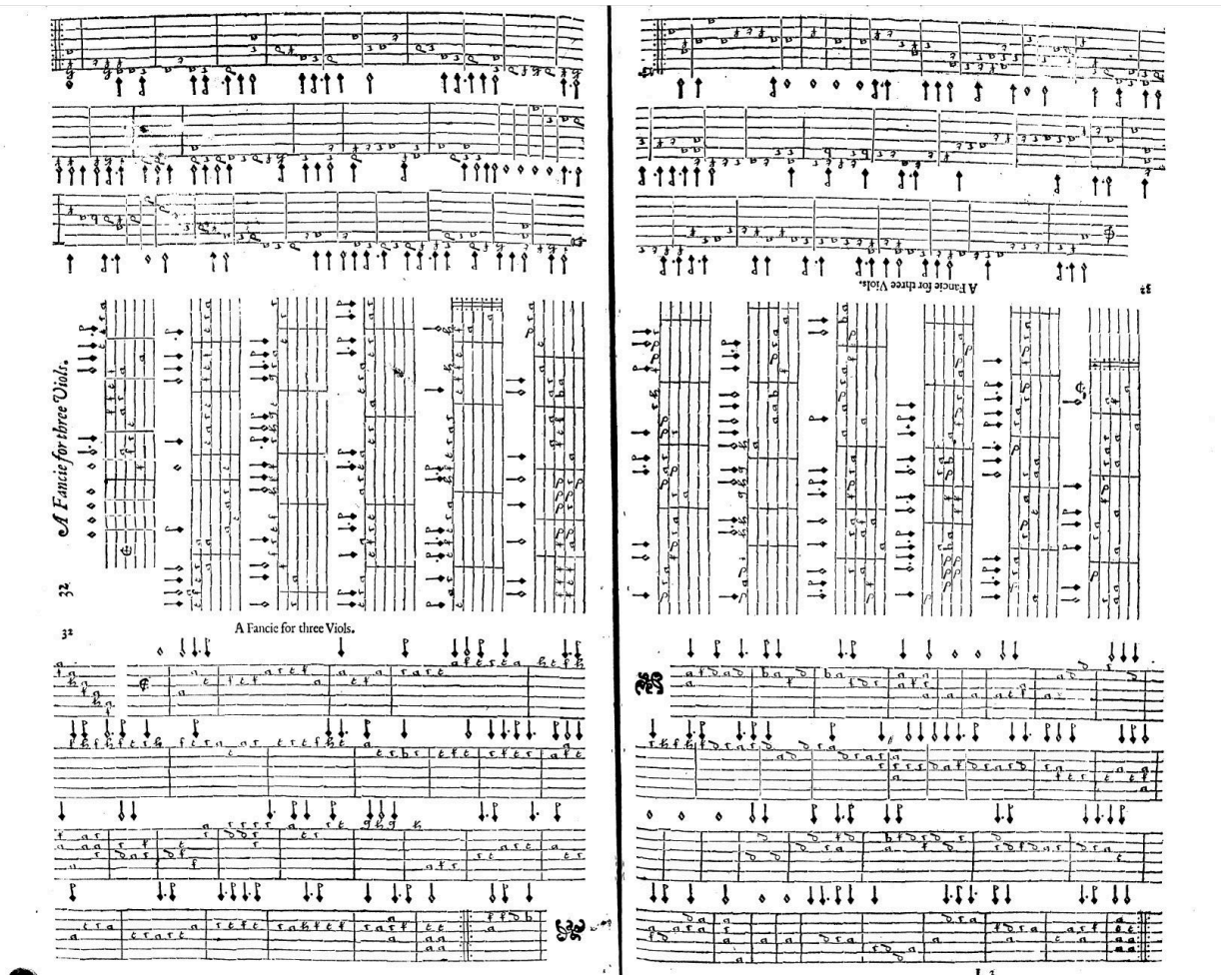


Figure 18: Three parts in table-book layout in Ferrabosco's *Lessons for 1, 2, and 3 Viols* (1609)

East's use of the table book layout for *SM* is one moment in a longer history of this layout, and while East neither invented it nor appears to have been responsible for its initial implementation in English music printing East's printing house had already had a chance to practice that layout in Dowland's *Second Book of Songs or Ayres* three years prior to Robinson's book. The format had been circulating in manuscript prior to the 1590s and can be found in British Library Add. 31390, a collection of *in nomines* and "solfaing songs" compiled between 1575 and 1580. [Fig. 19] The pieces for five voices appeared similarly spaced around the page, allowing multiple readers to use the same manuscript. For the books of the 1590s, table-book layout was an obvious choice as well, as it allowed all of the lute part and treble melody to fit on the same page facing the same direction while the other parts were easily accessible from the second page of the opening. East's enthusiasm for the format appears to have been more thorough in Dowland than in Robinson, modeling the format Short used on Dowland's *First Booke of Songs or Ayres.* [Fig. 21]

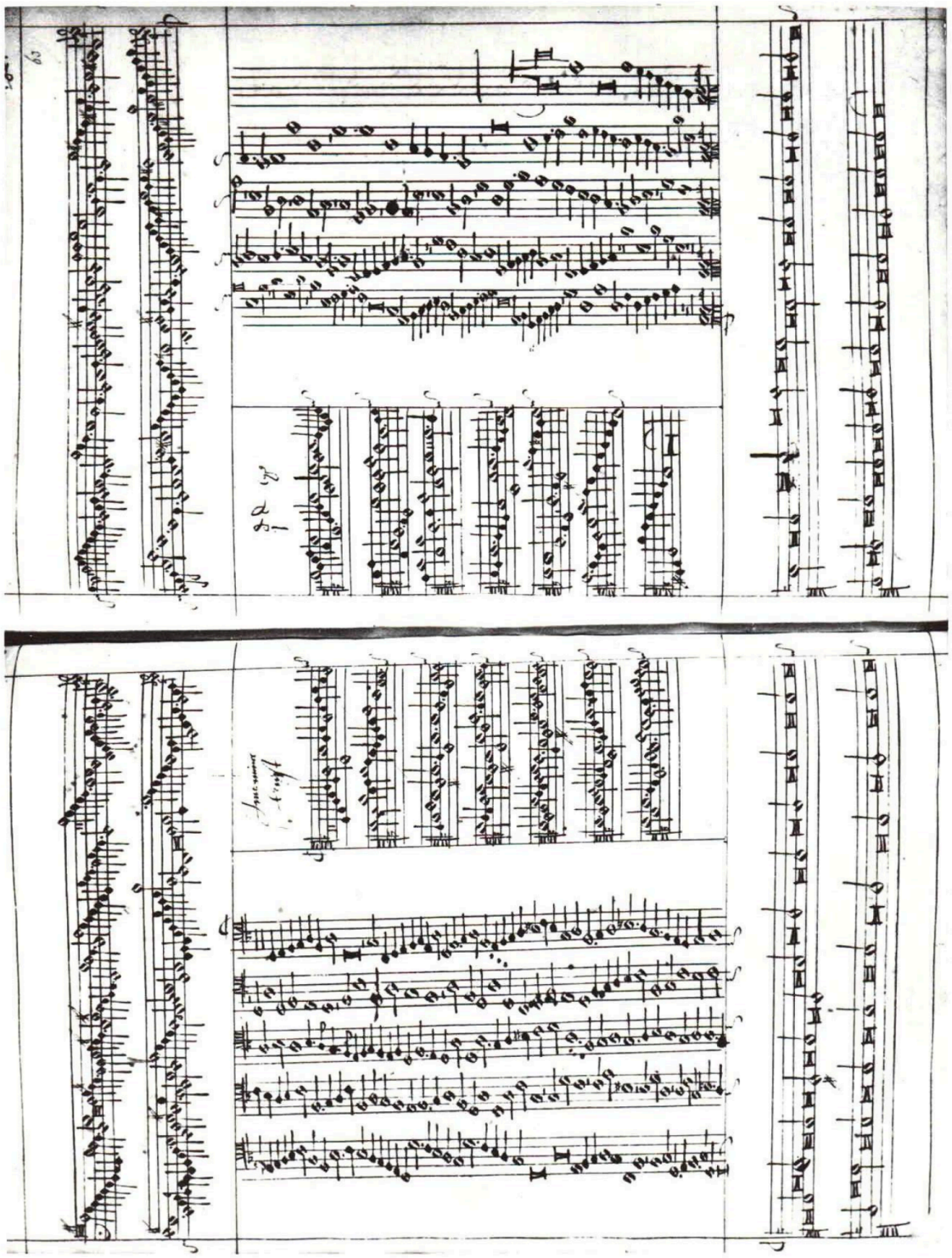


Figure 19: Table-book layout, British Library Add. MS 31390

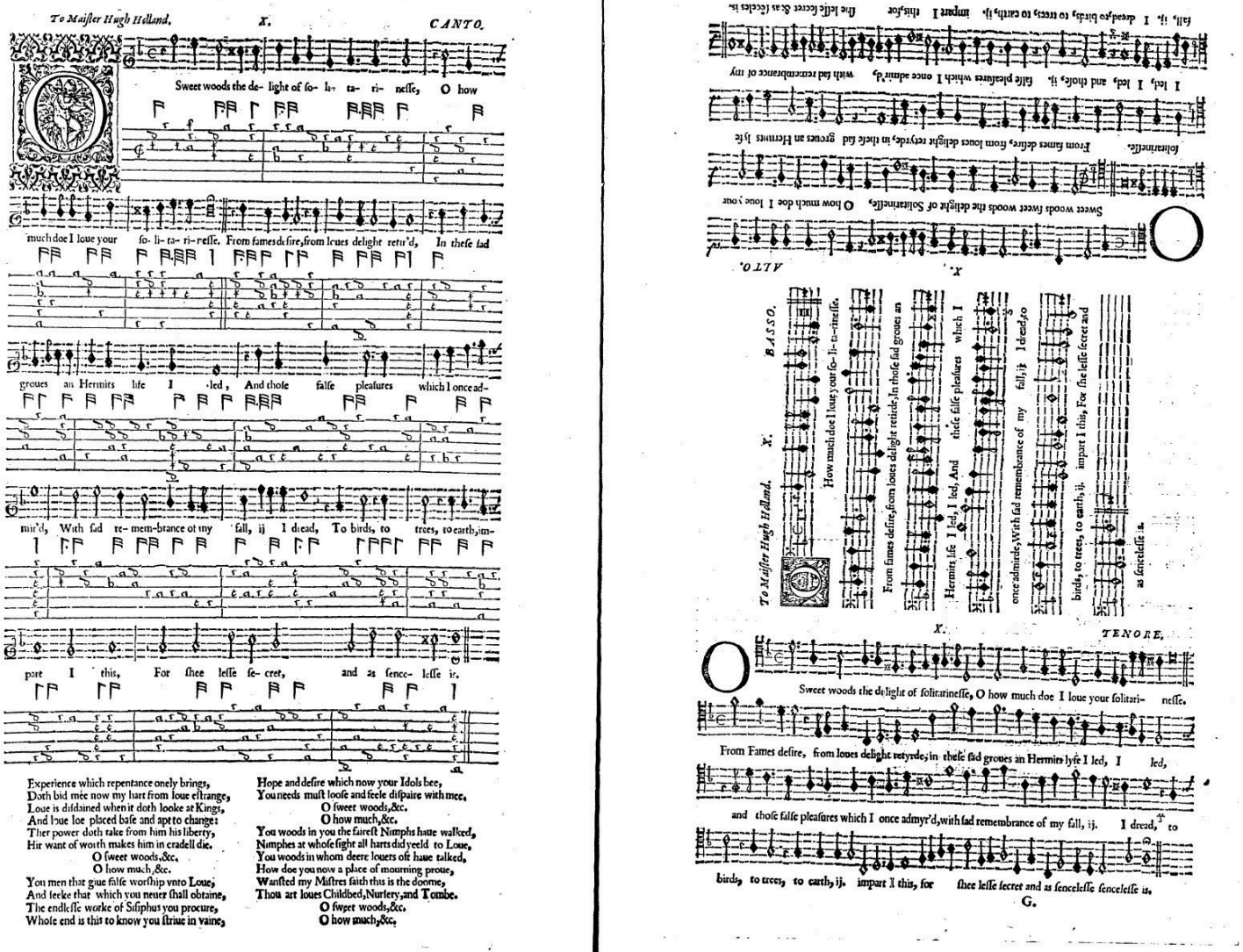


Figure 20: Table book layout in *The Second Booke of Songs or Ayres* (1600)

The Second Booke of Songs or Ayres mimics the style of Peter Short's work on *The First Booke of Songes or Ayres* (1597). The timeline of the publishing of *SM* also may come to bear on its presentation. The book does not receive its own entry in the Stationers' Register in 1603, but the other entry listing Robinson as an author in 1603 occurred in October. Short had died earlier in the year, around May.[59] Given the success Short had enjoyed in the work he had done for Morley in the past, the size, layout, and decoration of *SM* probably represent East's attempt to step into the shoes left by Short. It would seem that there was some amount of impetus – whether on East's part or driven by Dowland himself – to maintain stylistic continuity between the three books, which continues in the third book as well, which Dowland once again entrusted to Short. (The reasons why he went to East for the second book are unknown). The layout East used for Robinson's duets is less adventurous than the five-part layouts he created for Dowland volume. While collaborating it is possible that Robinson and East made the decision to keep the pieces more simple in order to retain their pedagogic value for beginners, and to make the layout of the pages easier to execute. None of Robinson's pieces in the second part had more than two parts, so more complicated page layouts might not have been needed. East, like many other printers of his day, was able to create page layouts that facilitated performance from the same book by at least three instrumentalists at any given time. Just because he could, however did not mean that he insisted on it when it wasn't necessary. Nevertheless, East still gives the simpler arrangements of Robinson's pieces as much care as possible when typesetting them.

Layout problems

It is notable, then, when the layout for "Rules to instruct you to Sing" appears to depart from this careful and deliberate typesetting, showing what seem like poor choices in layout that lead to awkward page turns and at times even a confusing presentation of the music. [Fig. 21] Folio N contains the first pages of the "Rules." As the rules are rather short, limiting the blank space around the examples on that page would have allowed East to prevent the text from spilling over onto the next page. The woodblocks used to print the scale examples are too big for the page, however, and as a result the final lines of the instructions spill over onto the second page and then the musical examples spill over onto the third page, forcing the psalms on the following page to be crammed closely together. Fig. 21 and 22 explain the contents of these pages and show the layout problems they contain.

The psalms themselves are also poorly labeled; some are never named at all and the ones that are can only be identified when they are matched with the lute intabulations on the final two pages of the book [Fig. 23]. Although the psalms follow a mostly logical order, giving treble parts first and then bass parts, the page turns prevent singing the parts of half of the psalms together. The direction "For the Viol by Song /F[o]r the Viol by Tableture" also appears to be on the wrong page, appearing halfway through the bass clef melodies, which would have been better suited to the viol than to the lute. It seems like the page order has been switched around; either the bass clef melodies should all have been on the same page spread, with the melodies on fO appearing opposite those on fOv. Or, as the two-page spread between fNijv and fO allows for both parts of "Sweet JESU who shall lend mee wings" and another unidentified psalm to be sung

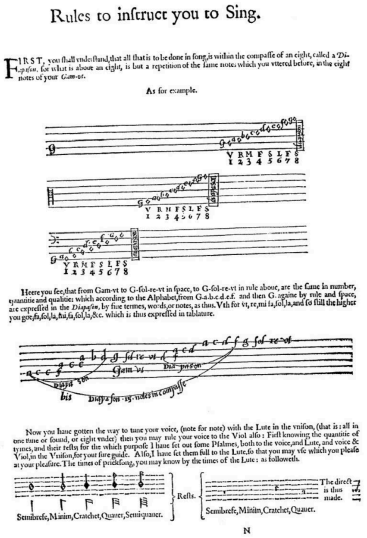
[59] Miriam Miller, "Peter Short," *Grove Music Online,* 20012001 https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.libproxy.berkeley.edu/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000025662. Accessed 10 May 2019.

together, the same would have been convenient for both parts of "O Lord of whom I doe depend" and "O Lord that art my righteousnesse." It is nearly impossible to play all three parts together, at least without needing to copy parts. [Fig. 23]

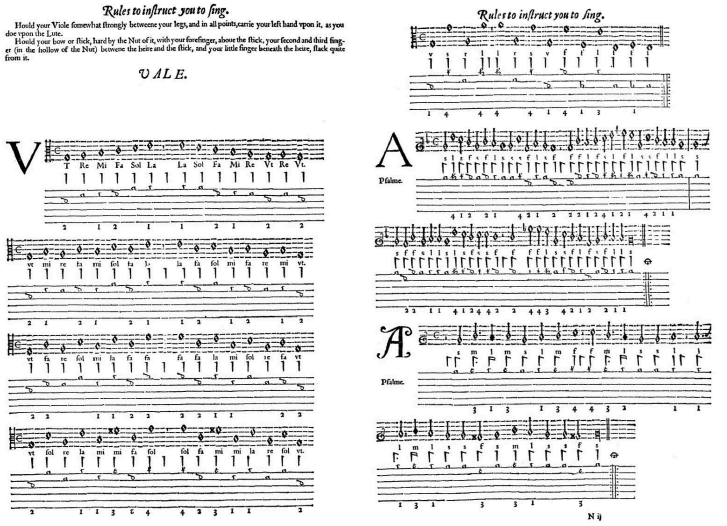
Sheet	Folio	Contents	Variants
First sheet	N	"Rules to instruct you to sing," Gam-ut, intabulated Gam-ut	
	Nv	Exercises with solmization and intabulations for lute	
Second sheet	Nij	Final solmization exercise, Treble parts for "O Lord that art my righteousnesse" and "O Lord of whom I doe depend"	Missing from RCM copy; annotations of solmization syllables in BL copy
	Nijv	Treble parts for "A psalme," and "Sweet Jesu who shall lend mee wings"	Missing from RCM copy
Third sheet	O	Bass parts for "A psalme," and "Sweet Jesu who shall lend mee wings"	Missing from RCM copy
	Ov	Note "For the viol by song/For the Viol by tablature," bass parts for "O Lord that art my righteousnesse" and "O Lord of whom I doe depend"	Missing from RCM copy
Fourth sheet	Oij	Lute intabulations for "Sweet Jesu who shall lend mee wings," and "A psalme"	Missing from RCM copy
	Oijv	Lute intabulations for "O Lord that art my righteousnesse" and "O Lord of whom I doe depend"	Missing from RCM copy Note to refer to folio N in BL copy

Figure 21: Contents of each leaf in "Rules to instruct you to Sing"

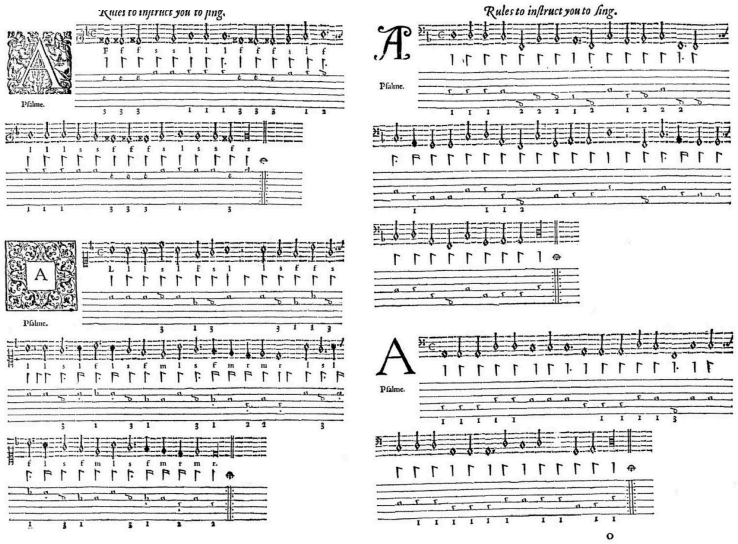
Fol. Nr, containing oversized woodblocks



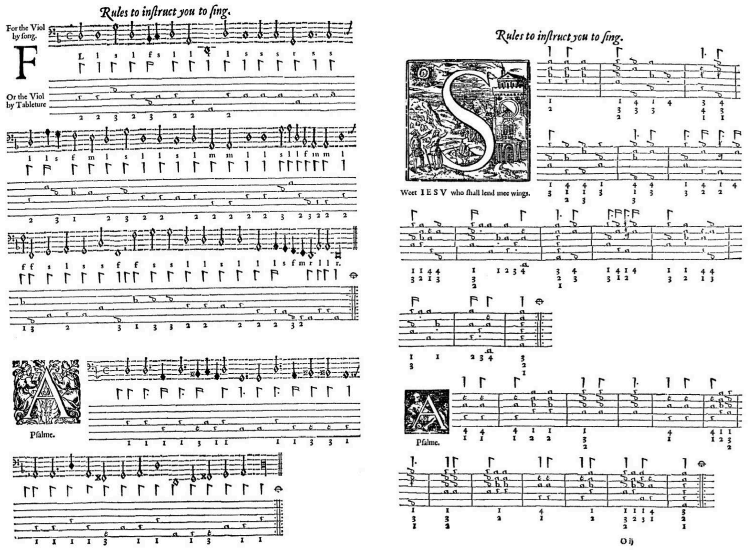
Fol. Nv, containing the last of the text from the previous page of instructions and Nijr, containing the last solmization exercise and the first two psalms.



Folios Nijv-Or, containing psalms



Folios Ov-Oijr, containig psalm tunes in bass clef and psalms in lute tablature



Fol. Oijv, containing intabulations of psalm tunes

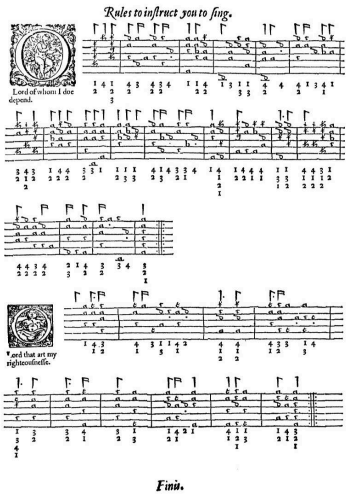


Figure 22: Displaced text in “Rules to instruct you to Sing” The psalms on folio Nij should be alone, following the pattern on all subsequent pages.

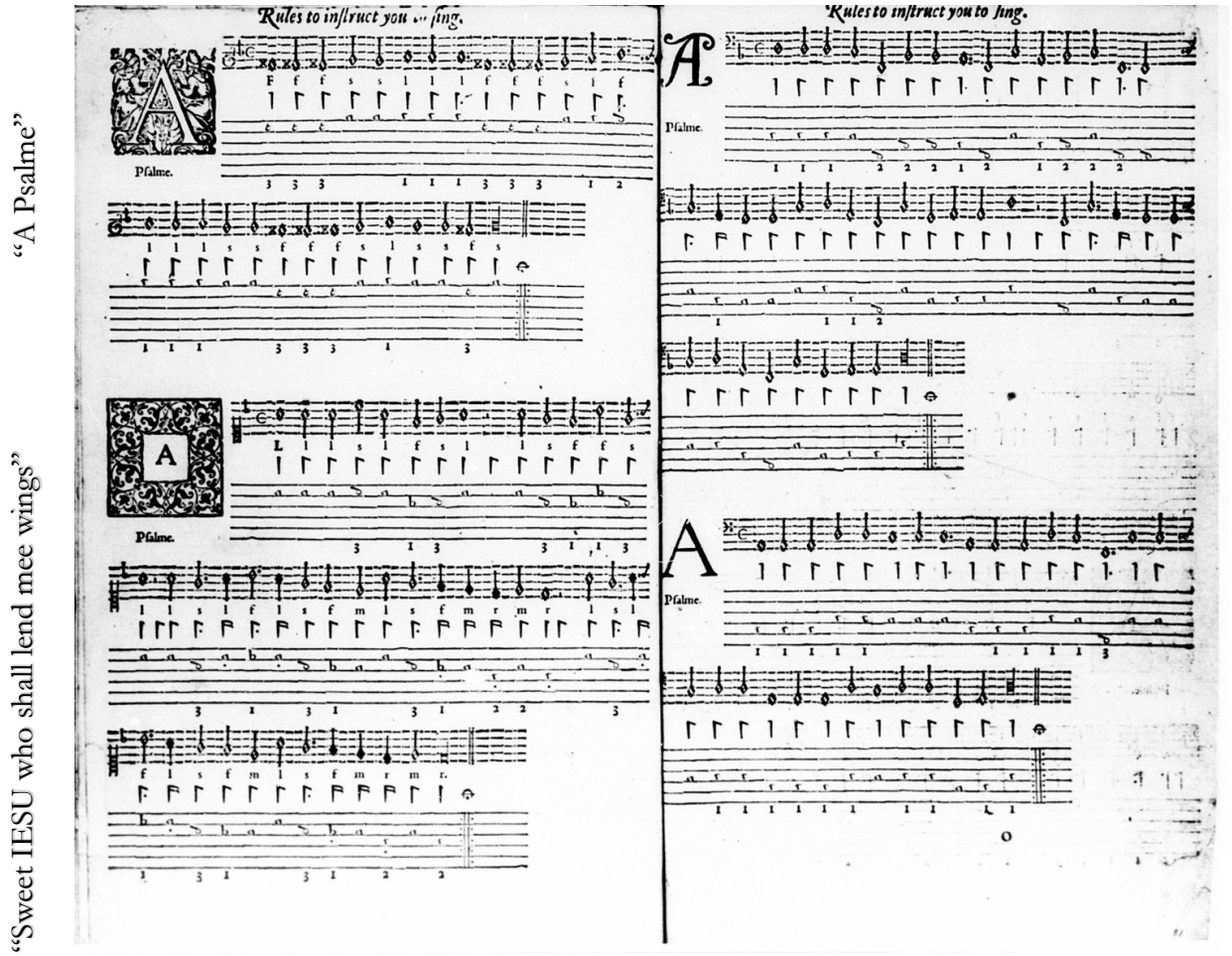


Figure 23: Layout of psalm arrangements in a two-page spread, *The Schoole of Musicke*

On the use of “Rules to instruct you to Sing”

On the other hand, what if a group of singers wished to learn from this book, or wanted to try putting the treble, bass, and lute parts together? In this case, the structure of “Rules to instruct you to sing” is problematic for use by more than one person at a time. In order to see more than one part at a time the pages must be either copied out or separated. This final suggested option for usjng “Rules to instruct you to sing” also has implications for the survival rates of *SM*: that this section is meant to be removed from the book, turning the pages that are confusing when bound into separate part sheets for two singers and lute accompaniment. If the final six pages are physically removed from the book, each leaf of the removed folios contains all of the psalms for one voice or instrument: fNij and fNijv contain all of the treble parts; fO and fOv contain all of the bass parts; and fOij and fOijv contain all of the lute intabulations.

Put another way, by cutting apart the book readers would produce a leaf of treble parts, a leaf of bass parts, and a leaf of lute intabulations. In this configuration, the recommendation “For the Viol by song/FOr the Viol by Tableture” is in the *correct* place, corresponding with the first Psalms in treble clef on fNij if one simply turns the sheet over. East was able to keep the table book layout somewhat in this final section; two psalms are arranged so that the treble and bass parts are both visible on the same page opening. This layout still did not allow the lute part to be

read at the same time. [Fig. 24] The final section of the book could only be used in real time after separating the final three leaves from their bindings, or leaving them out of the binding process as loose leaves. Thus what might appear to be a destructive option turns out to be a creative possibility. In the case of the RCM copy, the binders deliberately added the single leaf containing the instructions for singing along with the tablature, but not the other three leaves. If the book had been sold unbound, the fact that the final section couldn't be used after binding may have been reason enough to leave it unbound, ensuring that only clean, library copies would be likely to survive.[60] One might ask why, when East's printing firm had been successful printing table-layout books with treble, bass, and lute parts visible on the same page spread, Robinson and East would use this layout here. What would be gained by encouraging readers to remove the pages from the book?

[60] The only problem not explained by this scheme would be the spillover from the first page of instructions onto the second, which also displaced the final solmization exercise onto the first page of psalms. This displacement, although it seems like there was enough blank space on the page that it could have been arranged differently, may have been unavoidable due to the structure of the musical examples. Unlike the rest of the music in the book, the examples on fN are woodcuts; not single-impression typesetting. It may have been impossible to move the sections using different kinds of printing techniques closer together on the same page. The spillover from one page to the next may have been the most graceful and paper-efficient way to still fit everything onto the page.

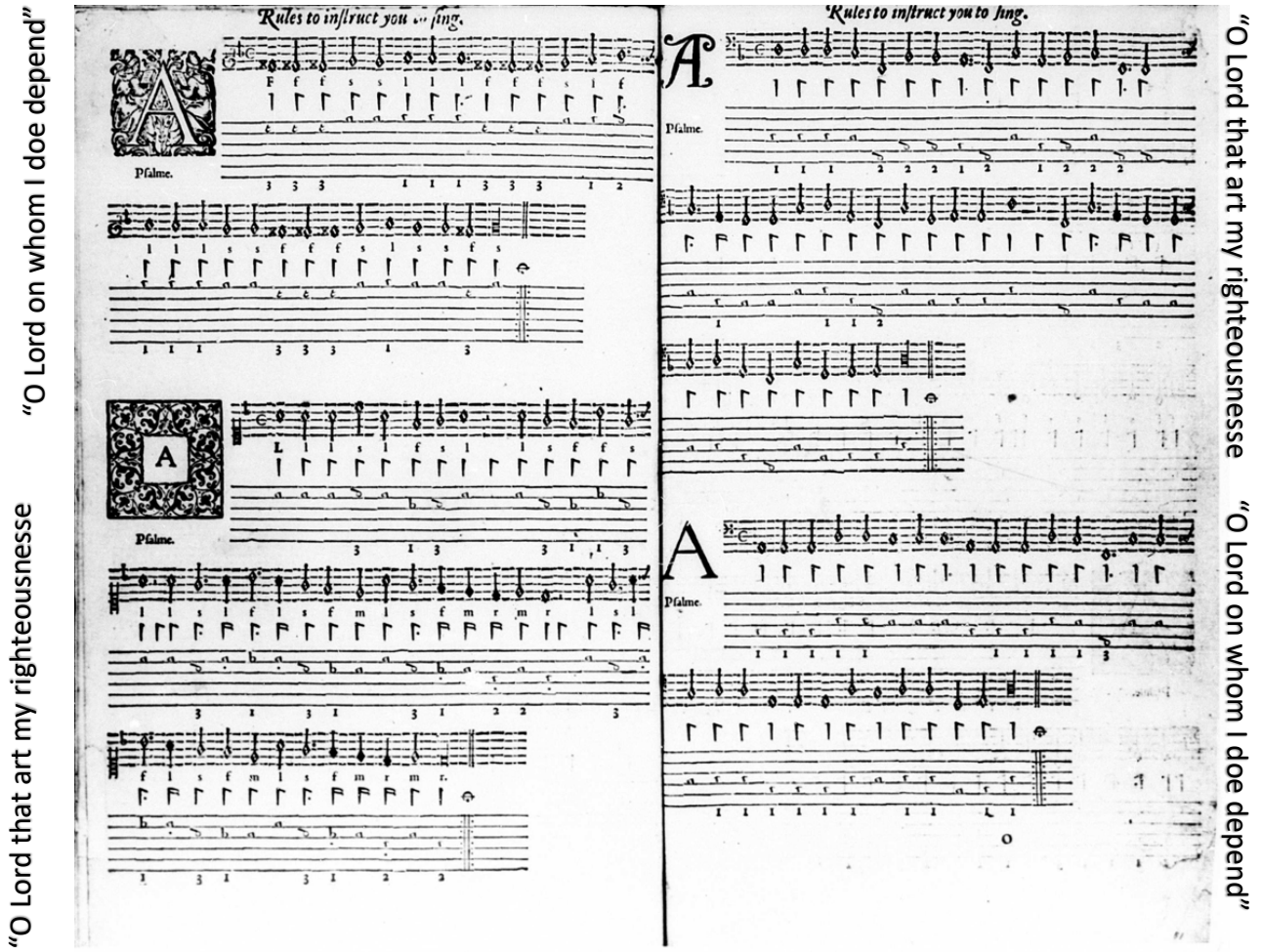


Figure 24: Treble and Bass parts to "O Lord that art My Righteousnesse" and "O Lord of whom I doe depend"

Given this new consideration of ways in which "Rules to Instruct you to Sing" could have been used, what becomes clear is that rather than an anomaly in early modern English music printing, Robinson's *SM* is a unique synthesis of many of the elements of its predecessors. Like other books that have been carved into separate sections, "Rules to instruct you to sing" stands alone, and indeed appears to have been removed from its bindings on at least one, if not two occasions. This adaptability of form allowed Robinson to build upon existing precedents in the contents of lute instruction books such as the Le Roy manual from 1574's use of psalm intabulations, or the table book layouts seen elsewhere in the book. By making these final pages removable Robinson was able to encourage not only the intabulation of psalms, but performances by groups of players and singers. *SM's* instructional sections were just as much for the benefit of a group of people working together as they served as the sole instruction for one individual.

Critical Edition of Psalms in *The Schoole of Musicke:* The "psalm" texts

Given the issues with layout in "Rules to Instruct you to Sing" and how in order to view treble, bass and lute parts against one another, a new edition of these psalm settings is useful to demonstrate how the voices can fit together.[61] To do so requires determining which parts were intabulated for viol and which were intabulated for the lute – a process made more difficult due to the reversed page of viol music – transcribing the lute intabulation into mensural notation and comparing it with the treble and bass parts to ensure that they go together.

One of the biggest hurdles to a complete edition of the psalms in "Rules to instruct you to sing" is the text underlay for each song. In many instances – including all of the treble and bass vocal parts – the tune is titled simply "A Psalme" (and nothing else). The only information Robinson supplied his readers about what Psalm texts accompany the given tunes is an incipit in the lute intabulation. Even the lute intabulation bears only the title "A Psalme." The implied texts themselves appear to be drawn from a variety of sources. A few of the tunes can be found in Sternhold and Hopkins; for the rest the process is more convoluted. In order to have been able to put the right melodies with the right psalm texts one would have to already have memorized them, including their rhythms, in order to underlay the texts properly.

In terms of Robinson's intabulations of the psalms this question is no less relevant. Were singers and lutenists presumed to already know the melodies Robinson intabulated, or was his audience assumed to be completely unfamiliar with the tunes? Given the decrees requiring attendance at church, it is hard to imagine that many Londoners would be unfamiliar with the psalm tunes in Sternhold and Hopkins. One must consider, then, the role of written and unwritten circulation of psalm tunes in the Renaissance. As Leo Treitler observed of the transmission of medieval music, the presence of notation does not insist that transmission falls entirely into a "literate" tradition or entirely out of an "oral" one, but rather fuses familiar, practiced, and memorized musical components with those that are written down. If readers already knew psalm melodies that were intended to fit multiple psalm texts, Robinson's choice of setting these particular psalms may have been strategic. Learning them on the lute would have allowed readers to also use them for the other psalm texts with the same melody.

Texts and Melodies in Sternhold and Hopkins

Of the four psalm settings in "Rules to Instruct you to sing," two appear in Sternhold and Hopkins. The first, "O Lord on whom I do depend," appears as "The Humble Suit of the Sinner." The second, "O God that art my righeousness" is Psalm IIII. The closest text to the incipit of "Sweet Iesu Who shall lend mee wings" in "Rules to Instruct you to Sing" is found in a nineteenth-century book of correspondence and miscellanies belonging to poet brothers Jeremiah Holmes Wiffen and Benjamin Barron Wiffen. Benjamin Barron mentioned the text in a letter to John T. Betts, who was working with Benjamin on translations of the *Considerations* of Juan Valdez.[62] Wiffen notes in the letter his recollection of research he conducted years before in the British Museum:

[61] My editions of these psalm settings can be found in Appendix 2.
[62] Samuel Rowles Pattison, *The Brothers Wiffen: Memoirs and Miscellanies* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1880), 142, 164-165.

> … Turning over some loose papers last evening, I fell upon a little piece that I copied some twenty years ago, when working at the British Museum. I now copy it, because it seems almost as if the writer had in *her* mind, at the time, the first stanzas of the Canzone, by the Duchess of Amalfi. It runs thus:~
>
> From a manuscript of the time of Queen Elizabeth, in the British Museum:~
>
> *Sweet Jhesu! Who shall lend me wings*
> *Of peace and perfect love,*
> *That I may rise from earthly things,*
> *To rest with Thee above?*[63]

An intriguing point to be made about this "psalm" is that it does not appear to be a psalm at all even though Robinson labels it as such. The text appears nowhere in any available psalters in print and readily available in 1603 London. Given this fact, why would Robinson call it a psalm? Even though some fairly vague evidence pins this text to the right time period for Robinson to use it, the problem still remains that it was not a psalm. Wiffen also supplies another intriguing dimension of the supposed authorship of this text, using the feminine pronoun *her* when speaking of whoever penned the verses. Without the exact source in the British Library, which as yet remains to be rediscovered, it is impossible to know who this female lyricist was, or to uncover further context of the text beyond what is supplied by its 1880 reprint, filtered once more through the pen of an early nineteenth-century poet.

The most challenging text setting comes with the final psalm, which never has its incipit identified. Unlike "Sweet IESU," which provides at least some idea of what text to look for, "A Psalme" leaves the reader in the dark. The melody of this "psalm" is more dance-like than the others; while no mensuration mark is provided the groups of three beats are clearly delineated in the lute intabulation, in which barlines seem to function as they would in more modern typesetting. Given the triple-meter feel of the piece, none of the melodies for metrical psalms, especially those that seem to have been in circulation by Robinson's time, fit this melody well at all. A few psalms from much later editions of Sternhold and Hopkins have potential for a match, sharing roughly comparable melodies and text that scans properly against a melody in three. The first, a setting of Psalm 17 by George Kirbye that appeared in the 1598 Sternhold and Hopkins, works well enough although it is not a perfect match to the tune of Robinson's setting: [Fig. 25]

[63] A similar verse also appears in the poem "Oh that I had wings like a dove," attributed to Dr. Nicholas Postgate, a Roman Catholic executed in 1679. His version embeds Robinson's incipit amidst other text (see Appendix 3). The fact that these words resurface in multiple contexts in the years preceding and up to a century after Robinson's book was published suggests that they were well-known at least in some circles of poetic and musical life.

Figure 25: Tenor melody from Kirbye's setting of Psalm 17.

This psalm notably only features tenor and bassus parts in the 1598 Sternhold and Hopkins. This fact alone makes it seem to be a perfect candidate for "Rules to instruct you to sing," as it includes a low and high part (albeit both male voices) which then are also represented in the lute part.

Given this new consideration of ways in which "Rules to instruct you to Sing" could have been used, what becomes clear is that rather than an anomaly in early modern English music printing, Robinson's *SM* is a unique synthesis of many of the elements of these other books. Like other books that have been carved into separate sections, "Rules to instruct you to sing" stands alone, and indeed appears to have been removed from its bindings on at least one, if not two occasions, definitely in the RCM copy, given the wear-and-tear on folio Nv, and possibly in the BL copy, given that all of its pages have been re-bound. This adaptability of form allowed Robinson to build upon existing precedents in the contents of lute instruction books such as the Le Roy manual from 1574's use of psalm intabulations, or the table book layouts seen elsewhere in the book. By making these final pages removable Robinson was able to encourage not only the intabulation of psalms, but performances by groups of players and singers. *SM's* instructional sections were just as much for the benefit of a group of people working together as it served as the sole instruction for one individual. At times, particularly considering the need for readers already to be familiar with the psalm tunes of part three in order to find the right texts to sing with them, using the book depended upon collective knowledge. Although an individual reader could use the book to learn musical skills, *SM* was at its *most* effective when it was dismantled and distributed across several instrumentalists and singers. Furthermore, the text could only be completely effective when it was broken into fragments. In this sense, it was not books, *per se* that drove this particular moment in self-instruction, but rather the deconstruction of books into individual texts (or sets of texts). Paradoxically, the destruction of a book breathes new life into its features.

Chapter Four

Where Have All the Lute Books Gone?
Developments in Print and Manuscript during the Caroline and Commonwealth Periods

In 1642 civil war broke out in England and King Charles I fled London to his temporary military base in Shrewsbury. After the battle of Edge Hill, with the Earl of Essex and his army closing in, Charles retreated further, moving what remained of his court to Oxford, where it would remain until 1646. Wartime meant a tightening of purse-strings at court, and compared with the opulence of Whitehall Charles took few luxuries with him. Some musicians like Jacques Gaultier and John Wilson may have followed the court to Oxford, but many musicians instead remained in London or scattered to the country seeking employment and housing at the great country houses to ride out the war.[1] Records of the king's Lutes in Ordinary from 1625 to 1642 mention seven places for lutenists; two newly created positions for Gaultier and John Fox, and five more initially occupied by Nicholas Lanier III, Robert Johnson, Timothy Collins, Maurice Webster, and John Dowland, but continued by Lewis Evans, Dietrich Steiffken, Robert Dowland, and John Mercure in later years.[2] These records end in 1642, so the activities of these lutenists during the interregnum becomes hazy.[3] Whatever musical forces accompanied the King during wartime, at any rate, would have been reduced in number from previous decades.

As the court of Charles I began to unravel, its social and geographical identities began to unravel as well. In addition to a reduction in the forces of professional musicians at court the amateur music-making activities of the court also appear to have been on the decline during the Civil War; allies of the King had also begun to jump ship by 1642, fleeing the country to avoid imprisonment and worse by an increasingly militant Parliament. Noted musical amateur Edward Herbert was one such figure; after losing a political struggle in Parliament over his support of the king he was imprisoned briefly by Parliament.[4] After this period of imprisonment Herbert retreated to Montgomery Castle, where he would remain until he was forced to surrender it to Parliamentary forces in 1646.[5]

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[1] For lute repertoire Gaultier seems an obvious choice to accompany the king on the basis of talent, as his name seems to have become practically synechdochic for solo lute performance in early-seventeenth-century London. It is unclear whether Gaultier actually left with the court in 1642; Spring notes that one of Gaultier's violent outbursts appears to have been in London in 1643, when he physically attached another lutenist and bit part of his face off. More anecdotal evidence places Gaultier in London again in the 1650s, although his personal correspondence with Constantijn Huygens suggests he never left the service of the court, which could mean he accompanied the court to Shrewsbury, and later, Oxford. See Spring, 309-313.

[2] Spring, 318-319.

[3] 1641 appears to be the last date where complete records of the musicians in ordinary were kept during the Caroline Period. The musicians listed under "For Lutes, Violls, and Voices" in 1641 were Thomas Foord, Thomas Day, John Drew, John Coggeshall, John Lanier, John Taylor, Edward Wormall, John Kelly, Anthony Roberts, Nicholas Duvall, Giles Tomkins, William Lawes, Henry Lawes, John Wilson, Philip Squire, Lewes Evans, John Friend, Timothy Collins, Dietricht Steiffkyn, Daniel Farrant, John Mercure, Robert Tomkins, Nicholas Cook, and George Hudson.

[4] Specifically, Herbert had hesitated to condemn the King in a resolution made by parliament unless the wording of the resolution was changed to say that the king reacted "without cause." See introduction to *The Autobiography of Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury,* 272.

[5] Ibid., 284.

The haziness of what music accompanied the itinerant court is doubled by a haziness in publishing and manuscript circulation of music in general, and music for the lute more specifically. During the war music publishing operations actually appeared to cease, much public music making was curtailed by parliamentary decree, and many musicians that had made a living in the public eye moved into more private circles of music making. On either side of this armed conflict music making on the lute appears to have been desired and encouraged, albeit with different repertoires. However, events during the middle decades of the seventeenth century changed music-making on the lute severely enough that Thomas Mace declared the instrument to be "dying" in 1676.[6] The details of how this came to be do not add up to a clear, single narrative, however. While musical tastes certainly changed over the course of the century, books of lute music from much earlier were still being sold at century's end. One catalog of books for auction liquidating the inventory of bookseller William Miller in about 1695 mentions several from mid-century, including music for the lute.[7] The title mentioned, Richard Mathew's *The Lute's Apology for her Excellency* (1652)*,* is an installment the long history of the lute in England which seems out of place. Published neatly between the printing boom of c. 1597 and the lute's "swan song" by Mace, the collection of French dances in transitional tunings, while representative in many ways of the popular music of its time, did not seem to catch on and inspire any other publications. And yet it was still one of the titles worthy of mention in the auction lots of c. 1695. Accounting for the popularity of music circulation during the Caroline and Commonwealth periods in print, manuscript, and oral transmission this chapter will show the ways in which music circulation evolved in response to changing social, political, geographical, and economic landscapes in England as the seventeenth century unfolded.

As Mathew Spring has pointed out, musical performances didn't disappear during this period but rather scattered and went underground until the Restoration; some musicians struggling to find employment relocated to country houses or university towns where they founded or participated in musical clubs; others remained in London as teachers and performers of secular music.[8] John Playford's music publishing business was also starting up during these years, during which he published *A Musicall Banquet* (1651), in which he lists voice, viol, organ, and virginal teachers active in London.[9] Ultimately, Spring concludes that the two main groups of students of the lute in the 1640s and 1650s were aspiring professional musicians and well-

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[6] Thomas Mace, *Musick's Monument,* 40.

[7] The books were divided at auction into three lots and were listed as follows: "763: Descartes Compend. Of Musick – Farmer's Consort of Musick – Childe's Psalms for 3 voc. &c. lib. 11; 764: Playford's Musick's Handmaid – The Lute's Apology – Lessons for the Cittern, &c. lib. 18; and 765: A collection of Ital. Fr. And Latin Songs, some Manuscript, by the most eminent Masters of that Science, lib. 17." See William Miller, *A Curious collection of books and pamphlets being the stock of Mr. William Miller, late of London, bookseller.* (London: s.n. 1695?), 72.

[8] Spring, 326.

[9] The list includes for viol and voice: Henry Lawes, Charles Colman, William Webb, John Birchenshaw, George Hudson, David Mell, Thomas Bates, Stephen Bing, Thomas Maylard, Edward Colman, Captaine Cooke, Henry Farabosco, John Harding, Jeremy Savile, John Goodgroome, John Este, William Paget and Mr. Gregory, and for keyboard instruments: Richard Portman, Christopher Gibbons, Randall Jewet, John Cobb, John Hinkston, Mr. Farmelow, Mr. Brian, Benjamin Sandley and Benjamin Rogers. See John Playford, *A Musicall Banquet,* (London: John Benson and John Playford, 1651), A4r. Spring also mentions this list.

heeled amateur women.[10] Once the war ended, many of the musicians that had departed London returned to their positions at court, effectively ending the growth of many amateur music-making activities that had flourished during the Commonwealth.[11] He concludes, based on concordances and the kinds of repertoire published between 1625 and 1640, that Gaultier and his contemporaries, that is, composers of serious lute music, adopted mostly wholesale the French *brisé* style of composition, reflected in the kinds of music that circulated in manuscript domestically and were imported in print and manuscript form from the Continent.

"Serious" composition was only one facet of music circulation during this time period, however, and the gravity of the kinds of music being circulated was not necessarily tied to oral, manuscript, or printed music. Between these many varied and evolving political, social, and economic situations in the 1640s and 1650s the lute declined in popularity as a solo instrument, at least insofar as publications of solo repertoire and records of public or courtly performances would imply. Despite an initial push to restore the places of lutenists that had been lost during the war, the lute never fully recovered as a solo instrument, a decline that will be analyzed more deeply in chapter five. Music for the lute circulated in a variety of formats including print, manuscript publication, personal manuscripts, and oral transmission. The likelihood that each of these formats encouraged the same reception of music for the lute seems unlikely given the social and economic opportunities and constraints for each. While there is a notable lacuna of published lute repertoire in England in the 1640's and '50s, circulation of lute music in manuscript thrived, including collections and instructional books penned by young, wealthy, female amateurs. This chapter will trace the decline of the lute over the course of the Caroline and Commonwealth periods in terms of transmission to account for the different audiences that would have taken shape during these periods for different kinds of music and different kinds of music-making. While the decline of the lute from its "golden age" in England can certainly be linked to changes in publishing practices, the social, political, and economic aspects of wartime, and changing tastes among cultural elites, it is really a confluence of all of these dynamics that accounts for the dramatic decline of the lute as a solo instrument in England.

Puritanical attitudes during the 1640s were already shaping the musical landscape of the church, where music books were being burned and organs were being removed. When the court retreated the landscape of secular music-making also experienced seismic shifts, where the focal points of musical inspiration and creation in amateur and professional circles relocated to university towns and the countryside. Spring has written about how the disbanding of court ushered in a period of music making among more diffuse, self-guided circles; in towns where musicians relocated musical clubs formed, bringing together amateur and professional musicians as collaborators as much as patrons, outlining additionally how the dissolution of courtly music circles increased access for the middle classes to music teachers and collaborators as court musicians scrambled to find new work.[12] For the duration of the interregnum these music clubs were surrogates for the musical goings-on at court that evaporated after the execution of Charles I.

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[10] Spring, 332. In particular, Spring uses iconography to place usually 12-course lutes in the hands of aristocratic amateur women, in addition to the anecdotes provided by Anthony Wood.
[11] Spring, 329. This claim comes from Wood, accounting for the rise and fall of musical clubs in the 1650s.
[12] Spring, 326.

In addition to the relocation and dissolution of the court, music-making in public also became increasingly difficult during the 1640s. In 1642, for instance, the waits of Worcester were banned from making music in public with the following injunction:

> It is ordered that John Browne and his companie of musicians called the waites be suppressed from playing of their instruments about the citty in the morning, and that they may not expect any recompence for their paynes and that the chamberlaynes are desired to give notice unto them of this order.[13]

For working musicians, being forbidden from performing in public during the busiest parts of the day, when people are attending church and going to market, a major source of income must have dried up overnight. John Irving posits that this forced many musicians underground, performing consort music privately in the homes of patrons, either as working musicians or as entertainment made by wealthy amateurs themselves. In Worcester this meant musicians in the circle of John Browne, including Thomas Tomkins and his half-brother Robert, John Withy, John Toy, and Archdeacon Edward Thornburgh took their music-making efforts private.[14] While they would not have been active in the record books of cities and towns, these musicians' music-making activities continued.

In this way the dispersal of court musicians was not a death-knell for music education; in some ways it was a boon. Where before learning to sing had primarily been the domain of institutions associated with music making in the church, the war ultimately forced musicians outside of these institutions, taking on independent students and starting musical clubs. The outcomes of this scattered music-making activity in part are harder to trace; when teachers were concentrated in London instruction books made more sense as a way to reach students outside the city; when teachers fled the city there was no longer a need to send their knowledge to the countryside, as they were now residing there. The need to explain the tablature being used to write out pieces of lute repertoire disappeared when teachers could explain it themselves in person. In this way musical literacy in early modern England followed an ebb-and-flow depending on who needed to read what, where they were located, and where their teachers lived.

At this point in the narrative scholars frequently begin to stress a stronger differentiation between solo lute music and its less obvious use as a consort instrument or as accompaniment to singing. This differentiation is intended to show the decline of the lute as a popular instrument in England, signaling the end of the lute's "golden age."[15] The lute continued to be used as an instrument well after the last print publication of solo lute repertoire; it was a continuo instrument at court well into the eighteenth century and Playford's *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick* still discusses lute technique up to its final edition in 1700.[16] The distinction traces a shift in taste and cultural activity away from solo repertoire and toward other styles of playing. For Mace writing in 1676 this shift did signal a "death" for the lute as he knew it. What these

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[13] This injunction is noted in John Irving, "Consort playing in mid-17th-century Worcester: Thomas Tomkins and the Bodleian partbooks Mus.Sch.E.415-18," *Early Music* 12/3 (August 1984), 340.
[14] Ibid.
[15] The term "golden age" of lute playing goes back at least as far as 1939 when Richard Newton introduced the repertory to be played by Diana Poulton for the Musical Association. The transcript of Newton's remarks can be found in *Proceedings of the Musical Association* 65 (1938-1939), 63-90.
[16] John Playford, *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick,* (London: William Pearson for Henry Playford, 1700).

developments really represented were a changing landscape in which repertoire became more accessible to a greater number of people, and in which musical amateurs and their circles of music-making friends had greater agency and more investment than their virtuosic predecessors. To this distinction I would add a complex web of political, social, and economic realities unfolding in England during the time, of which the changing styles and modes of music circulation were symptoms.

When Parliament assumed control of government and power over book producers and merchants it effectively shut down music book production for several years. William Child's *The First Set of Psalmes of III Voyces* (1639) was the last known music book to be published before the war. Music books did not return until 1648 with the publication of Henry Lawes' *Choice Psalmes put into Musick*. It would be another two years before secular music was printed again, resuming with John Playford's *The English Dancing Master* (1650/51). As the Playford printing house picked up momentum quite a few books of secular music were printed during the Commonwealth, but not many for the lute, *The Lute's Apology for her Excellency* being the notable exception. [Table 1] While the Playford family was responsible for the lion's share of printed music books from this time period, other printers like Thomas Harper, the Moseley family, and William Godbid also took part in bringing music books to market.[17]

[17] The printing patent that had existed at the beginning of the century by this point had been dissolved. It effectively ended with the death of William Barley in 1614, which Rebecca Herissone attributes in part to the decline of music publishing until the Playfords took it up again in the 1640s. See Herissone, "Functions of Music Publishing in Restoration England," 246.

Table 1: Music Publications in London, 1614 – 1660

Year	Author	Title	Publisher
1614	Leighton, William	*The Teares or Lamentations of a Sorrowfull Soule*	William Stansby
1614	Ravenscroft, Thomas	*A Briefe Discourse Of the true (but neglected) use of Charact'ring the Degrees,*	Edward Allde for Thomas Adams
1615	Amner, John	*Sacred Hymnes of 3. 4. 5 and 6. Parts*	Edward Allde
1615	Tailour, Rodert (and Edwin Sandys)	*Fifti Select Psalms of David*	Thomas Snodham
1617?	Campion, Thomas	*The Third and Fourth Booke of Ayres*	Thomas Snodham
1618	Bateson, Thomas	*The Second Set of Madrigales to 3. 4. 5. and 6. Parts*	Thomas Snodham for Matthew Lownes and John Browne
1618	East, Michael	*The Fourth Set of Bookes*	Thomas Snodham for Matthew Lownes and John Browne
1618	East, Michael	*The Fift Set of Bookes*	Thomas Snodham for Matthew Lownes and John Browne
1618	Mason, George	*The Ayres that were Sung and Played at Brougham Castle in Westmerland in the Kings Entertainment*	Thomas Snodham
1618	Ravenscroft, Thomas	*Pammelia*	Thomas Snodham for Matthew Lownes and John Browne
1619	Campion, Thomas	*Epigrammatum libri II*	E. Griffin
1619	Morley, Thomas	*The first Booke of Canzonets*	Thomas Snodham for Matthew Lownes and John Browne
1619	Valtour, Thomas	*The First Set: Beeing Songs of Divers Ayres and Natures*	Thomas Snodham for Matthew Lownes and John Browne
1620	Peerson, Martin	*Private Musicke. Or the First Booke of Ayres and Dialogues*	Thomas Snodham
1620?	Gibbons, Orlando	*Fantasies of Three Parts*	None named
1621	Adson, John	*Courtly Masquing Ayres*	T. S. for John Browne
1621	Sternhold and Hopkins	*The Whole Booke of Psalmes*	Company of Stationers
1622	Attey, John	*The First Booke of Ayres in Foure Parts*	Thomas Snodham
1622	Tomkins, Thomas	*Songs of 3. 4. 5. and 6. Parts*	For Matthew Lownes, John Browne, and Thomas Snodham
1624	East, Michael	*The Sixt Set of Bookes*	Thomas Snodham for M. L. and A. B.
1624	Pilkington, Francis	*The Second Set of Madrigals, and Pastorals of 3. 4. 5. and 6. Parts*	Thomas Snodham for M. L. and A. B.
1627	Hilton, John	*Ayres, or, Fa La's for Three Voyces*	Humfrey Lownes, to be sold by George Lathum
1629	Guedron, Pierre	*French Court-Aires, With their Ditties Englished, Of foure and five Parts.*	William Stansby

Table 1 continued: Music Publications in London, 1614 – 1660

1630	Peerson, Martin	*Mottects or Grave Chamber Musique*	William Stansby
1631	Bevin, Elway	*A Briefe and Short Instruction on the Art of Musicke*	R. Young
1632	Porter, Walter	*Madrigales and Ayres*	William Stansby
1636	Butler, Charles	*The Principles of Musik, in Singing and Setting*	John Haviland
1638	East, Michael	*The Seventh Set of Bookes*	William Stansby and George Latham
1638	Victorinus, Georg	*Siren Coelestis centrum harmoniarum duarum, trium, & quatourum vocum*	Iohnnis Norton
1639	Child, William	*The First Set of Psalmes of III Voyces*	James Reave
1648	Lawes, Henry	*Choice Psalmes Put into Musick*	James Young for Henry Moseley
1650/1	Playford, John	*The English Dancing Master*	Thomas Harper for John Playford
1651	Byrd/Bull/Gibbons	*Parthenia*	John Clarke
1651	Playford, John	*A Musicall Banquet*	T. H. For John Benson
1652	Richard Mathew	*The Lutes Apology for her Excellency*	Thomas Harper for Livewell Chapman
1652	Anonymous	*The Second Booke of Ayres containing Pastorall Dialogues*	Thomas Harper for John Playford
1652	Hilton, John	*Catch that catch can*	John Benson and John Playford
1652	Playford, John	*A booke of new lessons for the cithern and gittern*	T. H. For John Benson
1652	Playford, John	*Musick's recreation on the lyra viol*	John Playford
1652	Playford, John	*Select Musicall Ayres and Dialogues*	John Playford
1652	Playford, John	*The Dancing Master*	John Playford
1653	Descartes, René	*Excellent Compendium of Music*	Thomas Harper for Humphrey Moseley
1653	Lawes, Henry	*Ayres and Dialogues*	T. H. For John Playford
1653	Playford, John	*A Catalogue of all the Musick Bookes That have been printed in England*	John Playford
1653	Playford, John	*Select Musical Ayres and Dialogues in Three Bookes*	T. H. For John Playford
1653	Playford, John	*The Dancing Master*	John Playford
1654	Playford, John	*A breefe introduction to the skill of musick*	John Playford
1655	Campion, Thomas	*The Art of Setting or Composing of Musick in Parts*	John Playford
1655	Lawes, Henry	*Ayres and Dialogues*	T. H. For John Playford
1655	Byrd, Bull, Gibbons	*Parthenia*	John Clarke
1655	Playford, John	*Court-Ayres: or, Pavins, Almains, Corant's and Sarabands*	John Playford

Table 1 continued: Music Publications in London, 1614 – 1660

1656	Gamble, John	*Ayres and Dialogues*	William Godbid
1656	Locke, Matthew	*His little consort of three parts*	W. Godbid for John Playford
1657	Child, William	*Choise Musick to the Psalmes of David for Three Voices*	John Playford
1657	Gamble, John	*Ayres and Dialogues*	W. Godbid for Humfrey Mosley
1657	Porter, Walter	*Mottets of Two Voyces*	William Godbid
1657	Wilson, John	*Devotions of His Sacred Majestie in his Solitudes*	John Martin and James Allestrey
1658	Hilton, John	*Catch that catch can*	W. G. For John Benson and John Playford
1658	Lawes, Henry	*Ayres and Dialogues*	T. H. For John Playford
1658	Playford, John	*A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick in two books*	W. Godbid for John Playford
1659	Gamble, John	*Ayres and Dialogues*	W. Godbid for Nathaniel Eakin
1659	multiple	*Select Ayres and Dialogues*	W. Godbid for John Playford
1659	Simpson, Christopher	*The Division Violist: Or, an introduction to playing upon the ground*	William Godbid
1659	Wilson, John	*Cheerful ayres or ballads*	W. Hall for Ric. Davis
1660	Playford, John	*A Brief introduction to the Skill of Musick in two books*	W. Godbid for John Playford
1660	Wilson, John	*Cheerful Ayres or Ballads*	W. Hall for Ric. Davis

While the publication of music books between 1614 and 1640 slowed, it did not end entirely; Thomas Snodham, who inherited the East Publishing house, continued activities well into the 1620s. Others like William Stansby also carried the torch.[18] In fact, some of the books that were published between these dates were music instruction manuals, including books by Thomas Ravenscroft, Elway Bevin, and Charles Butler. Even so, fewer music books were published each year during this time. Scholars have cited and interpreted this dearth of printed music books to tell several different stories about music circulation and early seventeenth-century cultures of print. Mathew Spring argues that after 1615 or so the availability of scribes and manuscripts surpassed the need for printed books. Graham Freeman follows this thread further, concluding that musicians learned their music by ear even more frequently than they circulated it in manuscript.[19] Altogether written music–and printed music in particular–represented a small fraction of music transmission in early modern England, and musicians from all walks of life participated in a robust network of learning by ear. The presence of written music was one small trace of a larger culture of music-making, shaped by forces of musical taste and larger social, political, and economic forces gripping the country. To trace the circulation of music during these upheavals it is necessary to take a step aside from publishing as the sole indicator of musical output and look to other ways music would have circulated in order to get a broader picture of musical life between 1642 and 1660.

One of the largest factors driving the move back away from printed tablature books to manuscript was the political unrest gripping England entering the 1640s. As it became increasingly difficult for supporters of the monarchy to remain in London they fled to the country, taking what they could with them, including offering employment to musicians that had previously held court appointments. As the court dispersed, lutenists like John Jenkins (1592-1678) found employment with wealthy families, leading to potential collaboration on manuscripts later in the century such as the *Burwell Lute Tutor* (c.1660-1671).[20] His student Roger North remarked that during the Commonwealth Jenkins "past his time at gentlemen's houses in the country."[21]

The Civil War did not completely turn relationships between Nobles and artists on their head, but because of the war artists took advantage of their privileged relationships to also flee London and find opportunities in the country until it was safer to return. Prior to Jenkins' potential collaboration with Burwell on her manuscript other tutors also oversaw the compilation of lute manuscripts for wealthy young men and women. *The Margaret Board Lute Book,* for instance, comprises works of the heavy-hitters of the golden age of the lute, including both Dowlands, Robert Johnson, and Richard Allison. Some pieces are even in John Dowland's hand,

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[18] For more on Thomas East's publishing house passing to Thomas Snodham see Chapter 3, and Smith, 124-125.

[19] Graham Freeman, "The Transmission of Lute Music and the Culture of Aurality in Early Modern England," in Linda Phyllis Austern, Candace Bailey, and Amanda Eubanks Winkler, eds. *Beyond Boundaries: Rethinking Music Circulation in Early Modern England* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2017), 42.

[20] *The Burwell Tutor.* Ingham, Norwich, Captain Anthony Howard's private collection. Other manuscripts were copied during this time and earlier. The *Hender Robarts Lute Book* (is one, which also includes music from French sources and was most likely compiled by the pupil Hender Robarts under the supervision of a tutor by the name of Bourgaisie. See Diana Poulton, "A Checklist of Some Recently Discovered English Lute Manuscripts," *Early Music* 3/2 (April 1975), 125.

[21] Quoted in Andrew Ashbee, "Jenkins, John (English composer)." *Grove Music Online* 17 Apr. 2019.

and the attribution "Doctor Dowland" to a coranto in the manuscript also helps to date the collection to around 1622, when Dowland was awarded his degree.[22] Manuscript circulation was commonplace well before the political upheavals of the 1640s, but as more musicians left London for the countryside they brought with them changing attitudes about musical tastes and repertoire which would continue to shape musical life in England well into the Restoration.

This movement of musicians and teachers is reflected in Christopher Simpson's dedication to Robert Bolles of *The Division Viol* (1659) which reads: "*The* Work *had both its* Conception, *and* Production, *under Your Roofe; and (though first suggested by Another) chiefly contriv'd, and carried on, for the Instruction of Your then little Son."*[23] Simpson continues that during the 1650s:

> *All who know You, do also acknowledge You the* Mecoenas *of* Musick, *in this our Nation. That innocent, and now distressed* Muse, *driven from her Sacred Habitations, and forced to seek a livelihood in Streets and Taverns, where she is expos'd and prostituted to all prophaness hath, in this her deplorable condition, found a chaste, and cheerfull Sanctuary within Your Wals; where she is cherish'd encourag'd and adorned, even by the Hands of Your Noble Self,Your Vertuous Lady, and most hopefull Children; beside Others, whom You keep and maintain upon that Accompt.* [24]

The "Sacred Habitations" from which music was forced to leave would have been the comfort and privilege of London and courtly life; finding new "sanctuary" in Bolles' household. Those "kept and maintained" by Bolles would have been the musicians and artists whose art thrived in the country during the 1650s, which finally found its way back into print as the Commonwealth was coming to an end and wealthy patrons returned to London. The dedication affirms that musicians did travel with wealthy households to the country, continued to produce music there, and brought it with them upon their return to London. It also confirms that during the 1640s and '50s music circulated in these houses not in print, but in manuscript and likely also by ear. Music production during this period was thus the product of collaborations between skilled musicians and their wealthy employers.

One such collaboration is *Burwell.* The bulk of the instructions in Mary Burwell's treatise appear to be in her own hand, but various corrections resemble the writing of Jenkins, suggesting he had a guiding influence on the contents of the book. Burwell most likely copied a great deal of the contents between 1660 and 1671.[25] This may or may not have been done under the supervision of Jenkins and we do not know the extent to which the contents belong to him–there is no evidence that Burwell could not have compiled the set of instructions on her own, with Jenkins merely commenting on the finished product–but his handwriting places him in Burwell's orbit.[26]

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[22] Diana Poulton, *Checklist,* 125.
[23] Christopher Simpson, *The Division Violist* (London: William Godbid, 1659), dedication page.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Thurston Dart placed the manuscript's production between 1668 and 1671, but Spring widens the window to 1660-1671. See Dart, 6. Also see Spring, 315.
[26] The neatness of the manuscript does suggest that it was copied from another source, and the convention of copying manuscript lessons from teachers' exemplars would be the most likely explanation. However, without attribution to Rogers it is still difficult to say whose exemplars, if any, *Burwell* was copied from. On a personal note I hesitate to insist that Jenkins by necessity had a hand in shaping the contents of the

Unique to *Burwell* is the way in which its author deals with teaching the lessons themselves. Unlike previous books of tablature that provided all of the instructions for holding the lute, tuning it, maintaining it, and reading the tablature at the beginning of the volume followed by whole pieces to play, *Burwell* proceeds episodically with single-measure-long "dissections" of the previous tune explaining aspects of its performance. The second piece in the manuscript, a corant, is first described as "a triple measure that is have three crotchetts in every measure or the value of them in other notes. These measures are divided by a line that crosses the six lines or the six rules of the said book as you may plainly see in this demonstration."[27] [the corant follows]. On the following page "the modele and dissection of the Corant that is sett in the beginning of this Chapter ..." begins. The scribe explains more about the bar lines enclosing "measures" of three crotchets, and how the seeming "orphan" note at the end of the section actually completes the pickup measure at the beginning of the piece. After notating the fourth through sixth measures individually [Fig. 1] the scribe explains how to count the rhythms of the piece, writing for example that the fifth measure "is easye to be expounded it is compounded of six letters all quavers a quaver being worth halfe a crotchett six quavers makes three crotchetts the whole measure." The scribe explains a new note duration by showing it in action, and giving instructions for how to count it.

tutor; Mary may well have been an accomplished lutenist in her own right and the fact that her social status would have been shaped by her womanhood does not preclude the possibility that she wrote or adapted the instructions on her own. Furthermore, despite all that has been written about her, her manuscript, and musicians in her orbit by Dart, Spring, and others, she still does not have her own entry in *Grove.*

[27] *Burwell,* 18v.

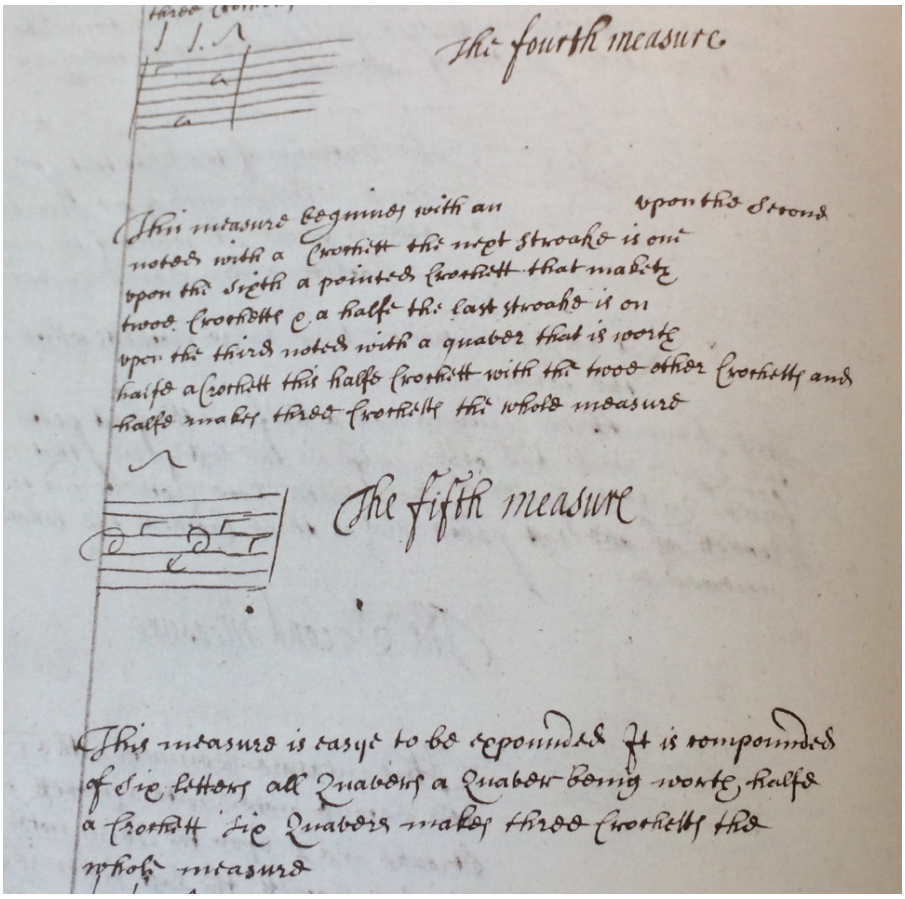

Figure 1: Explanations of individual measures of a Corant in *Burwell,* 21v-22v.

Although other didactic manuscripts on lute technique were copied during this time period and before, *Burwell's* approach to taking pieces measure-by-measure is unique. Music students today might recognize this technique from their own lessons, taking manageable "chunks" of a piece and practicing them one by one. This technique is a sharp departure from other didactic books, both those published in print and circulated in manuscript. The closest analogue to *Burwell* perhaps would be *PEIPM,* which takes singing from pricksong in steps with the Master walking Philomathes through solmization step-by-step. However, the addition of lute tablature complicates the picture of the step-by-step process. Given the levels of disdain shown by professionals – both modern and contemporaries of the likes of Richard Mathew and Mary Burwell – to tablature as a professional method of music notation, taking such a methodical approach to learning pieces seems counterintuitive. If tablature were so easy to read why wouldn't a student be able to play from it at first sight?[28] The answer of course is that even

[28] For anyone that remembers teaching themselves to play the guitar from tablature in the early days of the internet this conceit is obvious. The point of finding intabulated songs, riffs, and solos was that they were too difficult to figure out extemporaneously, and thus they had to be "chunked" just like anything else. Tablature did not – and does not – preclude the difficulty of the pieces it encodes. Working through

easier-to-read music notations such as tablature did not simplify the placement of the fingers on the neck of the lute or the dexterity required to play them at speed; to work on these concepts learners would still have needed to do all of the things students do today, including slow practice, "chunking" difficult passages, and studying the score. The difference is the transferability of one notation system to another; intabulated music for fretted instruments would only have been useful in that context, but the simplified notation system only simplified the written music, not the performance. *Burwell's* step-by-step approach to learning the pieces suggests that the approaches some teachers used with their students in early modern England may have anticipated methods in use today, and while many books only provided basic instructions at the beginning for how to read tablature and hold the instrument, learning to play under the supervision of a teacher was a methodical, segmented process.

Burwell was not the only tutor to advocate for methodical practice; in *SM* Thomas Robinson advised his readers to take their time, especially if they are trying to re-learn to play, writing "manie, both men and women, that in their youth could have played (for that kinde of play) passing well, in their age, or when they once have beene married, have forgotten all, as if they had never knowne what a Lute had ment; and the reason I finde to proceed (in the beginning of their learning) from the ignorance of their teachers, for in older times they strove (onelie) to have a quick hand upon the Lute, to runne hurrie hurrie, keeping a Catt in the gutter upon the ground, now true then false, now up now downe, with such painfull play, mocking, mowing, gripeing, grinning, sighing, supping, heaving, shouldring, labouring, and sweating, like cart Iades, without any skill in the world, or rule, or reason to play a lesson, or finger the Lute, or guide the bodie, or know any thing, that belongeth, either to skill or reason."[29] For Robinson, students hurrying through their lessons too quickly would stumble, not remember the best practices, and when it came time to play would strain to play quickly rather than playing with ease and poise. Part of the fault of this he attributes to teachers reinforcing bad habits, and part of the blame he passes on to students wanting results too quickly. In order to play well it was important to take one's time, to think about what was to be played, and to execute it well.

Burwell offers a contrasting model to many music tutor books of its time, a record of a step-by-step instruction that accounts for each measure of music as an individual hurdle to be cleared by the reader. Each measure, with its annotations and directions, offers guidance to readers trying to make sense of the full pieces contained in the manuscript. Although the prevailing conceit about the book was that Burwell copied it from exemplars provided by her teacher, the uniqueness of the instructions suggest the instructions at the very least diverged from what other teachers of the time were offering in the way of manuscripts to be copied. Whether the manuscript was Jenkins' pedagogic invention, or adapted in the moment to suit the needs of musical learners in the English countryside, *Burwell,* the repertoire it contains, and the way that repertoire is explained, offer a unique glimpse into music making not found in printed books before or after.

While *Burwell* has received the most attention from scholars as an example of lute instruction in the 1660s, other contemporary sources survive, including *The Hender Robarts Lute Book* (c.1654-68)[30] While *Robarts,* which predates *Burwell* by a few years, does not break the pieces down into as much detail as *Burwell,* the scribe does provide structure to make it easier

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a difficult passage measure-by-measure was, and continues to be, an efficient and effective way of learning music.

[29] Robinson, Bv.

[30] See *Robarts, GB-LANh* MS, and also Spring, 344.

for a student to play the pieces.[31] The repertoire, a collection of dances, is grouped by tuning to help readers avoid sour notes from playing the wrong intervals. [Fig. 2] Each tuning method gets its own explanation and example against which players could check their tuning to make sure everything sounds right before beginning the piece. [Fig. 3] For instance, for Ennemond Gaultier's famous *ton de la chèvre* tuning, the scribe gives the following guidance to readers: "Tuning to play the pieces that follow. Everything is in the *Chevre* of old Gaultier. – of Lyon – or the key *La* of the eighth transposed, or *f-ut-fa* transposed."[32] Occasionally the scribe crossed out mistakes, and by-and-large the hand seems to be quick and utilitarian, especially on the rhythmic markings and parts of the final measures. [Fig. 4]

[31] Poulton, *Checklist,* 125.

[32] *Acord pour joüer les piesses si en suitte. Cest le tout de la Chevre du vieux Gaultier. – de lion – ou bien le ton de Lá. de la huitiesme transposé. ou, f. ut. fa. transposé.* See GB-LANh ms. fol A1r.

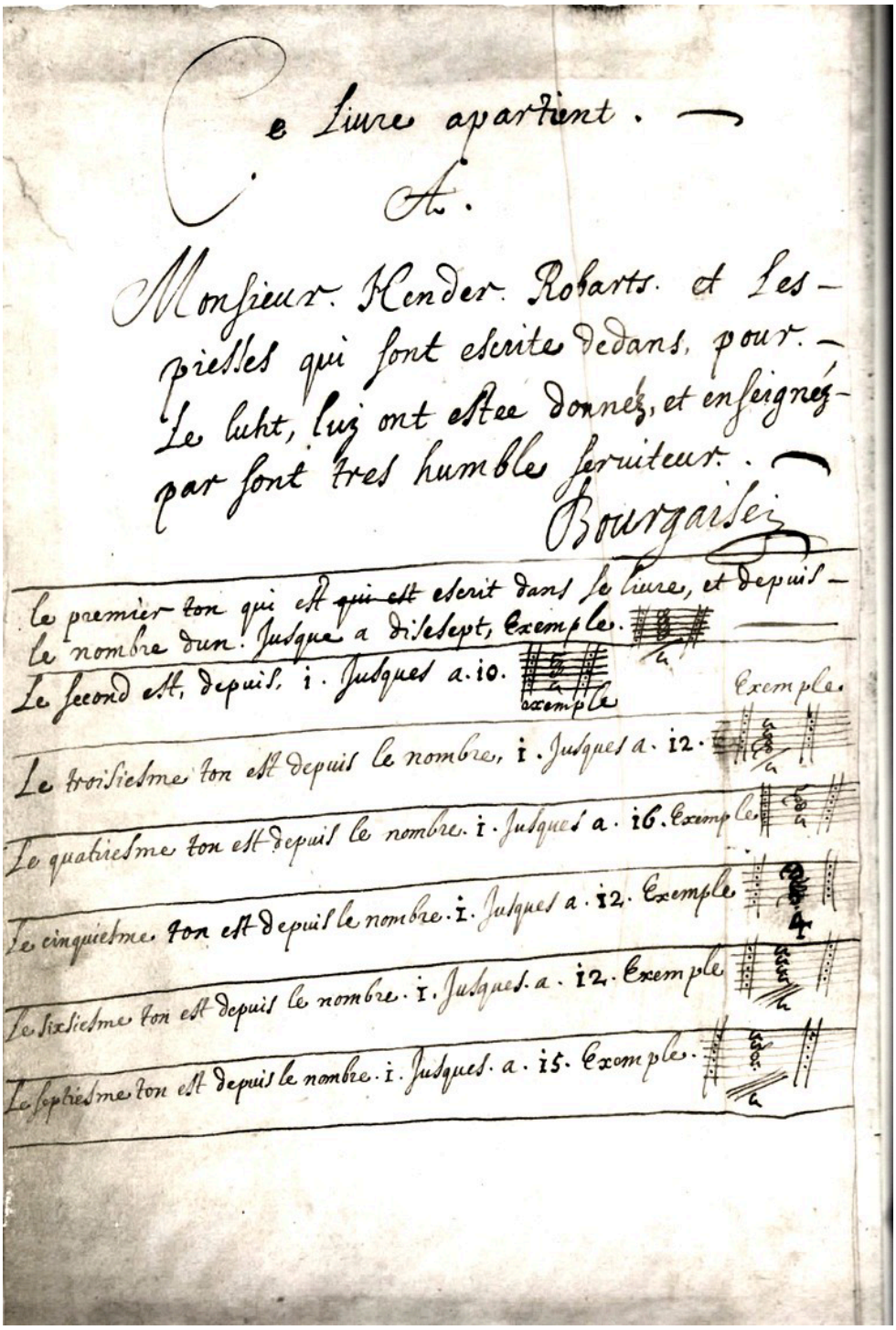


Figure 2: Chapter headings organized by tuning, from *Robarts*

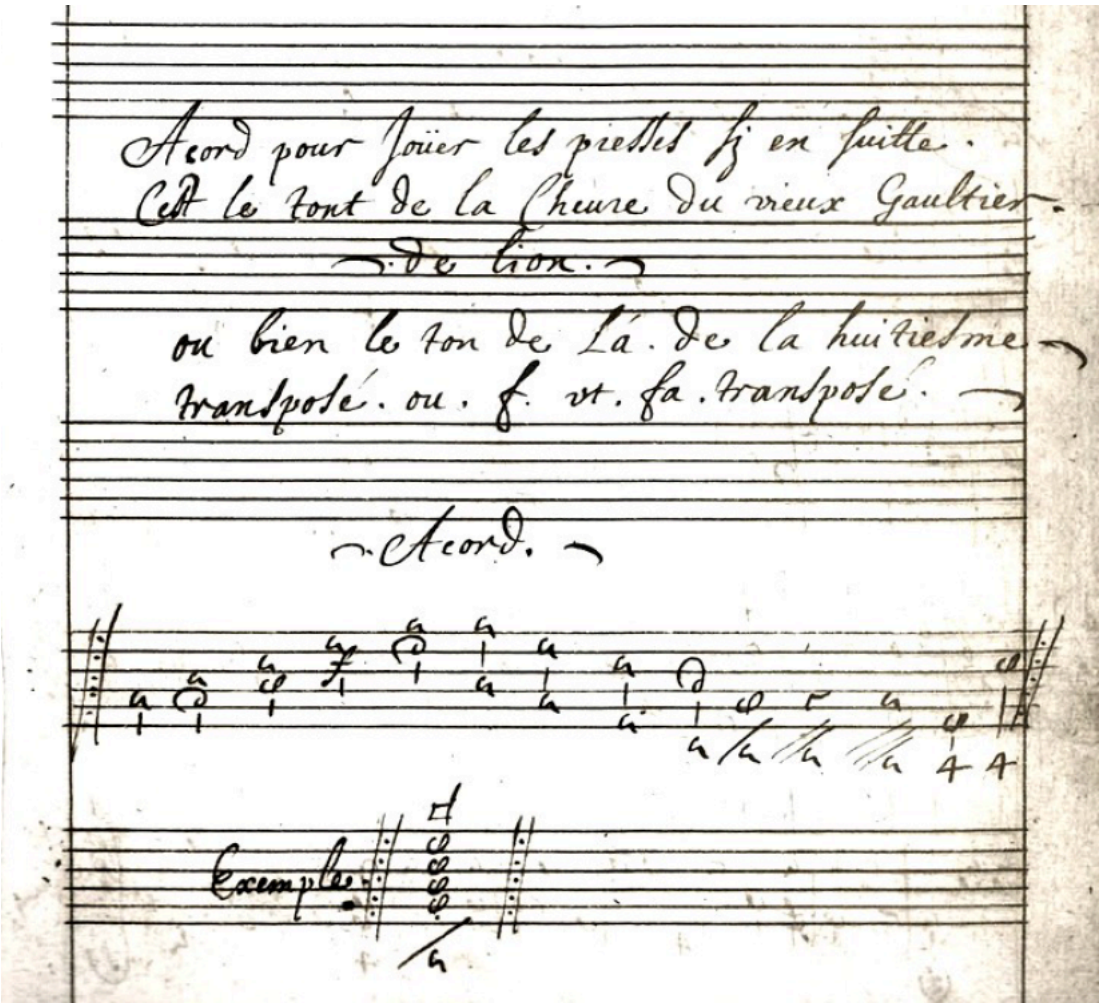


Figure 3: Tuning instructions from *Robarts*

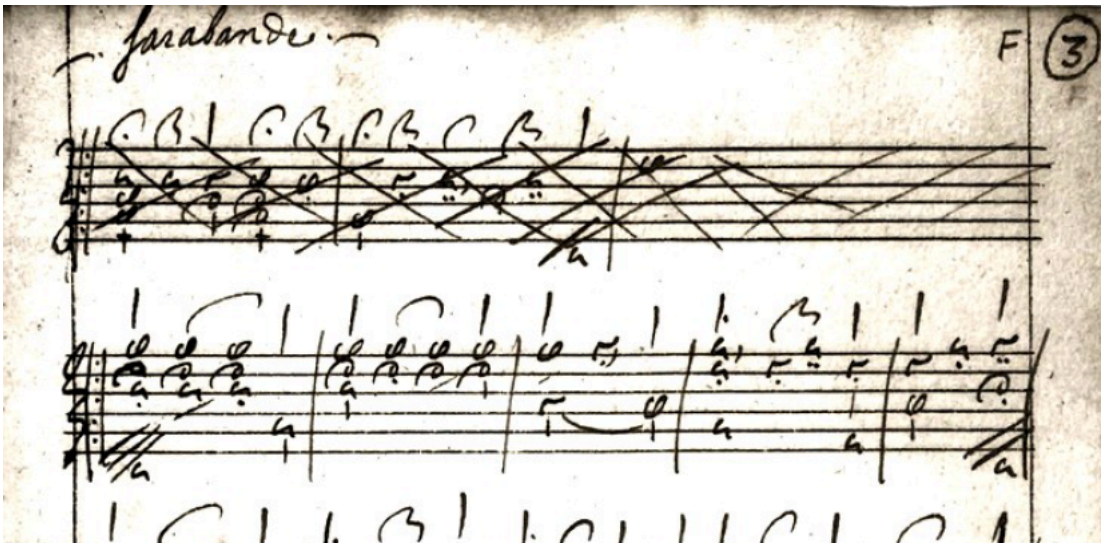


Figure 4: Mistakes and rapid handwriting in *Robarts*

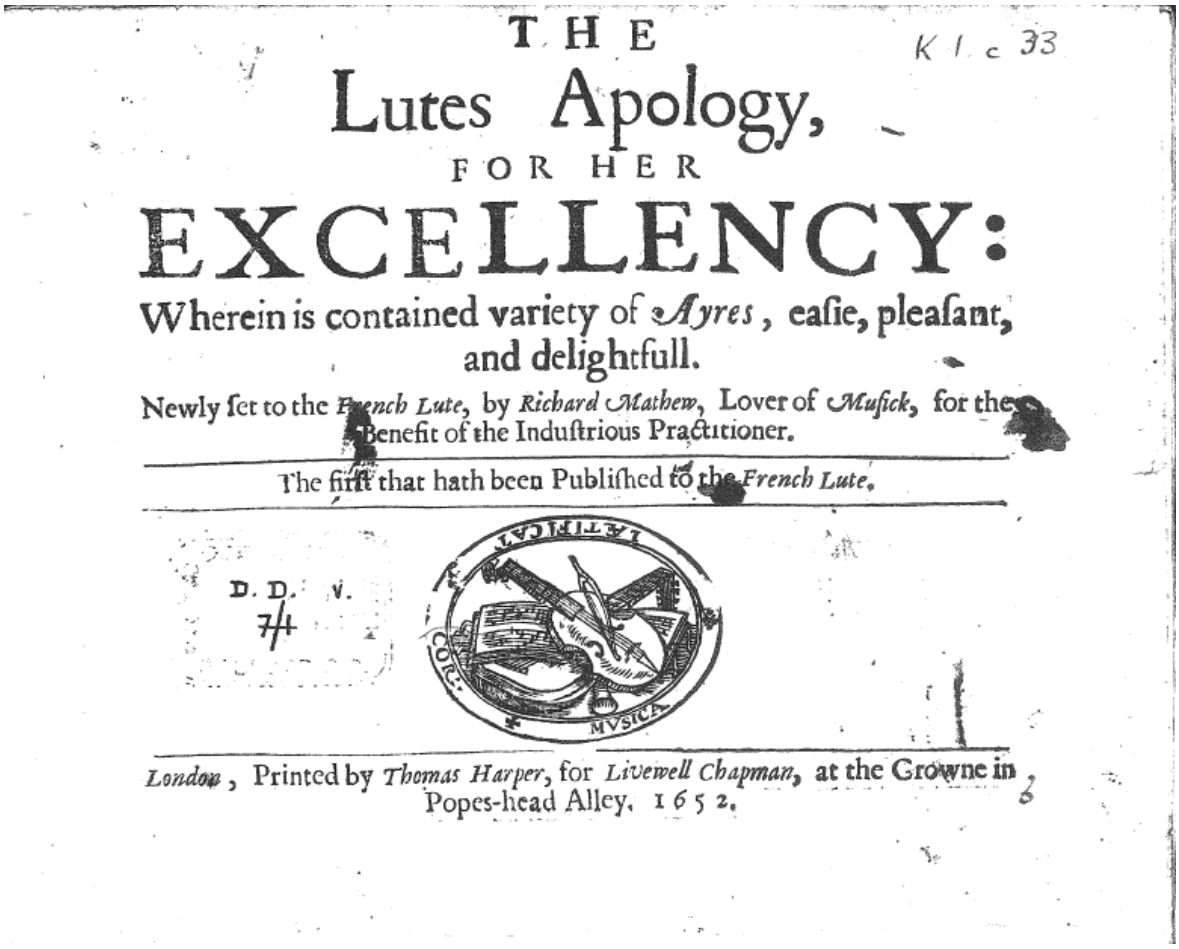
On the one hand, the compilers of manuscripts seem to have been working toward embracing complexity and helping their students learn pieces in many tunings and from many sources. In contrast to what Burwell was copying in the early 1660s, The first – and seemingly only – book for the lute published after the 1642 printing intermission was Richard Mathew's *The Lute's Apology for her Excellency* (Thomas Harper for Livewell Chapman, 1652). [Fig. 5] The book (of which only one copy is known to survive, which is held by the British Library) is not a didactic method; instead it pulls together simplified repertoire from various sources including several printed by Playford.[33] The preface, and its departures from earlier prefaces, reflect some of the developments of the previous decade. Addressing the book "To the Skilfull and well Accomplisht Masters in Musick," Mathew writes:

> *Gentlemen:* Having served two Apprentiships unto my Lute, and finding my Study well replenished with what were necessary, as to the Body or Musick, after the way of those Worthies, whose Workes live, although they be dead, and finding nothing in Print to the French Lute, which now onely is in Request, and being sensible of my owne difficulties, through which I have passed, and bearing in mee a spirit desiring Common-wealth, to the end I might incourage and helpe the laborious Practitioner, I have published these in order thereunto. I write this Epistle to you, who of right should have saved mee this labour; but if in your Wisdomes you have not thought that to bee convenient, yet heerein hold me excused; for as much as I have robbed none of you, neither have I been beholding unto any of you for one stop or stroake. As to the French Lute, they are purely my owne; and because Nature hath beene my Tutor, upon that account I need not feare but these will praise their Schoole, and be well accepted of by the Prudent; I presume no man will finde fault, but he that is able and resolved to doe better. I have made some use of the old tuning, as also of Ayres whose Authours I know not: In some of them I have not followed the proper Basse, nor fulled them with inward Parts; because I would not make them hard unto the Schollar: I have signified no Grace or Humour, which would have beene too troublesome to the Printer; and for your parts, I know you have them at your fingers ends; and for the Practitioner hee will use them as hee increaseth his agility; To conclude, Gentlemen, for my owne part, as I covet no mans suffrages; I doe not doubt of your Civilities.
>
> *Your Servant,*
> Richard Mathew.[34]

Unlike books from the turn of the seventeenth century by the likes of Morley, Robinson, or even Barley, Mathew makes no claims to university pedigree, instead identifying himself as a "lover of music" on the book's title page. In doing so he carefully positions himself more humbly in 1652 as a Common Man, and indeed a man of the "Common-wealth." He boasts of his two "apprenticeships" in music but makes no claim to be a "master of music." Spring interprets the address to "skilfull and accomplisht masters" as a call-out to professional musicians who had not published their own new material in years, necessitating his publication ("I write this Epistle to you, who of right should have saved mee this labour").[35] Mathew's

[33] Spring, 346.
[34] Richard Mathew, *The Lute's Apology for her Excellence* (1652).
[35] Spring, 346.

intabulations are geared toward the fashionable 12-course lute, showing six lines of tablature with the addition of diapasons a, /a, //a, ///a, 4 and 5, of which he makes frequent use throughout the book. [Fig. 6] In other words, the bulk of the repertoire in *The Lute's Apology* is intended for audiences wanting to play in the newer, trendier French style, however simplified the tunes may have become during Mathew's process of intabulation. Mathew's claims suggest that there was still a desire to play repertoire for the lute from tablature in England in the 1650s, but that the musicians capable of producing such books refused to do so.



THE

Lutes Apology,

FOR HER

EXCELLENCY:

Wherein is contained variety of *Ayres*, eaſie, pleaſant, and delightfull.

Newly ſet to the *French Lute*, by *Richard Mathew*, Lover of *Muſick*, for the Benefit of the Induſtrious Practitioner.

The firſt that hath been Publiſhed to the *French Lute*.

K. 1. c. 33

D. D. V. 74

London, Printed by *Thomas Harper*, for *Livewell Chapman*, at the Crowne in Popes-head Alley. 1652.

Figure 5: Title Page from Richard Mathew, *The Lute's Apology for her Excellency* (1652)

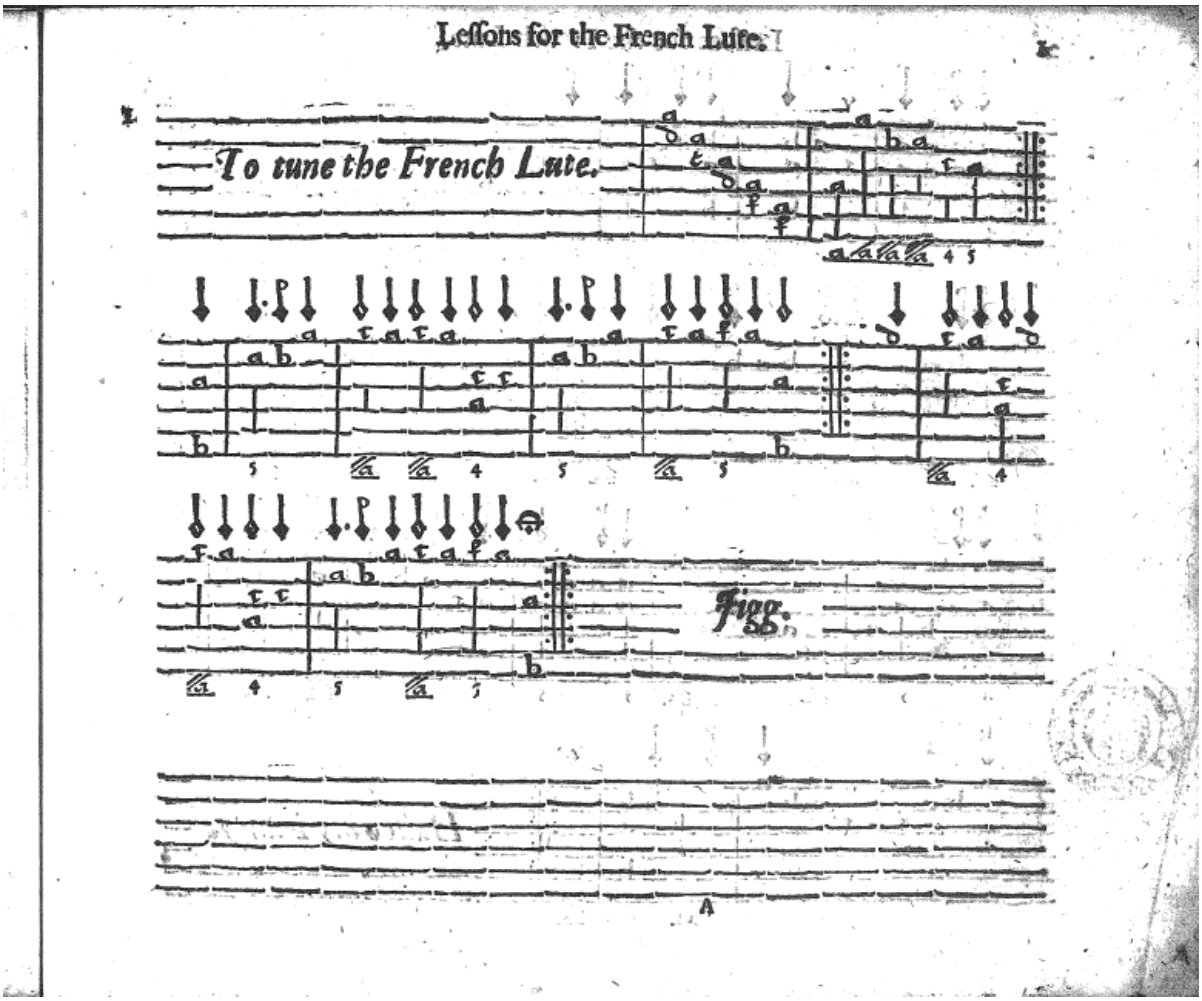


Figure 6: Tuning scheme from *The Lute's Apology*

What Mathew did intabulate also reveals who he assumed his readership to be. Rather than the greatest hits of Robinson, Dowland, Rosseter, and others of the "golden age" of the lute, Mathew's book contains many pieces of his own invention, all in tunings for the "French Lute" as well as the others borrowed from other Playford publications. Paired with his complaint that professional lutenists were failing in their duty to produce new books of printed lute music, it would seem that Mathew's remedy is a more extreme answer to the problem; rather than continuing a dropped thread of music publishing, Mathew's book sought to pick up a new one, introducing newer French musical styles to the English music book market. Compared with books published around the turn of the seventeenth century this new set of prints is a significant departure from the status quo. Where earlier prints can be argued to have served as auditions for employment at court, professorships at universities, or teaching positions in private households, this new project – seemingly at least in part a wealthy amateur's vanity project to counter a lacuna in printed books rather than as a money-making venture – features repertoire far outside the canon previously recorded in print. What is to be made of all of these changes? *The Lute's Apology* represents an apologetic penned by a member of a leisured class, defending imported music meant to be played on instruments that had long left the "English" tradition behind. Furthermore, Mathew may have hoped the simplified arrangements of the tunes in the book

would have been a selling point rather than a condemnation of his skills as a lutenist. With so many musicians scattered across England and domestic music-making now the most common way to hear music performed, more accessible versions of popular pieces would seem welcome in context, not only on the lute and viol but also for keyboard music as well.[36] While some components of music transmission for the lute – their container, layout, and notation – remained consistent, other soft aspects – audience, style, and motivations for publishing, had changed dramatically.[37]

Although the title page of *The Lute's Apology* contains the copy of the medallion featured on many of Thomas East's prints, the layout for the music of the subsequent pages betrays poor planning on the part of either composer or printer; at times measures are split across staff breaks, much like the manuscripts of the same time period copied by wealthy amateur students.[38] The first page of "Mathews Delight" features a measure split between staves three and four, with a minim chord on the first line and four semiminims on the second [Fig. 7]. Similarly on page 4, the next page of the same piece, a single semiminim on the second fret of the third string continues on from the previous line [Fig. 8]. Similarly, the *Richard Mynshall's Lute Book* (*GB-Lam,* The Robert Spencer Collection, c. 1597) frequently wraps measures across staves seemingly without regard to how it breaks up rhythms [Fig. 9]. Writing about manuscripts written by skilled professionals in comparison with amateur copyists, Julia Craig-McFeely advises readers to watch for such "orphan" measures as a sign of poor planning on the part of the scribe.[39] These orphan measures may also have been a means of conserving paper and preventing page turns, but the fact that there are plenty of empty staves at the end of many of these pieces suggests that the typesetter of Mathew's book was not breaking measures in half to save space, but rather may not have understood how the notes were grouped in tablature.

[36] I am grateful to Davitt Moroney for sharing this observation with me.

[37] Richard Mathew's family history is unclear, but his amateur status suggests his participation in music-making from a position of privilege rather than one of professional aspiration. Mathew may have had ties to publishing houses associated with Playford, shaping the format of his book. The poor quality of *The Lute's Apology* however, Spring suggests, may have been the true death-knell for printed tablature books for the lute; its failure may have discouraged Playford from publishing any similar books subsequently of that kind, and indeed *The Lute's Apology* is the last of its kind until Mace's *Musick's Monument*. See Matthew Spring, "Mathew, Richard," *Grove Music Online*. Accessed 16 Apr. 2019. http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.libproxy.berkeley.edu/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000018062.

[38] Julia Craig-McFeely, 98.

[39] Ibid.

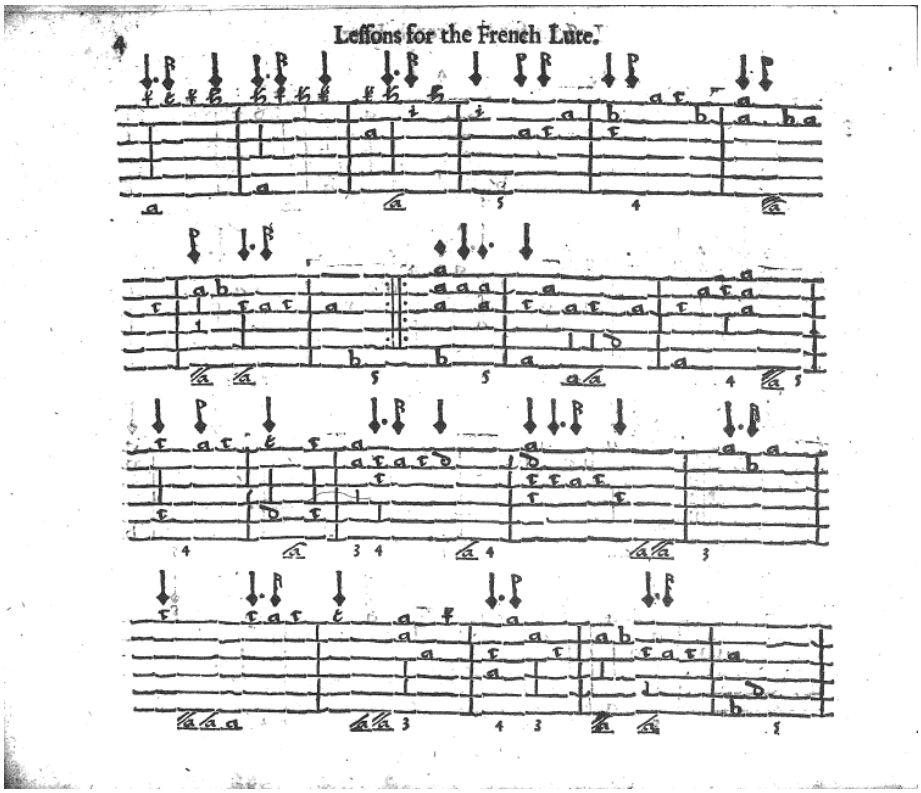


Figure 7: Orphan rhythms in “Mathew’s Delight”

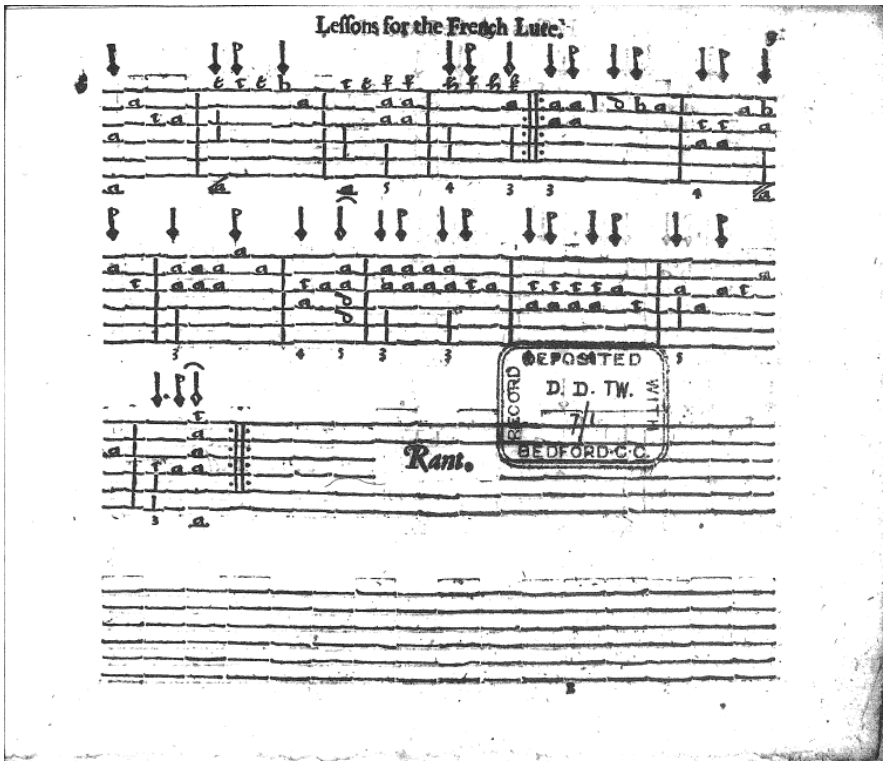


Figure 8: “Orphaned” measures in “Rant,” *The Lute’s Apology*

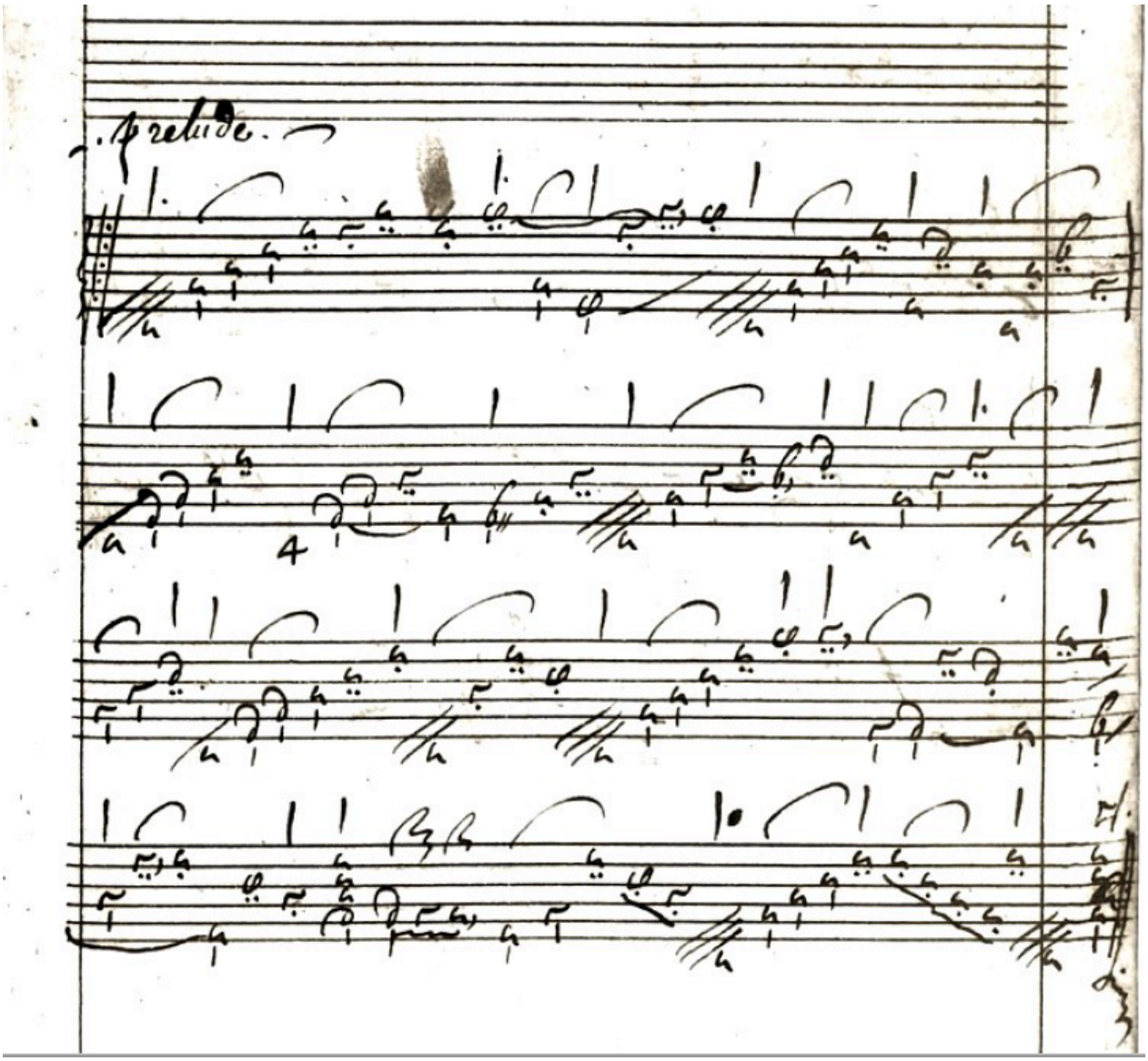


Figure 9: Extended measures in *Robarts*[40]

In some moments these broken measures may have indicated pickup beats to the next section of music, or followed the unwritten text of a melodic line that had originally been sung to a text. In the case of the penultimate measure of "Rant" in Fig. 8 the breaks also divide up a semiminim run. Given Mathew's likely amateur status and the relative inexperience of the printers of *The Lute's Apology* it is not surprising that these layout issues were not rectified before they were printed.[41] These kinds of "errors" are not unique to music written, copied, and

[40] Robarts, Hender, Robert Spencer, and Ennemond Gaultier, *The Robarts lute book: c. 1654-68 : for 11-course French lute in D minor tuning* (Kilkenny, Ire: Reproduced under the direction of Leslie Hewitt for Boethius Press), 1978, *F1*.

[41] Though Livewell Chapman had a hand in this book he does not appear to have been terribly active as a publisher of music; his printer Thomas Harper maintained active printing business in London, producing

printed at mid-century, however. A closer look at Robinson's *SM* shows the same layout problems encountered in manuscripts from the 1630s-50s. For example, in "Twenty waies upon the bels" there are multiple "orphan" notes that don't fit neatly into a single measure on a single line. In the first, two orphan eighth notes cross over into the second line of music, although the final measure of the first stave appears to have enough space for both of them.[42] [Fig. 10] Compared with commonplace books in which the entry of music does appear to be more-or-less organically executed as pieces come into a collection, such as British Library Add. MS 15118 [Fig. 11 and 12], in which young scribes from the Shinton and Congreve families appear to have made entries during the 1630s, the lute books all seem organized and well-planned.[43] When scribal error runs completely amok, it shows, but in most other cases it does not cause any problems in understanding it, or reading from it efficiently.

many books during the middle decades of the seventeenth century. Only a handful of them are music books, of which *The Lute's Apology* is one. Others include an anonymous *The Second Booke of ayres containing pastorall dialogues for two voyces to sing either to the theorbo, harpsicon, or basse violl also shot ayres for three voyces with a thorow basse* (London: Thomas Harper for John Playford, 1652), René Descartes, *Renatus Des-Cartes excellent compendium of Musick* (London: Thomas Harper for Humphrey Moseley, 1653).

[42] Here I am looking at the breaks between the staff lines visible from single-impression printing. There are three unaccounted for spaces that could have been occupied by each of the two notes and the repeat sign that follows, but East did not set the type that way. It is worth noting that other measures in the piece are crammed together this tightly, so the choice to put the notes onto the next line is not necessarily one to allow for extra breathing room for the notes.

[43] While GB-BL Add. MS 15118 does not contain lute tablature per-se, it does include several intabulated pieces for lyra-viol, including the popular tune Walsingham. The manuscript is in many different hands, and in addition to music notated in both tablature and staff notation it also features poetry, alphabets, signatures, doodles, and the names of at least some of its contributors. Two of them, Richard Shinton and John Congreve, were active in 1633, as noted in the inscription on f42v: "Richard Shinton this booke did owe: And John Congreve the same doth know – 1633." Whether this was a statemet akin to "from the library of" or whether it identified mutual contributions or ownership of the book is uncertain.

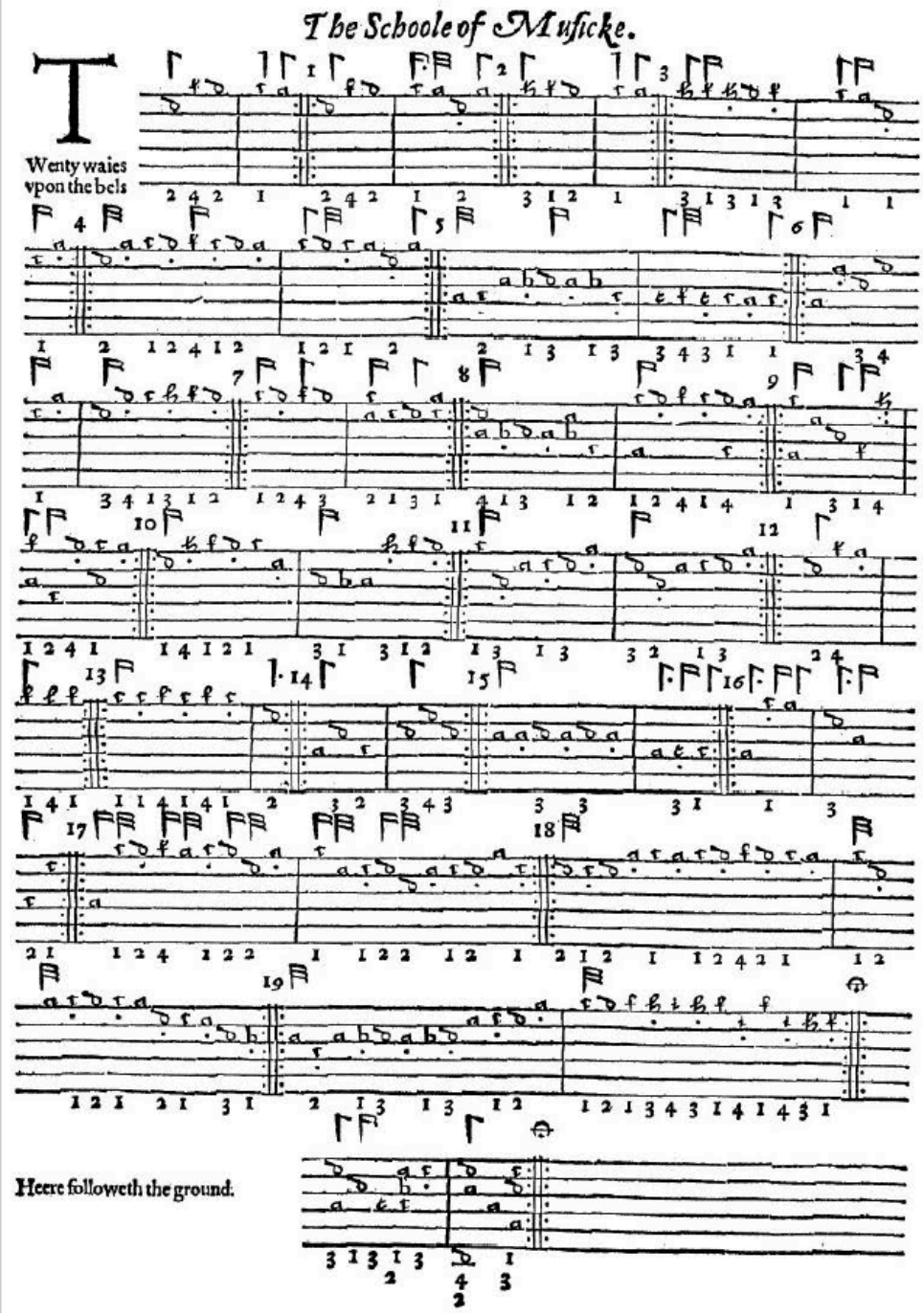


Figure 10: Broken measures in “Twenty waies upon the bels,” *The Schoole of Musicke,* D*v*.

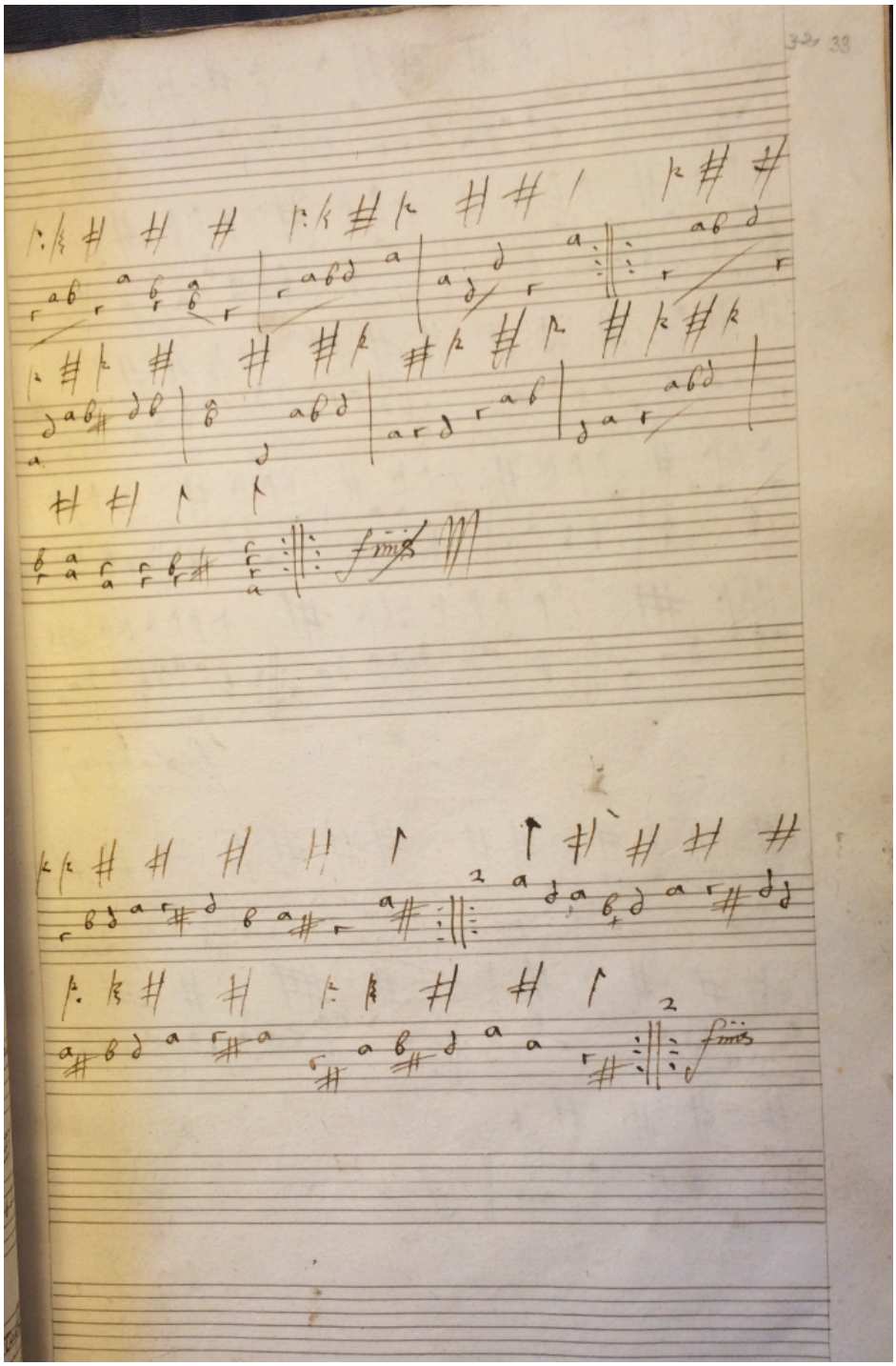


Figure 11: Lyra-viol intabulations in GB-Lbl Add. MS 15118, fols 33r.[44]

[44] GB-Lbl Add. MS 15118, fols 33r. Photograph my own.

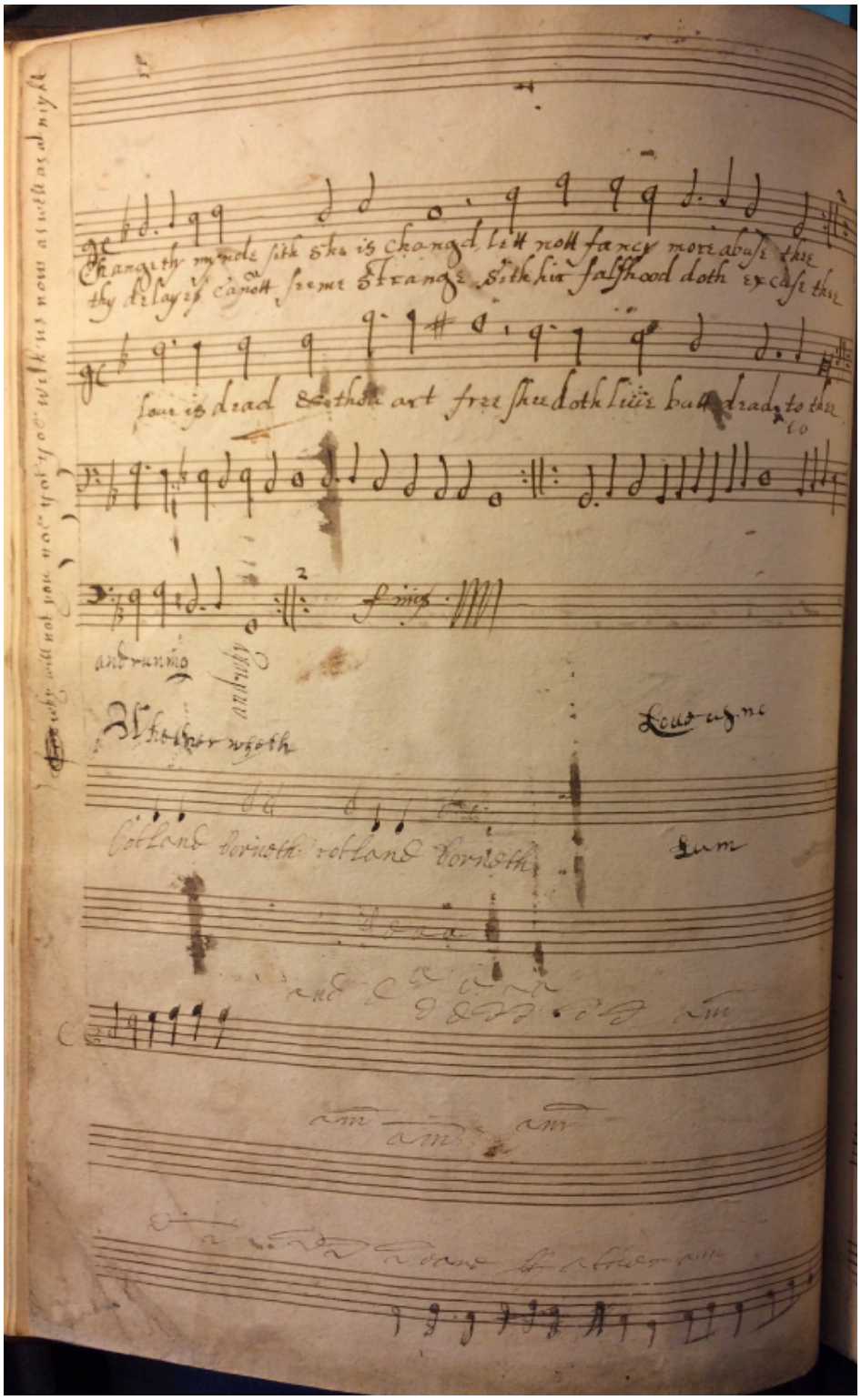


Figure 12: Chaos in GB-Lbl Add. MS 15118, f. 2v.[45]

[45] GB-Lbl, Add. MS 15118, f2v. Photograph my own.

The degree to which printed and manuscript sources differ and the extent to which scribal and typesetting errors were actually errors at all comes into question. Within the realm of patronage among circles of amateur and professional music-making, modes of music circulation varied but did not preclude overlaps between different kinds of audiences. As Kirsten Gibson has noted, early modern music books and music manuscripts operated as different kinds of representations of their creators depending on their audience, often operating as several symbolic offerings at once.[46] Elizabeth Kenny, in her study of English didactic music manuscripts from the first half of the seventeenth century, argues that the idiosyncratic elements of each manuscript betray a "novice's journey towards both physical and musical knowledge… the acquisition of customized repertoire from "celebrity" teachers … and the preservation in tablature form of personal playing styles now considered too idiosyncratic to reconstruct."[47]

These two studies seem to set up a dichotomy between printed music as private music made public and manuscripts as public music made private, but Candace Bailey cautions us to be specific about the kinds of musicians making music in seventeenth-century England and what they played. While discussions of musical professionalism frequently divide musicians into professional, amateur, and domestic musicians, Bailey argues, these divisions do not really account for the kinds of music being played in each of these situations. Skilled amateurs kept manuscripts of complex solo repertoire, professional musicians kept working manuscripts of very simple pieces more commonly associated with domestic music-making and just because music was performed in a domestic setting did not mean it was by default simple.[48] Altogether, music circulated in a variety of formats and materialities that would have been useful to many different people. One mode was not mutually exclusive with the others, and at times there was considerable overlap between the music circulating in manuscript and music in print.[49]

Given these overlaps, it is less surprising that some printed books and their mistakes, even the ones deemed sloppy in *The Lute's Apology*, would be produced entirely out of negligence when other prints of passible and even excellent lute music do the same thing. Quality is not necessarily reflected in questionable layout decisions either in print or in manuscript, but perhaps belies other priorities for musical layouts between these different modes of circulation. On the other hand, the "dumbing-down" of the repertoire reflected in Mathew's editorial decisions may have been exactly the opposite of what mid-seventeenth-century musical amateurs were looking for; as highly skilled musicians left court and became more accessible to audiences elsewhere the attention to detail audiences were accustomed to may have shifted, making a book like *The Lute's Apology* less desirable rather than more. As the repertoire moved back more fully into the

[46] In particular Gibson describes the multilayered meanings in John Dowland's *First Booke of Ayres* as an offering to its dedicatee and to a public audience, drawing upon the work of historians of the book like Chartier and historian of scribal culture Arthur F. Marotti. The songs it contains, as well as their ordering, combined with its intended recipients show how wide the reach of the book may have been intended to be. See Kirsten Gibson, "The order of the book: materiality, narrative and authorial voice in John Dowland's "First Booke of Songes or Ayres,"" *Renaissance Studies* 26/1 (Feb. 2012), 13-33.

[47] Elizabeth Kenny, "Revealing their hand: lute tablatures in early seventeenth-century England," *Renaissance Studies* 26/1 (Feb. 2012), 113.

[48] Candace Bailey, "The Challenge of Domesticity in Men's Manuscripts in Restoration England," *Beyond Boundaries: Rethinking Music Circulation in Early modern England*, 114-126.

[49] Craig-McFeely's concordance studies attest to this overlap of concordances. See Julia Craig-McFeely, *Lute Manuscripts and Scribes, 1530-1630,* Ph.D. Thesis, Oxford University, 2000.

realm of manuscript circulation, elitism and the ownership amateurs would have felt for their craft may have been amplified.

Nevertheless, Mathew's challenge to lute teachers remains. Why did no professional lutenists publish new music in tablature after John Dowland's *A Pilgirme's Solace* in 1612, while so much of it continued to be inabulated in manuscripts well into the seventeenth century? What were professional musicians doing in lieu of printing books of music in London? Music books were still being published with the exception of the years directly impacted by the war itself. Why the dearth of lute books between 1612 and 1640? Manuscript sources of lute music abounded in the years leading up to the Civil War, compiled by and belonging to people from varied walks of life. These books of tablature in many cases were preservation copies of the tunes they contained; Craig-McFeely posits that it is unlikely that larger, more elaborate manuscripts were working copies used by professional musicians, and that frequently elegant, beautiful scribal hands were also more likely to represent skilled amateurs with the time to devote to making a beautiful presentation copy of the music instead of a quick draft of the work. Such simpler copies did exist but were not bound and thus were less likely to survive.[50]

Changes to printing techniques also complicate the picture. Orlando Gibbons' *Parthenia* (1613), the earliest known engraved music book printed in England, was a book of keyboard music. With the exception of Hoskins' lost 1597 keyboard volume, few other books of keyboard music survive although many manuscripts do. This was in part due to technical aspects of printing complicated music with ornament markings; it was nearly impossible to do so with movable type and thus depended on more expensive engraved plates to be printed. In many cases it was simply easier and more cost-effective to copy this music by hand, especially if it was for circulation in a small group of people. *Parthenia,* however, was a commercial success and was reprinted several times. Simpson's *The Division Viol* (1659) was another early engraved book, which kept movable type for sections of prose but printed musical examples on engraved plates. Because engravers and typesetters did such highly specialized work, finding ones that knew a lot about music was even harder. Most of the small number of these skilled craftsmen probably did not read music well enough to reproduce it without error, as Simpson notes in *The Division Viol* when he says that some of the notes "are in some places (though true) not so fair and formall to the Eye as I could wish."[51]

In his chapter on the Caroline and Commonwealth periods in *The Lute in Britain* Spring concludes Mathew's *The Lute's Apology* must have been a commercial failure, given its poor survival rate and the fact that the second installment Mathew promised never took shape. This failure then shaped John Playford's music-making decisions moving forward through the 1650s and 1660s, shifting his attention away from printed tablature books for the lute and toward other popular instruments like the viol. Far from a novice publisher, Playford already had several successes under his belt by 1652 based largely around music for the aforementioned instruments; an edition of *The English Dancing Master* appeared in 1650, followed by his 1651 edition of *A Musicall Banquet* (1651). A reprint of *Parthenia* also appeared in 1651, published by John Clarke. Between them these books offered materials for other modes of musical entertainment for 1650s England: keyboard music, dancing, solo pieces and duets for viol, and catches.

When Playford began publishing *A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick* (1654) [Fig. 13] these popular instruments became the centerpieces of Playford's method. Playford taught the gamut, the viol, and eventually the violin when he added the third book to his original two.

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[50] Ibid.
[51] Simpson, 50.

Playford's approach to music publishing, as Rebecca Herissone has noted, was a notable departure from previous publishers in that he did not consider wealthy patrons to be his primary audience, omitting dedications from his books and instead making his main appeal to the public.[52] Notably absent almost entirely is the lute. Thomas Campion's *The Art of Setting or Composing of Musick in Parts,* which was updated by Simpson and bound in with Playford's *Introduction* as of 1655*,* does include lute tablature but only insofar as it provides a reference point for understanding intervals between pitches on the staff. [Fig. 14 and 15] Simpson's annotations do not provide repertoire in lute tablature, or even repertoire for the lute. Lute tablature does make its way into later reprints of these books in the added section (also updated from Campion) titled "Of the nature and use of the Scale of Gam-ut."

The tablature Campion includes does, however, connect fixed pitches on a fretted instrument to sung pitches in a way similar to how Thomas Robinson used tablature in *SM,* going so far as to identify the lute as the teacher: "It will give great light to the understanding of the Scale, if you trie it on a Lute, or Viol, for there you shall plainly perceive that there go two frets to the raising of a whole Note, and but one to a halfe Note, as on the Lute..."[53] Tablature is a reference point for reading music in staff notation, giving readers fixed points to which they could attach their musical knowledge. In this way we might think of Campion's use of tablature as the last vestigial trace of tablature-as-teacher-of-song from the turn of the century; although Robinson's method did not become the standard, similar intabulated residue of singing persists in publications half a century later. Campion directs his readers that singing along with an instrument is "an easie way for hi that would either with the aid of a Teacher, or by his own industry learn to sing..."[54] Campion does not use tablature *per se* to teach singing, but he does reference the lute as a pedagogic tool specifically for identifying the solmization of hexachords before and after mutation. While Campion's directions are geared toward understanding the scale, he does mention singing along with the lute, using the instrument as Robinson did to reinforce basic musical knowledge.

This concept of using instruments to reinforce pitches evolved over the next few reprints of the book. Tablature worked its way back into Simpson's and Playford's pedagogy. Where the 1654 edition of *A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musicke* contained no tablature, the 1655 version appended Campion's use of it, and by 1660 it was being used to show readers how to find the notes on the treble violin. [Fig. 16] While Playford's books never contained complete intabulations of entire songs for either the lute or the viol, he did add them for the violin. Looking at side-by-side scales in tablature and staff notation remained the best way to get a sense of pitch in the absence of – or lack of prolonged contact with – a skilled teacher. Playford even alludes to this lack of teachers – and this time their books – again in the preface to the reader, writing:

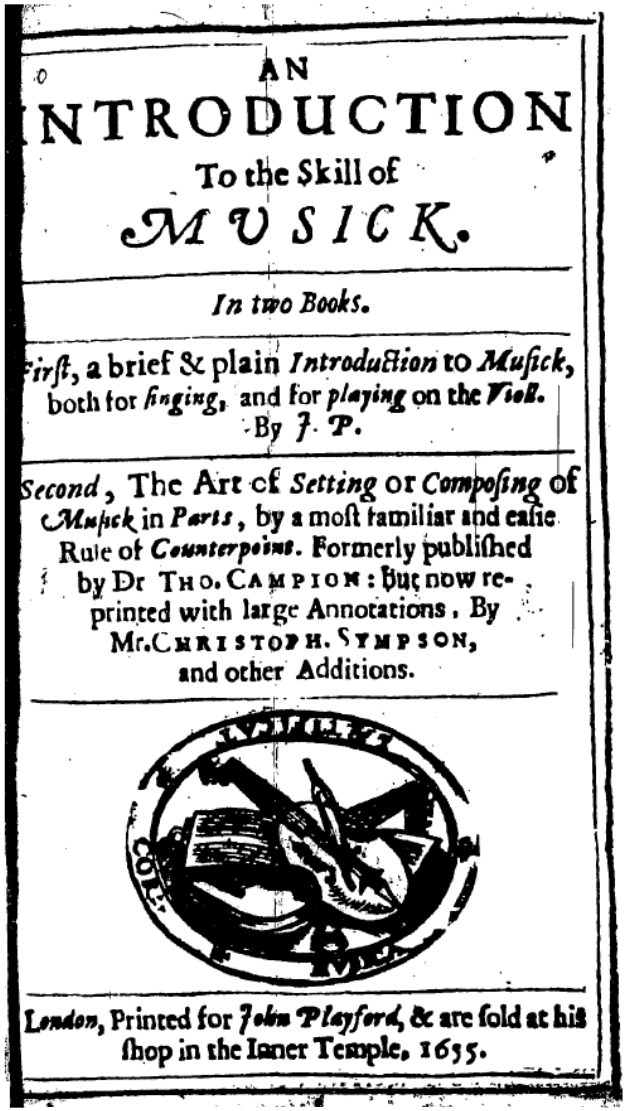
> Those who are Lovers hereof [of music] must allow Musick to be the Gift of God; yet, like others his Graces and Benefits, is not given to the Idle; those that desire to have it, must reach it to them with the hand of Industry, by putting in practise the Works and

[52] Rebecca Herissone, "Playford, Purcell, and the Functions of the Music Publishing in Restoration England," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 63/2 (Summer 2010), 247-248.
[53] Thomas Campion, *The Art of Setting or Composing Musick in Parts* (London: John Playford, 1655), A3v.
[54] Thomas Campion, "The Art of Setting or Composing of Musick In Parts," *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick* (London: Playford, 1655), A4v.

> Inventions of skilful Artists, Books of Instructions to Musick, our Nation is not so well stored as Forrein Countries are; what have been printed in this Nation worthy of perusal are only two, viz. Morley's Introduction, & Mr. Butler's Principles of Musick, both of which are very scarce to be had, the Impressions of them being long since sold off; I have therefore in a Brief and Easie method set down the whole Grounds of Musick, which are necessary for young Practicioners, both for Song and Viol.[55]

Playing tunes from tablaure also appeared to be something readers wanted; the newly added section of music for the treble violin even boasted notation "by notes and by letters" in the table of contents. The use of tablature remained a part of *A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick* across all known subsequent editions of the book. The Playford family did a remarkable job of maintaining consistency between different reprints of this book, keeping the format and placement of many elements of the book in the same places from edition to edition. However, the changes they did make attest to changing preferences for what kinds of information went into the volume, including how much tablature was used. [Fig. 17] Appendix 5 accounts for the consulted editions of *A Brief Introduction* and whether they contained intabulated instructions or tunes.

[55] The 1660 edition, to my knowledge, is the only one in which John Playford, gives the full list of unavailable books. *A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick* (1660).



AN
INTRODUCTION
To the Skill of
MUSICK.

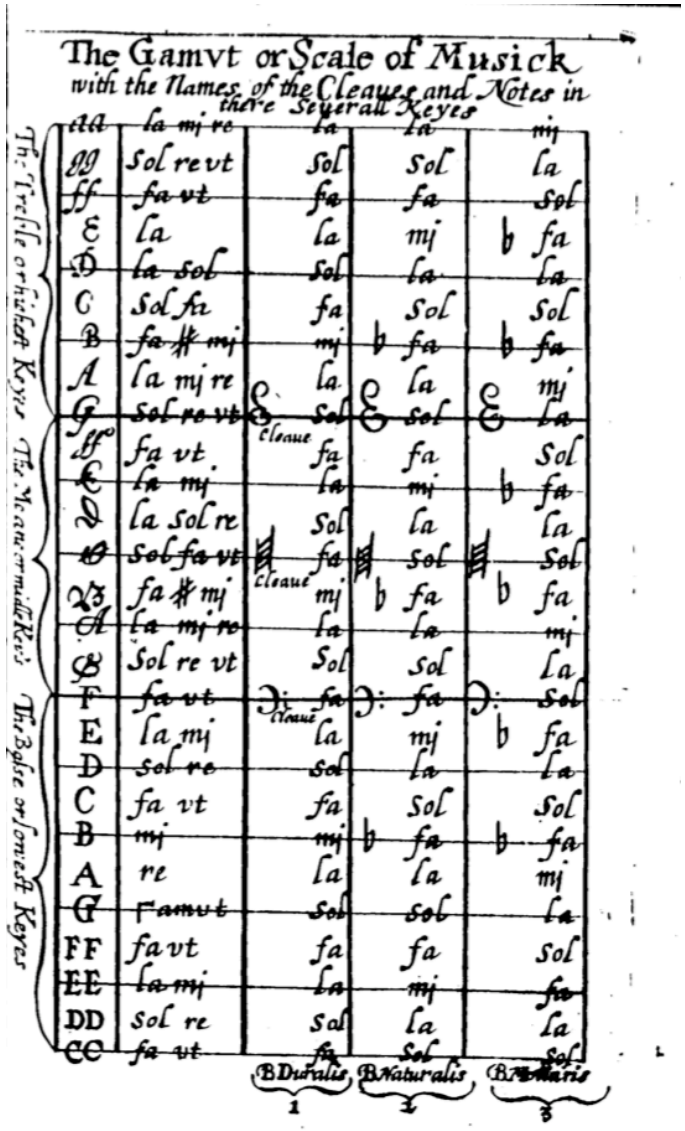
In two Books.

First, a brief & plain *Introduction* to *Musick*, both for *singing*, and for *playing* on the *Viol*.
By *J. P.*

Second, The Art of *Setting* or *Composing* of *Musick* in *Parts*, by a most familiar and easie Rule of *Counterpoint*. Formerly published by Dr THO. CAMPION: but now reprinted with large Annotations, By Mr. CHRISTOPH. SYMPSON, and other Additions.

London, Printed for *John Playford*, & are sold at his shop in the Inner Temple, 1655.

Figure 13: Chart of the Gam-ut from *A brief introduction to the skill of musick* (1654)



The Gamvt or Scale of Musick
with the Names of the Cleaues and Notes in
theire Seuerall Keyes

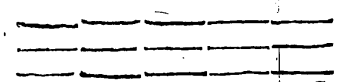
The Trebble or highest Keyes
The Meane or middle Keyes
The Base or lowest Keyes

aa	la mi re	fa	fa	mi
gg	Sol re vt	Sol	Sol	la
ff	fa vt	fa	fa	Sol
e	la	la	mi	♭ fa
d	la sol	Sol	la	la
c	Sol fa	fa	Sol	Sol
b	fa ♯ mi	mi	♭ fa	♭ fa
a	la mi re	la	la	mi
g	Sol re vt	Sol	Sol	la
ff	fa vt	fa	fa	Sol
e	la mi	la	mi	♭ fa
d	la Sol re	Sol	la	la
c	Sol fa vt	fa	Sol	Sol
b	fa ♯ mi	mi	♭ fa	♭ fa
a	la mi re	la	la	mi
g	Sol re vt	Sol	Sol	la
f	fa vt	fa	fa	Sol
E	la mi	la	mi	♭ fa
D	Sol re	Sol	la	la
C	fa vt	fa	Sol	Sol
B	mi	mi	♭ fa	♭ fa
A	re	la	la	mi
G	Gamvt	Sol	Sol	la
FF	fa vt	fa	fa	Sol
EE	la mi	la	mi	fa
DD	Sol re	Sol	la	la
CC	fa vt	fa	Sol	Sol

B Durale 1 | B Naturalis 2 | B Mollaris 3

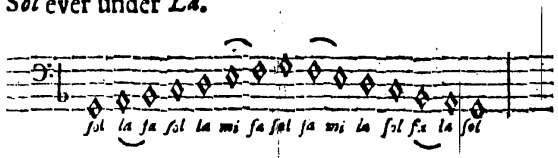
Figure 14: Title Page of Playford, *Introduction to the Skill of Musick* (1655)

of the Scale *or* Gam-ut.

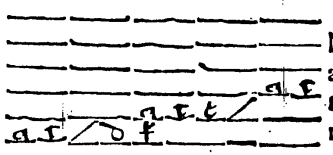


Heere you may diſcern that between *A* and *C*, and *C* and *E*, is interpoſed a fret, which makes it double as much as *E* and *F*. which is markt for the halfe Note, ſo the whole Note you ſee containes in it the ſpace of two halfe Notes, as *A C*. being the whole Note, contains in it theſe two halfe Notes, *A B* and *B C*.

Now for the naming of the Notes, let this bee a generall Rule, above *Fa* ever to ſing *Sol*, and to ſing *Sol* ever under *La*.



Here in the flat *Gam-ut*, you may finde *La Fa* below, and *Mi Fa* above; which on the Lute take their places thus:

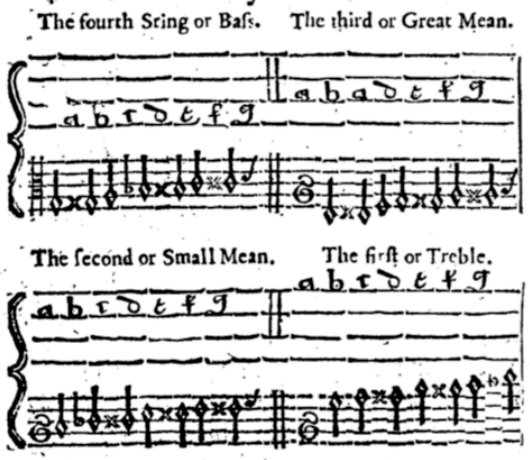


The lower halfe Note is betweene *C* and D, the higher betweene *E* and *A*: but next let us examine this Key as it is flat in *Elami*, which being proper to be ſet in *Are*, ſo is it to be ſung with eaſe. *La* inſtead of *Re*, being the right limits of this eight.

Figure 15: The Gam-ut in staff notation and tablature as described by Campion in *The Art of Setting or Composing of Musick in Parts* (Playford, 1655)

Great *Mean*, is *D la ſol re*. The *Second* or Small *Mean* is *A la mi re*. The *Firſt* or *Treble*, is *E la*: As you may ſee the Firſt *Note* of each *String*, marked *a*, in this Example.

The Scale *of* Muſick upon the 4 *Strings* of the *Violin*, *expreſſed by* Letters *and* by Notes.



In this Example obſerve, that from one *Fret* to the next is but half a *Tone* or *Sound*, two *Frets* go to one whole perfect *Sound* or *Note*.

Ano-

Figure 16: Tablature and staff notation side-by-side for the treble violin in *A brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick* (1660)

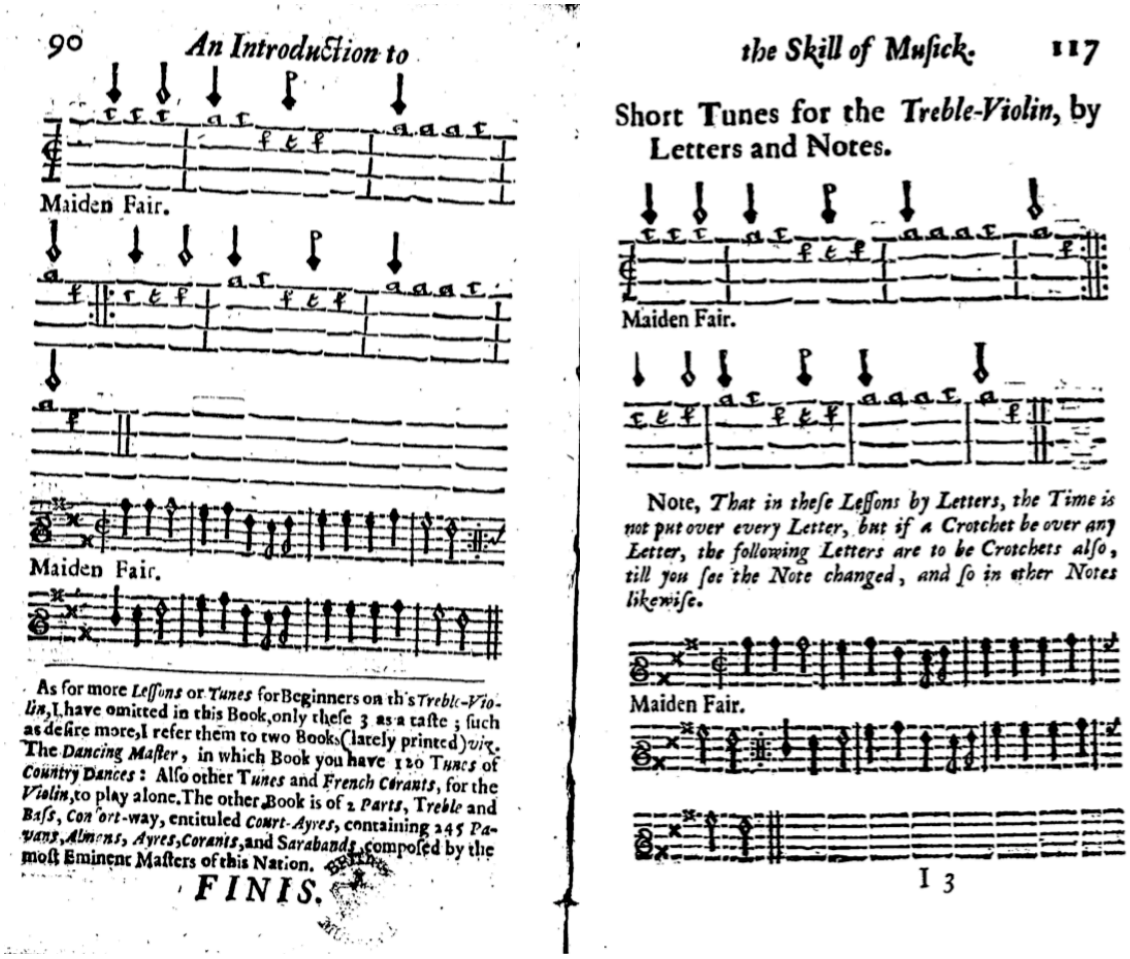


Figure 17: "Maiden Fair" from 1660 and 1674 reprints of *A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick* (respectively)

Playford does keep several components of earlier printed music books, especially in his more didactic books. *Recreation on the Lyra-Viol* (1652) continues the tradition of earlier "plaine and easie" guides by noting in his address to "all practitioners and lovers of music" that the rules he gives are "directions, especially for yong [sic] beginners, who live in the Countrey [sic], and far from any Master or Teacher."[56] Similarly, Henry Lawes addressed *Ayres and Dialogues, for One, Two, and Three Voyces* (1655) one year later to "All Understanders or Lovers of Musick."[57] For Playford living and operating in London, making music accessible for readers in the country appears to be as much of a priority as it ever was, and printed books of music also were still pitched toward amateur musicians rather than professionals, and even toward those still living in the country during the Commonwealth.

By 1669 the idea of tuning one's voice to an instrument had also returned. Playford's reprint (1669) of *Musick's recreation on the lyra viol,* unlike previous editions of the book, contained this addition:

[56] John Playford, *Musick's Recreation on the Lyra-Viol* (London: John Playford, 1652), sig. A3r.
[57] Henry Lawes, *Ayres and Dialogues, for One, Two, and Three Voyces* (T. H. for John Playford, 1655), sig. a2v.

> And being now to Re-print this Book of Lessons for the Lone *Lyra-Viol,* I thought good to make an addition of some new Lessons, more easie and delightful for young Practitioners than was in the former Edition, being most of them common Tunes, which those who can Tune with their Voice, will be the better apt to guide their fingers in the right stops: And though my design is for Beginners, yet here is in this Book many excellent and choice Lessons for those who are good Proficients on this Instrument. And that there may want nothing for the encouragement of such who live in remote Parts, and far from any profest [sic] Teacher, I have added the following necessary Rules and Directions.[58]

The passage addresses both the stoppage of notes and tuning one's voice with the instrument in a manner nearly identical to what Thomas Robinson proposed over sixty years prior. In this sense, while the repertoire was changing, printing houses and the musicians writing for them had not really changed their approach all that much in the intervening years. While the styles of music popular at court and elsewhere were leaning more and more heavily toward fashionable imports from France and the long shadow of Jacques and Ennemond Gaultier, the residue of lute instruction from the "golden age" remained embedded in the text of instruction books printed throughout the century. Additionally, Playford pitched his book to both beginners and those proficient on their instruments; rather than a simplified version of tunes to move on from it is a collection of pieces to work toward. Between the long history of repertoire for the lute and the residue of the ways it was taught, Playford brought together novice and experienced music-making under a single title.

Residue is not enough to determine practice, but the shifts in attention printers were paying to music instruction books correlate to other developments for musicians during the Caroline and Commonwealth periods. Overall, the Civil War reframed how people made and listened to music. Going out to hear concerts would not be possible, so people gathered in their homes, playing as amateurs, or in the homes of their wealthy patrons instead.[59] Readers of these books moved around, followed different interests, and developed new ways of socializing around music. The kinds of musical knowledge they possessed and sought out changed in turn. Professional musicians that had once congregated together at court now found themselves scattered. Amateur musicians found themselves producing a great deal of musical entertainment outside London, and domestic music-making came to the fore as the way to hear music in seventeenth-century England in place of hearing music in elite circles and cathedrals. For smaller communities making music in the country there would have been no need to print books if professional musicians were already there because of extenuating circumstances. In this case, these professional musicians would have been adept at copying or assisting in the copying of music into manuscript form. Rather than lute manuscripts returning as a reaction to printed lute repertoire, the Civil War led to a reinforcement of older, well established norms, where nobles in the country recruited skilled musicians to produce collections of music in manuscript for their households, and to teach their children by bringing pieces for them to copy.

Untangling the complexities of music circulation in wartime and interregnum England still leaves many issues unresolved. Court records of musicians mention the instruments played but

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[58] John Playford, *Musick's Recreation on the Lyra-Viol* (London: John Playford, 1669), sig. a2. Emphasis mine.
[59] Matthew Spring, *The Lute in Britain,* 326-329.

the degree to which lutenists played solo repertoire or accompanied singing is less clear. While solo repertoire circulated in what Julia Craig-McFeely describes as a "negligible" number of printed sources compared to the number of manuscript sources containing them, lute songs enjoyed a boom in music publishing throughout the 1590s and 1600s.[60] The status of the lute as a popular instrument was multi-faceted and picking apart its different constituent sides as a solo instrument, consort instrument, or continuo accompaniment does the valuable work of showing that different modes of lute performance also ebbed and flowed depending on what circles of musicians played and valued. In the context of the divisions of lute repertoire used in lute scholarship about this time period, this assessment is accurate; a negligible number of sources for the solo lute were published after 1612, and in fact nearly a decade went by with no new sources of music for the solo lute being published at all. This does not mean, however, that the lute had faded from popularity as an instrument or that repertoire from before the war did not continue to circulate during and after. Rather, these musical remnants moved through a world of constantly fluid and shifting boundaries between orality and literacy; amateur, professional and domestic use; printed and unprinted music books; skilled and unskilled scribes. Furthermore, music for the lyra-viol, as seen in Add. MS 15118 (c. 1628?), also allowed for music intended for other fretted instruments to circulate as well.[61] Within the context of manuscript circulation many of the ideas used in earlier books to help students learn to read, including tablature, matching one's voice to the pitches on a fretted instrument, and taking segments of music one at a time to practice, were all at work throughout the seventeenth century, albeit in different forms. In this way, printed music, music manuscripts, and the kinds of information and repertoire teachers would have passed on in person all overlapped one another, rather than being intended necessarily for different audiences. What changed instead was that the people making and reading these books were in different places doing different things, although they were all still connected through a web of music publication and circulation.

It is impossible to pull on one part of this web without disturbing the others, and while the musical heartbeat of England was situated outside the city of London music publishing moved from print to forms more readily accessible. This shift in turn shaped the kinds of music that would have been sought and circulated. When professional musicians returned to Whitehall they brought with them the end results of these changing styles and modes of circulation, but these outcomes did not obliterate what had come before. Instead, they fit into a more complex story of changing musical taste and changes to the ways in which music could circulate. The court's strong ties to France – Charles II's mother taking refuge there during the 1650s with the young king, also had a heavy influence on what music was popular at court during the Restoration. Other kinds of music persisted, but the changes to circulation and pedagogy were significant enough to also cull how much of it persisted into the 1660s. While indeed an end to solo music of the lute's "golden age," the Caroline and Commonwealth periods did not contain a sudden death-knell for the music from the turn of the century. In fact, many of the pedagogical ideas, modes of circulation, and at times even repertoire or previous decades resurfaced, albeit transformed by the passage of time. Tablature faded from print for much of the Caroline and Commonwealth periods but returned as a way to teach intonation during the Restoration. The idea of "plaine and easie" methods may have seemed less important with plentiful teachers living

[60] Julia Craig-McFeely, 70.

[61] The dating of this manuscript is not precise; it contains pieces by John Dowland, who died in 1526; the manuscript is inscribed to Richard Shinton, who passed the book to his son William in 1528. The variety of repertoire and scribal hands in the manuscript suggest it was constructed over a period of time.

in the country, but became desirable again once they moved back to London to resume their duties at court. Proximity to resources and the availability of teachers both impacted the circulation of didactic musical materials from 1660s onward again.

Many of the ways in which music circulated continued to look similar to what came before. Mathew's failed attempt at recreating intabulated lute books of the previous generation was symptomatic of changes afoot in music circulation, but in the larger picture of what it represented in terms of the health of the lute as a solo instrument it was one small part of much larger changes in music circulation and consumption that would determine what kinds of music would return to public life in the 1660s. These would gradually eat away at the popularity of the lute as a solo instrument, but those changes were parts of a living, dynamic series of geographic, economic, cultural, and technical shifts in England. These shifts, as we will see in the final chapter, eventually reversed course, bringing some of the same musicians back to London and back to courtly life. What happened in the meantime, however, laid the groundwork for a final push to advocate for the lute. As the instrument moved back and forth between regal and popular audiences, published and inscribed, public and private, the instrument gained a life of its own that would follow the instrument for the rest of the century, linking it, as we will see, to close friends and allies. Ultimately, these allies would be the ones to support the lute to the bitter end, memorializing the instrument and its repertoire as the seas continued to change.

Chapter Five

Thomas Mace, Monuments, and the Bodies of Dying Lutes

In 1676 Thomas Mace reluctantly laid the English lute to rest. He interred the mortal remains of the music the instrument would have produced within *Musick's Monument* (henceforth *MM*), a custom-built memorial for what had once been a pinnacle of English music making. A lengthy tome at 272 pages of music instruction, the book tells its readers how to reconstruct church music programs, play the lute and viol, and contemplate music and its spiritual dimensions. Its scope, and its physical presentation – from its size to its title to the depiction of Mace himself – is a study in monumentality. Even Mace himself seems memorialized, frowning knowingly at his readers in his portrait as if to scold them for having let their music studies slip away. Mace could not have known that his was to be the last book of instruction in tablature for the lute of its generation printed in England. Nevertheless, the monumentality of the book reads like a deliberate comment on the times.

The significance of title of *MM* extends beyond the scope of the book itself. Monuments were rising in popularity again in Restoration England to depict the lives and great deeds of the dead. The music Mace was preserving came from the past masters of the instrument, not current practitioners. Mace was not only making a book for the living, although he boasted a lengthy list of subscribers; the music he was preserving in its pages was dying if not dead already.[1] Reacting to changing tastes, and lamenting the loss of earlier masters on the instrument, Mace used teaching methods of the past century – primarily lute tablature – to ensure a lasting record of music-making would survive for future generations. Mace's career as a lutenist working within academic circles in Cambridge encapsulated many of the threads traced by this dissertation: the book was designed to increase access to musical practices for those previously unable to study them; tablature was the primary mode of instruction, allowing the book to stand in for a living teacher in their absence; and the book itself was a response to what Mace perceived to be unmet needs among his readers. Beyond these traits which *MM* shares with earlier lute instruction books, Mace expands the scope of his book to strengthen the connections between musical practice and the more speculative parts of musical study for university-trained academics. Furthermore, Mace's more eccentric ideas about music-making, some of which compensated sonically for a growing list of disabilities he himself was navigating, help to situate his thinking among that of other Cambridge thinkers of his time. While Mace was not himself a professor, don, or even lecturer, the ideas he conveyed through printed tablature encouraged readers to participate in embodied, intellectual, and spiritual ways in the music-making culture of the university town. Paired with the book's presentation as a monument, Mace's work bridged his past, present and future, the disciplines of academics with whom he worked and shared his findings, physics and alchemy, and even life and death itself.

One of the main conceits of *MM* was that the lute was dying, and one of Mace's primary concerns appears to have been preserving the lute as a solo instrument during a steep drop in its popularity during the second half of the seventeenth century. This decline requires some further investigation. By many metrics the lute appeared to still be in use in England, but despite the fact that it remained popular as a continuo instrument for many years after the publication of *MM* in 1676 it was well into decline as a solo instrument. The Restoration court had continued most if

[1] This list can be found in Appendix 7.

not all of the places in the Chapel Royal that had existed for the lute prior to the interregnum, with exceptions for musicians that had died during the war or otherwise were unable to be found, but few of these positions remained primarily dedicated to playing the lute. Although few posts remained for solo lutenists, twenty-seven musicians in the Chapel Royal in 1660 had some responsibilities related to playing the lute:

Table 1: Lutenists in the Chapel Royal as of 1660[2]

Name	Previous Incumbent
John Clement	William Lawes
Edward Coleman	John Lanier
Charles Coleman I	Thomas Ford
Henry Cooke	Nicholas Duvall
Lewis Evans	Robert Johnson
John Harding	Edward Wormwall
John Hingeston	Alphonso Ferrabosco III
William Howe	John Mercure
John Jenkins	John Coggeshall
Nicholas Lanier III	*continued*
Henry Lawes	*continued*
John Lilly	John Kelly
Humphrey Madge	Theophilius Lupo
Alphonso Marsh	Thomas Day
Angelo Notari	*continued*
Thomas Purcell	*new position*
Anthony Robert	*continued*
John Rogers	Jacques Gaultier
John Singleton	Timothy Collins
John Smith	John Taylor
Dietrick Steiffken	*continued*
Frederick William Steiffken	*new position*
Gregory Thorndale	John Drew
Nathaniel Watkins	John Fox
John Wilson	*new position*

These numbers are no doubt misleading as a representation of solo lute playing at court. While each musician's records stated that they were capable as lutenists few seem to have specialized in the lute as a solo instrument. Many lutenists performing in the 1670s also were first-and-foremost members of Charles II's violin players: Humphrey Madge, Thomas Purcell, Henry Brockwell, Pelham Humfrey, William Clayton, John Blow, Edward Hooten, Richard Tomlinson, Jeffrey Ayleworth, Edmund Flower, John Abell, and Nathaniel French.[3] William Howe, who took over for John Mercure, played lute but also was a violinist and repurposed his existing place

[2] Matthew Spring, *The Lute in Britain,* 404.
[3] For more on these musicians, see Peter Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993), 440-441 and Matthew Spring, *The Lute in Britain,* 400-450.

in the Chapel Royal as a violin position.[4] Some positions were continuations of those that existed before the Civil War. Evans had taken over Robert Johnson's place in 1633, but he was known as much for his performance on the harp as the lute.[5] Lanier was also known for his compositions and singing, and while he maintained his post as a lutenist after he was appointed to be the first Master of the King's Musick in 1625 it seems unlikely that he would have had as many opportunities to play the lute at court.[6] Clement, Singleton, Smith, Dietrich Steiffken (and son) all played the viol primarily.[7] Howe, Madge, and Singleton were violinists.[8] Charles Coleman, Cooke, Harding, Notari, Purcell, Robert, Thorndale, Watkins, and Wilson were all employed as singers in addition to playing the lute.[9] While Hingeston may have taken over a lucrative-sounding lute position from Alfonso Ferrabosco (iii), the wording of the place when he took it over appears actually to have been "Tuner and Repairer of Winde Instruments."[10] After all of these instrumentalists are accounted for only five lutenists remain. Charles Coleman, Henry Lawes and John Lilly appear to have gravitated more toward continuo playing, and Lawes' time was also taken up by composing.[11] In sum, just two lutenists likely fulfilled their roles as

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[4] Holman, 440.

[5] Holman, 262. He was replaced by Henry Brockwell in 1666, presumably following his death. According to the diary of Samuel Pepys, Evans died in poverty as a result of stagnant wages that failed to keep up with inflation in Restoration England. Holman, 296.

[6] His death in 1666 also would signal another end point to his influence on lute performance. See Spink, Ian. "Lanier family." Grove Music Online. Accessed 19 Mar. 2018. http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.libproxy.berkeley.edu/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000015997

[7] Steiffken (or Stoeffken) was as much a viol player as a lutenist. Although he occupied the place formerly held by Philip Rosseter and later George Webster, the place was transitioning away from being a lute-playing position. See Holman, 256. Matthew Spring, however, does still list him as one of the Lutes in Ordinary, a position he held both before and after the war. See Spring, 319. Andrew Ashbee lists the younger Steiffken as a viol player primarily. See Ashbee, *Records of English Court Music,* vol. VIII, 157. John Smith was a viol player. As a Roman Catholic, he was expelled from the court in 1673 as a result of the Test Act; he was succeeded by Francis Cruys. See Holman, 299. In 1662 Clement succeeded William Lawes for the office of "musician for the lute, viol, and voice." The specific wording of this place suggests that perhaps the viol had more prominence than it did for other musicians.

[8] Though Singleton was listed as having ability on the lute, he was known as a violinist. He was appointed to a newly adapted place specifically for the violin, thus further reducing the numbers of lutenists. Howe also played the violin primarily. Madge appears to have been primarily a violin player. See Holman, 266, 284-286.

[9] Ashbee lists Watkins as "Musician for the Lutes and Voices in place of John Fox, deceased, £40 a year, for life, from Midsummer 1660." See Ashbee, 33. Wilson was a lutenist and singer. His personal lute book contains many solo pieces, suggesting he may have played regularly in that capacity.

[10] Giles Tomkins turns out to have been a keyboardist. See Ashbee, 330. While Hingeston may have taken over a lucrative-sounding lute position, he appears actually to have been a "Tuner and Repairer of Winde Instruments." See Ashbee, 112.

[11] Coleman appears to have been a theorbo player. Again, this suggests that Coleman's role in the Chapel Royal had more to do with continuo than with solo lute performance. See Spring, 377. According to Holman, Coleman was also an accomplished composer. an account of his activities from 1636 reads "The man [Coleman] being a skilful composer in music, the rest of the King's musicians often met at his house to practise new airs and prepare them for the king; and divers of the gentlemen and ladies that were affected with music, came hither to hear; others that were not, took that pretence to entertain themselves with the company." (no mention of lutes is made, but rather his ability as a composer) See J. Hutchinson

soloists: Spring names Rogers as the rightful heir to Jacques Gaultier, rising to prominence after the master's death in 1652.[12] Prior to 1660, John Coggeshall had been appointed as "custodian of the royal lutes" and given an allowance for purchasing strings, a distinction unique to his title. Presumably when John Jenkins took over this place he took over these responsibilities as well.[13]

As of 1676 these numbers had only diminished by three; Nicholas Lanier's position, which had transferred to Pelham Humfrey after Lanier's death in 1666, was discontinued after Humfrey's death in '74. No records for Dietrich Steiffken exist past 1673, although his son Frederick maintained his position well into the eighteenth century. Although the lute was by no means gone from public or courtly life and still appeared in concerts even as a solo instrument, the trends around recent hirings at court did not prioritize solo lutenists, leaving the instrument to a slow death by attrition, reducing the numbers of musicians that played the instrument as they resigned, were fired, retired, or passed away. As stylistic preferences shifted and violins and harpsichords gained prominence, the lute slowly faded from view.

In spite of these initially modest losses, Mace must have seen the writing on the wall. At times when violins or any large instrumental forces were called for, most of these musicians almost certainly would have defaulted to playing violins and other instruments instead of lutes, with most of them probably using the lute only as a means of accompanying themselves while singing. Additionally, although instrumentalists continued to accompany themselves on the lute increasingly the instrument had been used as continuo alongside harpsichords, chamber organs and bass viols. Where in 1607 an English Court Violin Band had played for Lord Hay's Masque incorporating three lutes and nine violins, by 1674 a performance of *The Tempest* by Duke's Company used 20 musicians, including "Harpsicals and Theorbo's which accompany the voices."[14] It is not clear what kinds of lutes accompanied voices in 1607, but the distinction between lutes and theorboes is worth noting here. The Lute of the early 17th century had fewer strings, a more limited range, and was quieter than its younger counterparts. Theorboes were mostly used as continuo instruments, and the use of one vs. the other changes what can be inferred by their presence. The violin band was in use from the earliest days of the Restoration; Holman notes that the band played regularly as accompaniment for plays throughout the 1660s, and William Gregory and Humphrey Madge were already working in the Chapel Royal early in 1662, well before John Evelyn's account of the "first" performance of the four and twenty fiddlers in December of that year:

> [One] of his Majesties Chaplains preachd: after which, instead of the antient grave and solemn wind musique accompanying the Organ was introduced a Consort of 24 Violins betweene every pause, after the French fantastical light way, better suiting a Tavern or Play-house than a Church: This was the first time of change, & now we no more heard

(ed.), *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson... Written by his Widow Lucy* (London, 1905), 55-6. In Holman, 252-253. Henry Lawes also seemed to have played the theorbo primarily, although he composed for a variety of fretted instruments. See Spring, 377-79, 403.

[12] Spring also speculates that Rogers may have had something to do with the creation of the Burwell Lute Tutor, although no evidence of his activity exists before the Commonwealth. See Spring, 401.

[13] Spring 321.

[14] Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers,* 444-445.

> the Cornet, which gave life to the organ, that instrument quite left off in which the English were so skilfull...[15]

The stylistic changes at play in the Chapel Royal apparently met with mixed reception. On one hand, the new style was exciting and fresh, but on the other it came at the expense of established and well-liked instruments such as the cornet. The lute's role also changed during this period; what Mace may have been responding to was the changing role of lutes and theorboes in the Chapel Royal, moving from solo instruments toward more solidly continuo roles. As tastes shifted toward violins and viols and music for larger ensembles took over, the opportunities for performances with the lute as a solo instrument may have dwindled.

The slow death of Mace's beloved lute was partly due to the instrument's age and difficulty. But by and large its decline was due to changing tastes that relegated the lute to the continuo sections of ensembles rather than solo performances. Evelyn's account makes much of the 24 members of the new royal string band, but does not mention the lute at all, likening both the instrumentation and venue to that of a "playhouse" or "tavern," implying that the music not only would have failed to include more "serious" instruments but also not even supplying the kinds of repertoire through which they could shine. Doubled with the declining numbers of musicians well-versed in lute performance, the lute, at least as a solo instrument, found both its repertoire and its performers to be dwindling.

In the following decade the Chapel Royal would reduce its lutenist forces even further by completely repurposing an further 14 lutenists' positions to other instruments, or failing to renew positions when prominent lutenists died.[16] 1685 was even more of a turning point, during which six places were discontinued.[17] Some were not renewed after the lutenists holding them died and others – as was the case with Nathaniel Watkins and John Moss – were discontinued even though the musicians that held them were still alive. Although they no longer played the lute, other musicians who rejoined the Chapel Royal in 1660 (Richard Hart and John Goodgrome) continued on other instruments. Another six positions were gone by 1691. John Singleton's place was discontinued in 1686. John Abell, who had taken over two positions by this point, had his place discontinued while he was abroad with James II in 1688, and records for Thomas Heywood, the other lutenist to accompany the king, also stop at this point. In the following two years the places of Nathaniel French and Richard Tomlinson were discontinued. By the turn of the century only nine of the original twenty-seven positions remained, and only one new hire occurred after this point.[18] Only Edmund Flower, John Shore, and Charles Smith continue past

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[15] Holman argues that earlier accounts especially from Pepys' diary, call into question the accuracy of Evelyn's assessment that December 21, 1662 marks the very first time the violins appeared in a church service. See Holman, 395-397.

[16] The first of these losses occurred with the death of Thomas Purcell in 1681. He actually occupied three places in the Chapel Royal at this point – those originally occupied by Henry Lawes and two by John Wilson – which struck a double-blow to the prominence of the lute (one of the three places was transferred to Nathaniel French, mitigating the loss by one place). Spring, 404-406.

[17] These belonged to Lewis Evans/later Henry Brockwell, Nathaniel Watkins, Henry Cooke/later Richard Hart, Angelo Notari/later John Goodgrome, John Jenkins/later John Moss, and John Clement. Ibid.

[18] These were held by Frederick William Steiffken, John Blow, Edward Hooten, Francis Cruys, Edmund Flower, John Bowman, John Shore, Charles Smith, and Thomas Parkinson. Spring, 406. The new hire was Charles Hooten, to replace his father Edward, in 1703. For the complete list of these positions, see Spring, 404-406. For more detailed accounts of each musician's position in the Chapel Royal see also

1708, the last survivor being John Shore, until 1752. The extent to which any of these places placed heavy demands on lute playing can be called into question. There thus is no question that although the lute's swan song was long and slow, but the instrument was in clear decline across the final three decades of the seventeenth century.

The fact that Mace describes this change as a death suggests he viewed the decline in terms of the mortality of the instrument as much as he mourned the loss of any instrumentalist. In the opening prelude to the second section of his book, "The Lute Made Easie" – the part containing all of his lute instructions – Mace describes this fall from grace in a fictional dialogue between the author and his instrument. The lute, recognizing that its time is short, laments:

> Despair *I do*:
> *Old* Dowland *he is* Dead; R. Johnson *too*;
> Two Famous Men; Great masters *in My* Art;
> *In each of* Them *I had more than* One Part,
> *Or* Two, *or* Three; *They were not* Single-Soul'd,
> *As most our* * Upstarts *are, and* too too Bold.
> *Soon after* Them, *that Famous man* Gotiere
> *Did make me* Gratefull *in each* Noble Ear;
> He's *likewise* gone: *I fear me much that* I
> *Am not* Long-Liv'd, *but shortly too* shall Dye.
> ...
> *I know I have some* Friends *which yet do* Live
> *But are so* Few, *can scarcely make me* Thrive:
> *My Friend* Jo. Rogers, *He's The* only Man
> *Of Fame; He'l do me* All the Good he can:
> *But He grows* Old now; *has not long to stay*;
> *And when* He's gone, *go* Hang my self I may
> *Upon the* Willows, *or where else I list*,
> *And there may long enough so* Hang, *I wist*
> *Ere any* Take me down.[19]

Stylistically, the lute's network of friends that have died reflect an already old-fashioned view of the lute as an instrument and seem to have little to do with most if any of the living musicians employed by the Restoration court. Mace names "Old Dowland" (presumably John), Robert Johnson, and "That famous man Gotiere" (Gaultier, although it's not clear whether he means Jacques or Denis). The only great practitioner still living, says the lute, is John Rogers, who is "the only man of fame... but [even] he grows old now..."[20] Rogers himself seems to have been a natural successor to Gaultier in the French lute style, taking over for the French lute master in the Chapel Royal when his place was revived as "musician in Ordinary for the French lute."[21] Everyone else died at least a decade before the interregnum even began, confirming that

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Andrew Ashbee and David Lasocki, *A Biographical dictionary of English Court Musicians, 1485-1714* (Aldershot, England and Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 1998).

[19] Thomas Mace, *Musick's Monument,* 34-35.

[20] Thomas Mace, *Musick's Monument* 34.

[21] Surprisingly, despite Mace's praise, Rogers is not listed among Mace's subscribers. See Appendix 6. For more on John Rogers see Spring, *The Lute in Britain,* 401.

Mace was not memorializing conditions for the lute as they were going to become, but rather a style that was already dead and may no longer have even been relevant to most players.

Mace's memorial of the lute invokes the instrument synecdochally; while it was still played in England, for Mace the dying lute encompassed everything from the older style of playing that was slipping into obscurity. Much like mortal and political bodies of rulers, the lute represented several facets of playing. For the older generation of lutenists like Dowland, Johnson, and Gaultier, the lute primarily stood for solo repertoire and lute songs. Presumably younger players gravitated more toward continuo playing on the theorbo, leaving John Rogers as the sole dedicated "musician in ordinary for the French lute."[22] However, as Spring has noted even older pieces such as "Old Gaultier's Nightingale" appeared in manuscript sources well into the eighteenth century.[23] It would seem that while Charles II's tastes gravitated away from the lute and toward the violin, at other places in England the solo lute was alive and well. What was the death then, and in what way was Mace mourning? He saw the disappearance of the lute from music-making, regardless of what musicians may or may not have been practicing, as a kind of death. As discussed in Chapter Four, part of the loss Mace was memorializing stemmed from that fact that when the court dispersed during the Civil War, few lutenists maintained the solo lute repertoire that had been popular in the decades before. The Restoration restored many aspects of courtly life, but music from the "golden age" of the English lute was not among them.

I traced earlier how the long slow death of the lute as a solo instrument depended on a confluence of social, political, economic, and artistic shifts that occurred over several decades during the Caroline and Commonwealth periods. Tastes changed subjectively and at immediately small levels of music-making across England. While musical happenings in the Chapel Royal certainly were at least indicative if not a driving force of tastes across the country, at other places lute solos prevailed longer, especially solos in the new French *stile brisé*. Spring also argues that professional lutenists gradually disappeared within a crowd of amateurs in semi-public gatherings as the lute transitioned from being an instrument associated with private, personal music-making to one more at home in public concerts.[24] Mace was responding to uneven shifts – geographically and socially bounded stylistic deaths – and the lute for which he constructed his "monument" was one belonging to a past aristocracy that had reached its end point. The lute "died" when it was no longer elite.

The choice to call the book a "monument" cannot be accidental. Monuments carried immense connotative meaning. Monuments could be physical tombs; many early modern dictionaries define them as such.[25] However, they also implied effort toward creating collective memory. In *The English Parnassus,* Joshua Poole in 1657 defines monuments as "Lasting, stately, proud, ambitious, time-worn, memorable, immortal, speaking, enduring, live-long."[26] This description has less to do with mortality, and more to do with memory. Monuments were stately and ambitious, stood the test of time, and through their endurance made it possible to

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[22] Ibid., 401.
[23] Ibid., 357.
[24] Ibid., 412.
[25] For example, Robert Cawdry's *A Table Alphabetical* (London: I. Roberts, 1604) defines "monument" as "a remembrance of some notable act, as Tombs;" John Wilkins also defines "monument" as a "tomb" in *An Essay towards a Real Character and a Philosophical Language* (London: J.M., 1668) fol 3k4v.
[26] Joshua Poole, *The English Parnassus* (London: Thomas Johnson, 1657). Similarly, in his *Bibliotheca Scholastica* (Oxford: Joseph Barnes, 1589), 960, John Rider defined the term as "a remembrance left with ones friende in remembrance of some thing.

speak to future generations, thus carrying advice from past lives to the present. Benjamin Norton Defoe, in 1735, called monuments "a memorial for future ages," directly noting that there is a historical lineage to be connected between the dead and the living. Erected in churches and other public spaces throughout the seventeenth century, such monuments were not merely decorative; they had significance through their ability to shape the memories of the community in which they were built. Through an interplay of poetry and iconography, monuments not only conveyed factual information about the deceased, but also provided a personal, historical, and theological link between the past, the present, and the future, and even links between the living and the dead.

The second part of Mace's title, "A Remembrancer," is also significant.[27] Monuments preserved the memory of great and noble deeds of the memorialized, ensuring that people looking at and reading the monument would remember and internalize these deeds in the future. "Remembrancers" were practically folded into the definition of monuments in the late seventeenth century; in 1658 Thomas Blount defined "memorial" as "(lat.) that which puts one in mind or, a Remembrancer, a Record, a book of remembrances."[28] Memorials, monuments, remembrancers, and books themselves intersect not only in Mace's work but in widespread attitudes about memory and memorialization in early modern England. Although many "remembrancers" were architectural or sculptural features of public places, they also featured – and could be comprised almost entirely of – written words. Books, therefore, could also be monuments, serving as "remembrancers," or "memorials," of their contents. A list of written monuments can be found in Appendix 7.

Other structural and linguistic elements of *MM* embed it even further inside early modern concepts of monuments. Effigies frequently graced stone monuments, depicting their subjects in lifelike poses and associated with artifacts of their good deeds in life. Effigies of the Fettiplace family, in particular Edward Fettiplace (d. 1613), show their subjects in a position of repose, reclining on the ground with one knee casually raised. [Fig. 1] Other features of the monument, including the family coat of arms and the suits of armor worn by the Fettiplaces, instruct viewers about the deeds and social position of those entombed. John Spenser's monument (d. 1614) depicts Spenser lecturing from a bible, also accompanied by his family coat of arms. The lifelike poses of the subjects of monuments, as well as the reminders of their great deeds, are accompanied by text about them and what they accomplished in life.

[27] These terms are associated together with monument in Thomas Elyot's *Dictionary* (1542), Rider's *Biblioteca Scholastica* (1589), Claude Hollyband's *A Dictionary French and English* (1593), John Minsheu's *A Dictionary in Spanish and English* (1599), Cawdrey's *A Table Alphabetical* (1604), John Florio's *Queen Anna's New World of Words* (1611).

[28] Thomas Blount, *Glossographia or a Dictionary* (London: 1656), Edward Philips, *The New World of English Words* (London, 1658).

Figure 1: Monument for the Fettiplace Family[29]

It is difficult to view the first few pages of *MM* and not see the same features: Mace's portrait that serves as frontispiece [Fig. 2] shows him seated inside an architectural border that resembles the stone arches adorning many monuments. He is shown seated with a piece of music paper in his hand (although the sheet itself is left blank, the lines on the page, despite appearing to be staves of only four lines, clearly stand in for music). Beneath his image the Mace family crest is visible, including its eponymous mace, accompanied by the words "Effigies Tho.

[29] John Piper (1903-1992), *Photograph of Fettiplace Monumnet in Swinbrook, Oxfordshire*, Tate Archive, Accessed July 13, 2019, https://www.tate.org.uk/art/archive/items/tga-8728-1-29-379/piper-photograph-of-fettiplace-monument-in-swinbrook-oxfordshire.

Mace/Trinity College, Cantabrigiensis Clerici/ Aetat. Suae 63."[30] As a Lay Clerk at Cambridge and a singer at Trinity College, Mace held no academic position but likely interacted with many that did. The portrait neither flattering nor cruel; it shows in lifelike detail the circles underneath Mace's eyes but also poses him upright and elegantly draped in fine clothes. Mace's staid but lifelike pose, the tools of his profession, and his family crest all tie his depiction to similar stone monuments. Why this connection? What was all of this monumental imagery and prose meant to accomplish? Mace may have sought out Faithorne deliberately; 17 years earlier the same engraver had produced a similar portrait of Christopher Simpson for one of his editions of *The Division Viol*. [Fig. 3]

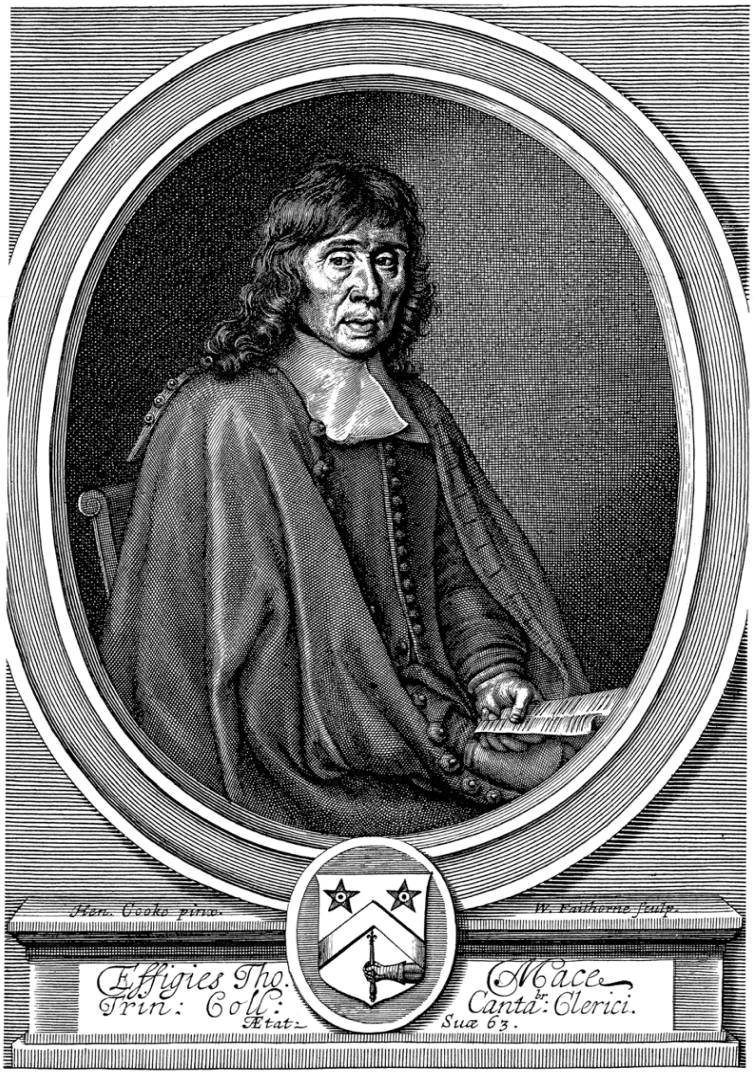

Figure 2: Portrait of Thomas Mace in *Musick's Monument*[31]

[30] "Image of Thomas Mace, Lay Clerk of Trinity College Cambridge, Age 63"

[31] Engraved by William Faithorne the Elder (1616-1691), from a lost painting by Henry Cooke (1642-1700. Faithorne is also listed among Mace's subscribers; see Appendix 6.

Figure 3: Portrait by William Faithorne of Christopher Simpson, from *The Division Viol* (1659)[32]

The answer to this question lies in the purpose of monuments to the living. Monuments are messengers. The historian Peter Sherlock describes monuments as carrying more weight than simply decorative grave markers for those for whom they were built. Rather, as messengers they allowed their patrons to speak to posterity after they themselves had died. As Sherlock puts it, "a monument is the self-proclaimed voice of the past."[33] In other words monuments not only serve as reminders of their patrons' existence but also allow their patrons to "speak" to the living after they have died. The text inscribed on the monument, often poetry, not only describes the deeds of the deceased but also offers advice to those that might heed it.

This link to posterity was not guaranteed, however, and a precedent to *MM* stresses the precarity of monuments both as architectural features and as books. John Weever, in the introduction to his *Ancient funerall monuments with in the united Monarchie of Great Britaine,*

[32] Engraved by William Faithorne the Elder (1616-1691). Printed as a frontispiece to Christopher Simpson, *The Division Violist* (London: William Godbid, 1659).
[33] Peter Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England.* Aldershot, Ashgate, 2008.

Ireland, and the Islands adjacent (1631), describes the dangers for the dead if their monuments are not maintained, which he saw to be more of a problem in England than elsewhere in Europe:

> Having seen, (iudicious reader, how carefully in other Kingdoms, the Monuments of the dead are preserved, and their Inscriptions or Epitaphs registered in their Church-Bookes; and having read the Epitaphs of Italy, France, Germany, and other Nations, ... And also knowing withall how barbarously within these his Majesties Dominions, they are (to the shame of our time) broken downe, and utterly almost ruinated, their brasen Inscriptions erazed, torne away, and pilfered, by which inhumane, deformidable act, the honorable memory of many virtuous and noble persons deceased, is extinguished, and the true understanding of divers Families in these Realmes (who have descended of these worthy persons aforesaid) is so darkened, as the true course of their inheritance is thereby partly interrupted...[34]

If the words and effigies of monuments were defaced or torn down, this link would therefore be broken. Weever himself posed a novel solution to the problem not unlike that of Mace 45 years later. He collected what remained of ancient monuments before they decayed further in the pages of *Ancient funerall monuments*, allowing the book to do the job of preserving what was going to continue to deteriorate in English churches and cemeteries.[35] It is tempting to view Weever's address to his readers as a gloomy and final assessment of monuments in 1631, that they had fallen into such a state of disrepair that their long tradition of speaking to posterity had ended. On the other hand, the care with which he approached his project speaks to his enthusiasm – and that of his readership as well – for monuments and the roles they served. Furthermore, *Ancient funerall monuments* serves as a prototype for what would become Mace's use of the book, itself a book-monument to monuments.

Both authors are depicted within oval architectural borders, with the tools of their trade in hand. For Mace this was sheet music, and for Weever, a skull.[36] [Fig. 4] Both portraits seem to be intended as monuments themselves; Mace was in failing health when his was printed, and Weever himself died less than a year after the publication of *Ancient funerall monuments.*[37] Weever's portrait even offers up an epigram, which reads "Lancashire gave him breath/And Cambridge education/His studies are of death/Of Heaven his meditation."[38] While Mace does not give himself an epigraph to accompany his portrait, he does touch on similar themes in his address to the reader, as he gives the various reasons for writing this book:

> *I write It also, out of Great Good Will*
> *Unto my Countrey-men; and Leave my Skill*
> *Behind me, for the Sakes of Those, that may*
> *Not yet be Born; But in some After-day*
> *May make Good Use*
> *Of It, without Abuse*
> *But Chiefly, I do Write It, for to show*

[34] Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments* (London: T. Harper, 1631), ar.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Mace lived for another twenty years at least, publishing another book in 1698.
[38] Weever, frontispiece.

A Duty to my Maker, which I Owe;
And I no Better Way know how to do,
Than Thus, to strive to make One Tallent Two.[39]

A Cambridge scholar himself, Mace also reflects here on his own coming death and how his skills would be lost. Beyond this, he extends his responsibility beyond his own mortality and justifies his project by claiming it is a duty to God. Rhetorically, the justification for his choice of book project parallels that of Weever's epigram. The differences lie in the subject material; where Weever memorialized memorials and in doing so memorialized himself, Mace memorializes musical practices he saw to be growing "out of date," and in doing so memorialized both himself and his beloved lute.[40]

A problem with this connection between monuments and books emerges when the publication dates of other monument books – and in fact many physical monuments themselves – are taken into account. Monuments, in fact, appear to have much more popular in the first half of the century than the second. While monuments were still erected during the Restoration, most of the examples mentioned until now were erected or published before 1650. In many cases the "monument" books were transcriptions of elegies or sermons given at the funerals of social elites. They offered advice, but additionally they reinforced notions of social superiority on the part of the deceased.[41] In others like John Leicester's broadsheet *England's Miraculous Preservation Emblematically Described, Erected for a perpetuall MONUMENT to posterity* (1646), which versified and allegorized the political and military activities at the end of the First English Civil War, they recounted great deeds, battles, or historical events.[42] [Fig. 5] Monuments for the deceased, however, were frequently ostentatious displays of wealth reflecting what Kirsty Owen describes as an attempt to establish roots for families whose wealth had been established in only the previous few generations.[43] Only two of the titles in Appendix 7 come close to the publication date of *MM.* If monuments were also fading, why then erect one for a fading instrument?

[39] Mace, d2r.
[40] Being "out of date" was another reason Mace gave for writing all of this music down in the same poem. Ibid.
[41] Kirsty Owen discusses the rise and fall of monuments such as these in Gloucestershire leading up to 1640, and the push for reforming these practices. See Owen, "The Reformed Elect: Wealth, Death, and Sanctity in Gloucestershire, 1550-1640," *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 10/1 (March 2006), 1-34.
[42] John Leicester *England's Miraculous Preservation Emblematically Described, Erected for a perpetuall MONUMENT to posterity* (London: John Hancock, 1646).
[43] Owen, 7.

Figure 4: Portrait of John Weever from *Ancient Funeral Monuments* (1631).

nglands Miraculous Preſervation Emblematically Deſcribed, Erected

for a perpetuall *MONVMENT* to Poſterity.

THis Ark cal'd Union hath not her Peer
On Earth, & 's laden with a fraught ſo dear
To her Almighty Pilot, that no waves
Of might or malice rais'd b' infernal ſlaves
Of human ſhape and lofty high eſtate,
Nor yet their father that inveterate
Old Serpent raging 'gainſt this bleſſed Bark
The *Antitype* of righteous *Noahs* Ark
Can make to ſink or ſplit upon the rocks
Of ruine, maugre all their furious knocks
Of powdered bals, and force of armed ſteel
By violence to make this *Ark* to feel
Their wrathful open rage, when neither plots
Nor treacheries faſt tyed with the knots
Of vows, and Sacraments of miracles,
Impoſtures, fachinations, and ſpels,
Eſpouſed intereſts of Potentates
Forraign and home-bred Soldiers, and Prelates;
Threats, Promiſes, and Proteſtations,
Aulick Libels, Lyes, and Defamations,
Nor all the cunning, ſtudy, pains, and ſweat
Of all Malignant Foxes ſmal, and great;
In Court, and Campe, City, and Countrie,
Nor in this *Ark* (if any lurking lie)
Can break this Churches Trinity of State
Deſcribed here, nor make them violate
That pious Covenant, which holds them faſt,
And is indeed that Veſſels maineſt Maſt,
By which ſhe ſaileth through the troubled ſeas
Of her affairs; and now hath found ſome eaſe,
Thanks be unto that heavenly Cynoſure
Above the Stars, which gives a light t' allure
Her Mariners, and yet wil give light more
T' unfold the ſecrets of the *Romiſh* Whore,
The helliſh darkneſs of thoſe mitts and fogges
Of blaſphemies, and errors, which thoſe froggs
Or unclean Spirits from the Beaſt proceeding
(whoſe thoughts upon Reformers blood are feeding)
Have now unbowelled, and ſpread about
To put the light of *Reformation* out,
And with new *Hydra*-headed hereſies
(Like to that ſmoke) t' obſcure the cleareſt skies
Of ſacred Truth (a deviliſh deſigne
More dangerous, then was the Powder-Myne)
And raiſe tempeſtuous ſtorms about this *Ark*,
And now they cannot beat by force, they *bark*
Belch, and diſgorge their *Stygian* deſpight
'Gainſt the Protector of this *Ark* outright;
And ſtil their horrid rage doth more abound
Becauſe this *Ark* of Union is not drown'd;
But wait a while, and ſee this curſed crew
Pertake of that reward, that's here in view:
For fix your eyes upon theſe Seas of ire
Involving thoſe, that did 'gainſt th' *Ark* conſpire:
See here ſome headleſſe floating in the waves
Of direful death, ſome dead, and wanting graves:
See all their warlike Engines, and their Forces,
Now as feeble as their liveleſs Corſes;
See theſe bloody men and their Commiſſion
To kil Innocents brought to perdition;
And they that living yet thought it no ſin
To leave this *Ark*, now with they had kept in;
But now they are the ſcorn of time, and fate,
Who did this toſſed Bark deſpiſe, and hate,
Augmented more in that they did remove
The Royal Steers-man, whom our *Ark* doth love.
But ſee theſe noble Champions (lately fix)
Guarding th' aſſaulted Union, and fix
Themſelves to courage, valor, care, and love
To bring to reſt this toſſed *Turtle*-dove.
Their brave atchievements *Chronicles* ſhal ſpeak,
And learned Volumes; but my pen's too weak
To tel their worth, or their due praiſes ſpread,
Whom great *JEHOVAH* hath ſo honored.
Draw neer, kind Reader, do but view this peece,
'Tis not of *Jaſon*, nor of his Golden fleece
That here is *Emblem'd*, nor the high renown
Of *Hectors* Acts ere *Troy* was baitered dowr,
That here we ſhew you, but it doth preſage
A watry Landskip of a weeping Age.
The *Ark* that rideth here whoſe tender *Wals*
Contains in her our *Engliſh Admirals*,
For *Reformation* ſwimming on the Main,
'Gainſt Superſtition which ſo much did raign:
Charge on, charge on, the guard of *Pluto* al,
The *Pope*, the *Biſhop*, and the *Cardinal*:
But you had beſt retire, 'tis all but vain,
For *truth* hath gotten higher, and ſhe wil raign.
Here Reader pauſe, and judge our Land is free,
A Chronicle for our poſteritie;
For *God* hath brought them, lo their pride doth ſwage
And we made happy in a peaceful Age.
Had not the *LORD* bin for us, they had won,
And cloth'd this Land with red confuſion;
But now ſail on you worthies through the Ocean
Of ſad diſtempers, let your winged Motion
Out pace the flight of Eagles, that aſpire
Go take your Senſers fil'd with zealous fire:
Let *truth* cõmand the way, by her the *Ark* is guided,
And let the *Goſpel* ſway, and *Errors* be avoyded:
Great *God* of wind & ſea, who ſearcheſt thro' the dark
Who didſt command old *Noah* to enter in the Ark,
Direct this *ARK* unto the Key of peace,
Command deliverance that our Wars may ceaſe.

An Apoſtrophe to the Church.

THen woman thou whoſe clothing is the Sun,
Ceaſe to complain, nor ſay thou art undone;
For thou haſt ſuffered harder things of yore,
Than now; weigh with the preſent times before.
Seeſt thou not how thy ſad and heavy night
Of fears and ſorrows now are vaniſht quite;
Triumphing days thy late griefs do beguile,
And *Halcyon* times begin again to ſmile.
Behold how rugged *Mars* is poſting hence,
Seeing thee armed ſo with heav'ns defence:
Outward enmity ſhal not hurt a jot,
If thine inteſtine Errors hurt thee not.
Then wipe thy blubbered face, and lay aſide
Thy mourning weeds, and like a loving Bride
With ſpirit mounted on a heavnly flame
Spread abroad thy Bridegrooms glorious fame;
What tongue of mortal, men or *Seraphim*
Can tel ſufficiently the praiſe of *him*.

Jan: 31th. By *John Leceſter*.

LONDON, Printed for *John Hancock*, and are to be ſold at his ſhop, at the entrance into *Popes.head* Ally. 1646.

Figure 5: John Leicester, *England's Miraculous Preservation* (1646)

Monument books also were not entirely gone by the time *MM* was published; several of the posthumous installments of John Playford's *A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick* (printed between 1686 and 1700) include an epitaph, of which the last 16 lines are as follows:

> All Sons of Art, adorn'd their Rev'rend *Sire,*
> And made his *Mansion* a Perpetual Quire.
> His Life (Harmonious, Gentile, and Sweet)
> Was well compos'd, and in true Concord set.
> Each noble Part adorn'd its proper Place,
> And Rigid Vertue play'd the *Thorow-Bass.*
> Well he consider'd, that his tender *Lyre*
> Must soon be broke, and Tuneful Breath expire;
> And therefore with a Pious care resign'd
> These *Learned Monuments* he left behind.
> With such deploring Obsequies he fell,
> As fetch'd the Fair *Euridice* from Hell.
> But all in vain we Mourn, while from our Eyes
> Ev'ry belov'd and beauteous Object flies.
> Ye Sons of Earth, whom proud Achievements swell,
> Behold his Corps, and boast no more your Skill!
> When all your Labour with Perfection's Crown'd
> *Discord* and *Death* succeed the sweetest Sound.[44]

Playford's monuments continued to stand even as his breath expired and his lyre – presumably his lute or viol – broke to pieces. The poem does not go so far as to give life to Playford's musical instruments, but it still connects life and death, even while "*Discord* and *Death"* succeeded the sweetest sounds, virtue, art, and concord survive in his Playford's printed monuments.

Nevertheless, Mace must have been drawing on a great deal of nostalgia for his project, and I assume that the rhetorical trappings of his musical monument and the instruments it was intended to memorialize are both taken from the past. With these presuppositions out of the way the connections between monument culture and Mace's book are still strong. The rhetoric of Mace's project does resemble that of the earlier "monument books" and their elegies. He writes of the instrument:

> B*Eloved Reader, you must know*
> *That* LUTES could Speak *e're you could* so;
> *There has been* Times *when* They *have been*
> DISCOURSERS *unto* King *and* Queen:
> *To* Nobles, *and the* Highest Peers;
> *And* Free Access *had to* Their Ears
> Familiarly; *scarce pass'd a* Day
> *They would not* Hear *what* Lute would say:
> *But sure at* Night, *though in* Their Bed,

[44] John Playford, *A Brief introduction to the Skill of Musick* (1694), A9r.

They'd Listen well *what then* She said.
She has Discourses *so* sublime,
No Language *yet in* Any Time
Had Words sufficient *to* define
Her Choice Expressions *so* Divine.[45]

In this passage Mace positions the lute as a former advisor and confidant to royalty, capable not only of entertaining but having "choice expressions so divine" to offer to people occupying the highest positions of power. Such a conflation of rhetoric, divinity, and power often also appeared in poetic epitaphs on monuments of the previous century. After the sexton of Peterborough Cathedral, Robert Scarlet, died in 1594, an epitaph was erected in his honor reading:

You see old Scarlet's picture stand on high
But at your feet there doth his body lye.
His gravestone doth his age, and death time show,
His Office by these tokens you may know.
Second to none for strength, and sturdie Limme,
A scare-babe mighty voice, with visage grimm:
He had interr'd two Queens within this place;
And this towns Housholders in his live space,
Twice over: But at length his own turn came,
What he for others did, for him the same
Was done: No doubt his Soul doth live for ay
In Heaven, though here his body clad in clay.[46]

The epigram speaks of Scarlet's physical features in life, his earthly duties, and his social and political connections when referencing the queens that had been interred at Peterborough Cathedral by him. Whereas the lute consorted with queens, Scarlet buried them. Conversely, the lute is not described physically, but it is given a physical "voice" that can "speak," much like Scarlet's "scare-babe mighty voice." In both poems, physical and audible presence make up a significant portion of the praises lavished on the subject.

It is this physical presence and absence that forms a tension in bookish monuments. Weever's project was to maintain the presence of decaying ancient monuments; Mace's was to preserve his knowledge and the lute while both faded from physical presence, and later, memory. In the aforementioned dialogue between Mace and the lute, not long after the lute voices its despair Mace responds reassuringly that:

Now for Your better Comfort, *you shall know,*
There is a Friend *of* Yours, *I'le not yet Name,*
Is very Ready *for to do* The same ["assisting to posterity" the art of the lute]
And fully hath intended It *shall be*
Put into Print.[47]

[45] Thomas Mace, "*The Language of* Musick *confirmed*," *Musick's Monument,* 35-36.
[46] Symon Gunton, *The History of the Church of Peterburgh* (London, Richard Chiswell, 1686). Also quoted in Peter Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England,* 210.
[47] Thomas Mace, *Musick's Monument,* 35.

At the end, a chorus chimes in, implying that the lute will rise along with the bodies of the dead for the final judgment, proclaiming:

> *We* All Unite and Joyn *in* Joyfull Mirth,
> *And* Long *for* That Good Day *of our* New-Birth;
> *In which we'l* Triumph, *in* Harmonious Chear,
> *And keep* That JUBILE-DAY *Year after Year.*[48]

This suggestion assumes several truths about the lute, primarily regarding the instrument's mortality and morality. In order to stand with the dead for the final judgment, presumably the lute would need to possess both a body and a soul. What exactly did this mean for Mace? Lutes certainly occupied physical space, but did that mean they had physical bodies that sensed pain and pleasure the way people did. Furthermore, did they have souls in need of salvation?

The first question – in theory – is easier to answer. For early modern musicians musical instruments themselves were suspended between life and death. The wood from which instruments were made was once alive, but in order to produce sound it had to die and be transformed. The most prominent evidence for an early modern concept of the life-force of musical instruments can be seen in harpsichord decorations. Where even elaborately decorated lutes most frequently featured geometric and floral patterns, harpsichord soundboard paintings offered iconographic evidence of musical instruments coming alive. The painters working for the Ruckers and Couchet families of harpsichord builders in Antwerp painted several common motifs onto their soundboards; one of the common ones was a singing goldfinch; another particularly popular also among Parisian harpsichord builders was a songbird perched on a dead branch of wood that has begun to flower again; another a caterpillar and moth juxtaposed. Sheridan Germann has argued that these motifs signify what is also represented by the phrase *Dum vixi tacui, mortua dulce cano* (while living I was silent; now dead I sweetly sing).[49]

[48] Ibid.
[49] Sheridan Germann, "Monsieur Doublet and His Confrères: The Harpsichord Decorators of Paris," *Early Music* 8 (October 1980), 448-449.

Figure 6: Detail of soundboard of Harpsichord by Nicolas Dumont (1697)[50]

[50] Nicolas Dumont, Paris, 1697, modified by Pascal Taskin, Paris, 1780. Paris, France, Musée de la Musique Nº inv. E.774/C.329. https://collectionsdumusee.philharmoniedeparis.fr/doc/MUSEE/0162030 Accessed July 13, 2019.

In exploring the source of this Latin phrase, which can be seen inscribed on surviving harpsichords of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, E. K. Borthwick has traced similar statements back to Sophocles' play "Ichneutae," in which he describes a silent tortoise being given voice once it had been killed and transformed into a lyre, which itself had been drawn from the "Homeric Hymn to Hermes," in which Hermes says to the tortoise before dismembering it to make his lyre: "Living you will be a charm against mischevious witchcraft, but if you die you will sing most beautifully."[51] This riddle survived to be published in England in 1631as the riddle of the Sphinx, which Oedipus solved:

> Oedipus, that whilome hast resolved a greater doubt,
> Unfold this riddle unto me which now I shall put out:
> When I did live, then was I dumbe, and yield no harmony,
> But being dead, I doe afford most pleasant melody.[52]

While Borthwick used the question of the riddle to understand the provenance of the Latin inscription on an *ottavino* in the Russell Collection of musical instruments, the solution to the riddle as it was quoted found in *A Booke of Merrie Riddles* further expands this organological universe of singing instruments to "Any musicall instrument that is made of wood." The lute, while not decorated with the same motifs as Flemish and later French harpsichords, would certainly still have been a candidate for an example of singing dead wood at understood by the riddle.

The force these instruments applied was also very real and could be felt. Among the items and experiments described in *MM* are several proposals for Mace's own invented instruments and music technologies, the first of which was a two-headed lute that he called a "dyphone." [Fig. 7] A truly unwieldy instrument, the dyphone is "two instruments in one."[53] Joined at the bridge, the two pear-shaped lute bodies fuse to form an almond, with one neck protruding from either point. Allowing for two different tunings, the lute can be flipped to avoid the necessity – in theory – of having to retune to play two different repertories in different tunings (any lutenist will make a joke about the lute's inability to stay in tune; presumably this was also true in the seventeenth century). Mace claims to have built such an instrument himself, although none survives.[54]

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[51] E. K. Borthwick, "The Riddle of the Tortoise and the Lyre," *Music & Letters* 51/4 (October 1970), 373-374. Bothwick notes that Pliny also made a point of citing this riddle.

[52] *A Booke of Merrie Riddles Very meete and delightfull for youth to try their wits* (London: Robert Bird, 1631), sig. A3. Quoted in E. K. Borthwick, "The Riddle of the Tortoise and the Lyre," 381.

[53] Thomas Mace, *Musick's Monument* 32.

[54] In recent years the dyphone has come into being once again in Italy. The workshop of Antonio Dattis has produced at least one, and the lutenist Davide Rebuffa has played on one.

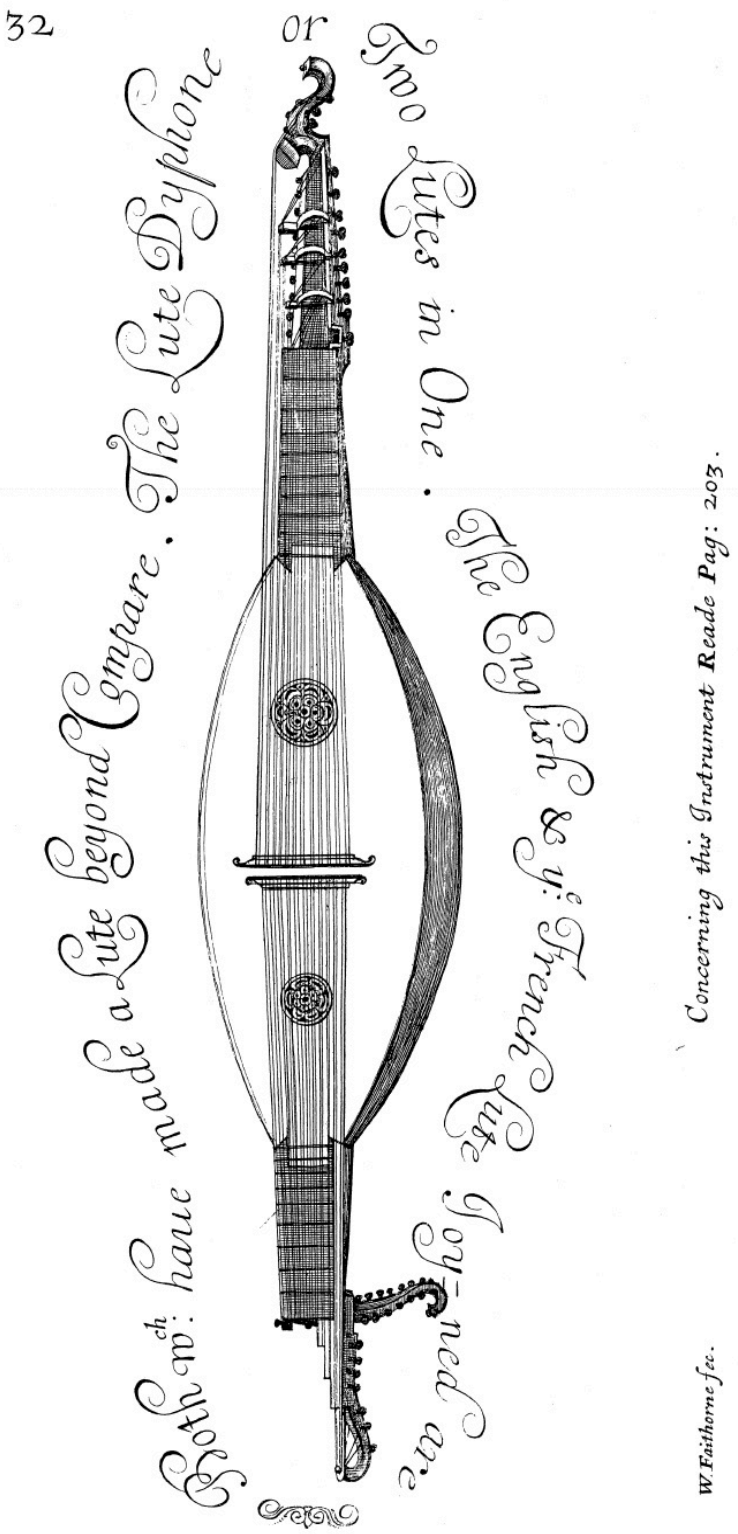

Figure 7: Thomas Mace's Dyphone[55]

[55] Engraving by W. Faithorne for Thomas Mace, *Musick's Monument,* 32.

The dyphone, it turns out, was a response to Mace's growing deafness which he described as follows:

> *My Necessity*; viz. *My Great Defect in Hearing*; adjoined with *My Unsatiable Love, and Desire after the Lute*; It being an *Instrument so Soft,* and *Past my Reach of Hearing,* I did Imagine, it was possible to *Contrive* a *Louder Lute.* than ever any yet had been.[56]

Mace describes the outcome to be the "*Lustiest* or *Loudest Lute, that I ever yet heard*; for although I cannot hear the least *Twang* of any other *Lute,* when I *Play* upon *It*; yet I can hear *This, in a very Good Measure*; yet not so *Loud,* as to *Distinguish Every Thing I Play,* without the *Help of My Teeth."*[57] The "lustiness" of the lute may have referred either to the strength of its sound or to more voluptuous, lecherous qualities; both definitions of the term were in circulation at the time. Prostitutes were also frequently depicted holding lutes in paintings from the time period, such as "The Procuress" by Gerard van Honhorst (1592-1656). [Fig. 8] The body of the lute, the bodies of women, and the act of making music, all overlapped suggestively.

[56] Mace, *Musick's Monument*, 203-204.
[57] Ibid.

Figure 8: Gerard van Honhorst (1592-1656), "The Procuress" (1625)[58]

Either way, the strength of the dyphone compensated for Mace's failing hearing. The connection between Mace's body and the body of a smaller lute is a creative one. Mace describes how he uses his teeth, placed on the soundboard of the instrument, to amplify the sounds of the instrument so that he can hear them better.[59] With the dyphone, on the other hand, the enormous size of the body of the instrument, coupled with the sympathetic vibrations of the strings, made for a much louder instrument, a "mystery" Mace claims is "known to *All Curious Inspectors* into *Such Mysteries."*[60]

The kind of "curious inspection" that would have made this mystery "visible" (in Mace's words) must have been academic curiosity, such as was practiced in Cambridge while Mace lived there. The list of subscribers to Mace's book included luminaries of the Cambridge academia spanning many disciplines. (Appendix 6) Among those Mace thanks for purchasing his book are other scholars, masters, and Doctors of Music such as Robert Wilson, Thomas Tudway, Francis Crispe, and outside Cambridge, James and Thomas Lawes. Tudway was organist and

[58] Honthorst, Gerard van (Holland, 1590-1656). 1625 (signed). The Procuress. Painting. Place: Holland, Utrecht, Centraal Museum. https://library-artstor-org.libproxy.berkeley.edu/asset/HCDL_SASKIA_106910669797.
[59] Thomas Mace, *Musick's Monument* (1676), 203-204.
[60] Ibid.

master of choristers at King's College when the book was published.[61] The list was not limited to scholars of music, however, and encompassed scholars from many other disciplines. Listed first are members of the aristocracy, who were instrumental in supporting Mace's endeavor.

Among the most notable names on Mace's list of subscribers is Isaac Newton, who had completed his studies and was living in Cambridge by the 1670s and was a fellow of Mace's own college, Trinity College. At the time, Newton had also brought music into his studies, comparing the diffraction of light to a musical scale, accounting for colors the same way he accounted for musical intervals.[62] Newton ultimately abandoned this comparison, but other elements of his less canonical work – having to do with alchemy, spirituality, and the occult – may still share a connection with Mace's thinking about instrumental bodies. These lines of thinking, along with the scientific minds of his intellectual cohort, ranged from the empirical to the occult. Newton's spiritual beliefs evolved over the 1660s and 1670s as he considered different ways God could act on the known universe. Drawing in part from his studies of the physical world and in part his evaluation of his spiritual beliefs, Newton questioned what kinds of forces existed to act upon living and nonliving things. Part of his thinking came from observations and measurement, but a good deal of his accounting for motion and agency was drawn from Neoplatonism and Stoicism. Different forces acted on the physical world; some of them mechanical and others spiritual. Beyond mechanism and spirit, these forces also consisted of corporeality and incorporeality. For the Stoics, all elements contained a divine spark of "secret," "creative fire" that acted upon physical objects and could produce motion.[63] By the 1670s Newton had incorporated these ideas into his theory of "vegetation," strengthening the ties between his ideas and the Stoics' ideas about materiality and activity. The less material something is, the more active, or spiritually tense, it became.[64]

It is not a far reach of the imagination to see how these ideas about material, spirit, and activity would intersect regarding musical instruments and the sounds they produced. As sound, music had an immateriality to it that many regarded – and many still regard – as spiritual. This connection was made much earlier by theorists the likes of Robert Fludd in his *Utriusque cosmi* [Fig. 9]. Mace remarks on this slippage between instruments as objects and instruments as producers of the unknowable mystery of music. Beginning with the discourse between the lute and the author, which gives the lute fictional agency and personhood, Mace notes the supernatural "mystery" of the lute's music in verse. Although Mace's verses are stilted, their message is still clear. His poem on the power of music at the beginning of "The Lute Made Easie" concludes with the couplet "No LANGUAGE is of greater Force to me/ Than is the Language of LUTE'S Mysterie."[65] Lutes are musical secret-keepers, guarding holy mysteries and forces that can only be uncovered through sound.

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[61] Watkins Shaw and Bruce Wood, "Tudway, Thomas," *Oxford Music Online Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed November 17.

[62] Isaac Newton's consideration of the connections between optics and sound spanned his undergraduate years and up until Mace would have been writing *Musick's Monument*. See Peter Pesic, *Music and the Making of Modern Science* (Cambridge and London: The MIT Press, 2014), 121-131.

[63] For more on Newton's synthesis of Neoplatonic ideas and mechanical physics, see Betty Jo Teeter Dobbs, *The Janus Faces of Genius: The Role of Alchemy in Newton's Thought* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 92-96.

[64] Ibid, 96.

[65] Mace, 38.

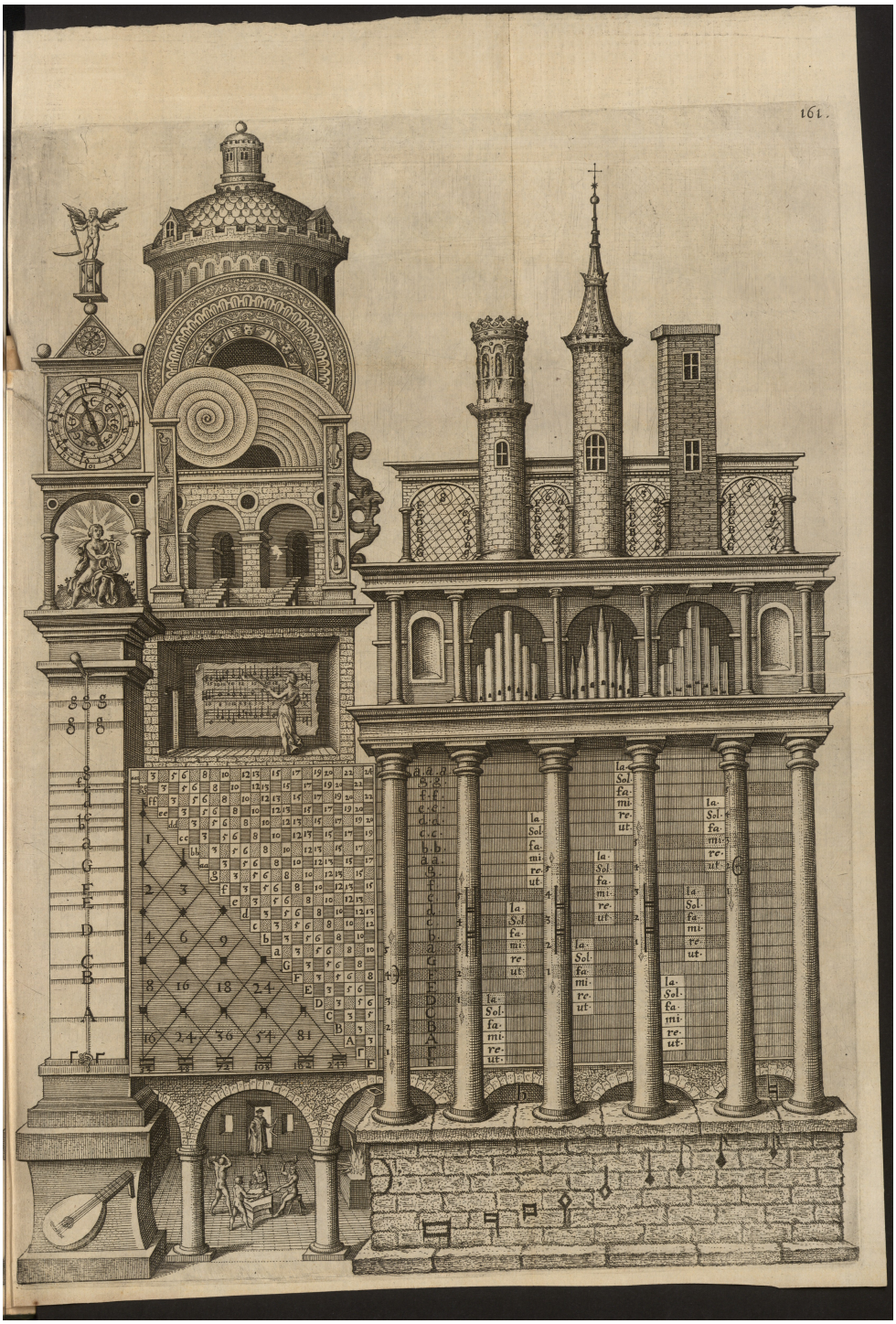

Figure 9: Robert Fludd, "Temple of Music"[66]

[66] Robert Fludd, *Utriusque Cosmi, Maioris scilicet et Minoris, metaphysica, physica, atque technica Historia* vol. 2 (Oppenheim: Theodor de Bry, 1617), 161.

The instruments producing this music, and in particular the lute, offered compelling reasons to speak about them as if they contained a Newtonian vital force. The material from which they were constructed had once been alive and growing, moving and creating itself in its own capacity. Once transformed into an instrument it still moved, but now its creativity depended on someone playing it to set the wood in motion. Nevertheless, the interplay between materiality and immateriality, inactivity and activity, reached beyond any one of the agents at work to produce musical sound. While lutes weren't exactly alive, they weren't entirely dead, either. Instead they – and other instruments like them – were caught between activity and materiality. Instead of moving intransitively, as the wood did while it was growing, they now moved transitively, moving people by exciting their emotions. Thus, the strength of a dyphone could act upon a human body, not only through mechanical means, but through supernatural ones.

Mace also took interest in human bodies and conflated human health and music in another volume titled *Riddles mervels and rarities* (London, 1698). This volume also unfolds an intersection of medicine and superstition in early modern England, combining so-called medical advice Mace had gleaned from experience over his long life. Arguing that life had been the best teacher, Mace instructed his readers on the best practices for physical anatomy, medicinal remedies, surgery and alchemy, all in the same volume.[67] The entire book appears to be a detailed advertisement singing the praises of a snake-oil remedy Mace was trying to sell called "priest powder." The "medicine" in the book may not have been an effective remedy, but Mace's continued incorporation of music into spiritual and physical wellness shows continuity between his thinking in 1676 and 1698. On the one hand he reiterates more commonly held beliefs about music's benefits for the human spirit, stating "As physick is musick to the body me find,/ So musick is physick to a sick-tempered mind."[68] More striking in the later book is Mace's crystallization of ideas about alchemy that he only alluded to in *MM*. While he acknowledged that the philosopher's stone most likely was not real in a literal sense, he likened the stone's properties to those of his miracle elixir. Rather than transfiguring brass into gold, the priest-powder transfigured a sick body into a healthy one. The elixir, paired with temperance in all things, was the key to health and long life.[69]

To return to *MM*, healthy human bodies were not in question; the bodies of lutes were. After the opening passages of "The Lute Made Easie," Mace provides a detailed and lengthy set of instructions for choosing and making repairs to older lutes, hoping that his readers would be able to acquire a decent-sounding older lute for less cost, even if that meant having to make some do-it-yourself repairs. While most of these passages are written as straightforwardly as Mace

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[67] Thomas Mace, *Riddles mervels and rarities : or, A new way of health, from an old man's experience, &c. Being his kind legacy, to his fellow creatures: or, the physician, and no physician, prescribing physick, and no physick; shewing plain, easie, and cheap ways, how every man may become his own physician, his own apothecary, and his own chyrurgeon, with little or no trouble, but far less cost. Whereby sickness may certainly be prevented to the well; health, as certainly procur'd to the sick; and man's life comfortably preserv'd, to a good old age.... Divided into 2 parts, by two universal medicines; the one physical, the other natural; the first the worst, the second the best. Also a short discourse concerning the phylosopher's stone,... With several other choice observations of profitable use, as may be seen in the table here annext.* London: printed for the author, Tho. Mace, of Trin. Coll. in Cambridge, Clark, at his house in St. Peter's Parish in Cambridge, Anno Dom. 1698).

[68] Mace, *Riddles mervels and rarities,* 26.

[69] Ibid., 7.

seems to have been capable, several descriptions stand out as bordering on physical and biological descriptions. When discussing stringing the lute, Mace advises his readers to:

> String it, according to the *Size*, than the *Strength*, &c. First, Because in so doing, a *Lute* has more *Natural Right* done it, and will return you, more *Acceptable Content*, in token of *Its Gratefulness*. [Secondly,] Because a *Lute* that is *Crazy* and *Weak*, may have *Ease* done it, in setting it at a *Lower Pitch*, (if you see cause) sometimes.[70]

"Craziness" was a new description in the seventeenth century; its earliest appearance defined in print appears to have been John Bullokar's *An English Expositor* (1616). While the term had yet to apply specifically to the mind, Bullokar's definition – "sickly, weak, of unperfect health" – still implies that the lute as an object was suffering an infirmity, rather than merely being broken.[71] The project at hand, then, became restoring the lute to good health, rather than repairing a broken "thing." Repairing the lute's body was a transformation of state.

Snake-oil medicine or not, Mace's ideas about health and bodies weren't the only part of his work that could potentially have met with opposition. Alchemy and materialism undoubtedly would have run up against the church and its condemnation of anything it deemed to be atheistic. Atheism, as understood in early modern England had several different levels of precision as a pejorative term. Often through the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries "atheism" most likely would have been considered "rough atheism," meaning a crude rejection of the protestant faith of the Church of England. In practice this might have been outright rejection of all deities, as atheism is most frequently understood today, or in the case of persecuted religious minorities in England the term could also have meant adherence to a rival branch of Christianity, most likely Catholicism.[72] In either case, philosophical inquiry that questioned Christian dogma would have been something sensational, and potentially dangerous to publish. Much of the occult pseudoscience and philosophy that interested Newton would have fallen into these categories, and by extension much of the vital materialism that permeated Mace's thinking about bodies and instruments would also fallen into a problematic gray area in need of defense.

Curiously, Mace calls upon the neoplatonic idea of atomism to defend his beliefs, which in itself would have been problematic to orthodox Anglian censors. For Mace, the idea that the universe could be divided indefinitely into infinitely small parts was not a refutation of religion but rather one of its divine mysteries. He writes:

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[70] Thomas Mace, *Musick's Monument,* 65.

[71] Such definitions continued throughout the century; while the usage of "crazy" as a term for insanity only materialized around the turn of the eighteenth century every other definition of the term includes a mention of sickness or infirmity above and beyond a more generic sense of weakness. See Robert Cawdrey, *A Table Alphabetical* (1617), Edward Philips, *The New World of English Words* (1658), Richard Hogarth, *Gazophylacium Anglicanum* (1689), B. E., *A New Dictionary of the Terms Ancient and Modern of the Canting Crew* (1699), and John Kersey the younger, *A New English Dictionary* (1702).

[72] Kenneth Shepard has outlined these distinctions in *Anti-Atheism in Early modern England 1580-1720: The Atheist Answered and His Error Confuted* (Lieden and Boston: Brill, 2015), 8-9. The idea that early modern unbelief could fully mean rejection of all gods has been explored by Carlo Ginzburg in *The Cheese and the Worms,* David Wooton in *Paolo Sarpi: Between the Renaissance and Enlightenment,* and others; Lucien Febvre cautions readers that while the term "Atheism" is thrown around frequently, the usage of the word does not always mean such a direct refutation of religion but rather unorthodox or forbidden religious practices. See Lucien Febvre, *The Problem of Unbelief in Early Modern Europe.*

> By *Experience,* we find, that in any *String,* be It of what *Length* soever, *(Short,* or *Long)* the very midst of *That String,* will produce an *8th.* So that (to come quickly to discern *This Wonder*) you may suppose a *String* to be 1000 *Miles Long*; or so *Long,* as would Encompass the whole *Earth,* or *Heavens*; *That String* divided in the midst, would produce but *Only One Octave,* or *Eighth;* (but you must suppose, by some *Art,* or *Power,* that *That String* may be *Stretch'd,* and made to *Sound:*) ... till you come to a *String* of an *Inch Long*; and There, the *Half Inch,* will still be an *Eighth*; and from thence, unto the very *Least Imaginable Diminuteness,* viz. an *Attome*; which though, by *Reason* of *Our Bounded Limitation,* as to *Our Natural, and Corporial Organical-Capacities,* we are made *Incapable* of either *Expressing,* or *Distinguishing* such *Invisible-Littlenesses;* yet by our more *Capacious, Rational,* and *Apprehensive Faculties,* we must needs grant a *Consent* unto, *viz.* That still an *Attome-Length* of a *String,* may be *Infinitely Divided*; and so consequently produce Its *Eighths.*
>
> This is an *Undeniable,* and *Unutterable Mystery,* viz. *Infinity Infiniteness*; both of an *Unlimited*, and *Wondrous Vastness*; and likewise a kind of *Boundless Interminated-Littleness*; both which, in the *Mystery,* signifie the same Thing to me, concerning the *Wonderfulness* of the *Almighties Mystical Being*; which is the *Thing,* I would have *Well-Noted,* from *This last mentioned Mystery,* so *Discernable Plain* in *Musick*; and is a *Most Worthy,* and *High Consideration,* becoming the *Highest Divine Philosophers,* and the *Largness,* and *Capaciousness* of our *Souls* and *Minds.*
>
> And from hence, I cannot but Apprehend some sort of *Analogy,* relating to the *Manifestation* of some *Significant* (though *Unexpressible*) *Conception,* of the *Infinite,* and *Eternal Being*; the *Center,* and the *Circumference,* have such an *Absolute Uniform Relation,* and *Dependance* the *One* to the *Other,* that Both are *Equal Mystery,* and *Wonder.*
>
> And Thus by *Musick,* may both of Them be *Contemplated,* and made perceptible so, that whosoever shall *Experiment,* what I have here writ, as being Himself made *Master* of It, by His own *Observation,* and *Understanding;* He shall not only believe what I Thus say, concerning *These Mysteries* of *Musick*; but shall say, *He Knows It to be True,* and together with It, find such an *Instance,* (yea *Confirmation*) of the *Wonderful Working Power,* and *Wisdom* of the *Almighty God*; that *His Faith* shall be so far strengthened Therein, that *He* shall never after *Degenerate* into *That Gross Sub-Beastical Sin* of *Atheism.*[73]

The passage, in Mace's typical convoluted and long-winded style, wends its way from the idea of the octave being formed by dividing a string in half, through the thought-experiment of dividing a hypothetical string that is long enough to "encompass the earth or the heavens" in half infinitely many times, until the string was only an atom long, and reaches the fact that such a string would produce sounds inaudible to human ears, before concluding with the divinity of these sounds. Finally, Mace comments that because these sounds are divine, they cannot lead listeners astray, but rather will prevent listeners from straying into "that Gross sub-beastical sin

[73] Thomas Mace, *Musick's Monument,* 267-269.

of Atheism." Much like the inaudible heavenly music described by Dante in *Paradiso*, Mace's infinite octaves are divine mysteries not because they prove in a scientific way the cold inertness of a universe governed by rational principles, but because their inaudibility can only be overcome through faith. Additionally, the metaphor of the string divisions as divine ratios positions stringed instruments – specifically the scientific instrument of the monochord – centrally in the pursuit of the divine.

Transformations lie at the root of alchemy and the vital forces that may or may not have gripped instruments. Pamela Smith, observing the early modern relationship of craftsmen to their materials, notes that Paracelsus found the arts and alchemy to be one and the same, with carpenters being "alchemists of wood."[74] In this instance, dead wood becoming a speaking instrument would have been among the most profound transformations possible, with instrument-makers becoming alchemists in their own right.

These transformations could also have been undone. Mace's lute-maintenance manifesto is concerned with the lifespan of the lute in terms of the longevity of its constituent materials. Advising his readers to keep the lute away from damp places Mace writes "It is a usual saying, That an *Oak* is 100 years in *Growing*, 100 years *Standing*, and 100 years; which is suppos'd to stand in *all Weathers, wet and dry ...* Now if *This Thick-Strong-lusty-sturdy-Oak* will (in 100 years) *Decay*, by such usage; How much more *easily* then, must a *Lute (made of so gentle soft Wood, and so very thin*) with such like *Ill usage*) *Decay*?"[75] The trees from which lutes were made had temporally-bounded life cycles, which in turn influenced the life-cycles of the instruments produced from them. Furthermore, they could be abused, and brought to an early end.

Mace's metaphors may all have been in the service of pedagogy and not proving a larger point about the vital forces of instruments and the materials from which they were comprised. However, the consistency of his rhetoric translates to a love of the instrument and its music that indeed becomes mournful in the context of its impending end. The moments in which he argues the instrument is still "in style" and should continue to be played – in opposition to the doom-and-gloom of his more dramatic passages – read as half-hearted and hollow. The role of *MM,* and its memorializing rhetoric, may ultimately be yet another alchemical transformation: transfiguring the lute from what had become a disused and pedestrian distraction into yet another kind of metaphorical gold. By casting the lute into the future as a ghost to speak to posterity, it would perhaps maintain some of the vital force Mace perceived to exist in it long after he and other practitioners of his generation were long gone. Perhaps – even – this golden longevity could extend to Mace himself, as a way of preserving his own vital force through the music he held in such high regard.

Mace's project tied together many themes of loss and decay: monuments, instruments fading from prominence, dying musical styles, and even his own failing health. What binds all of these moments together are the ties to the infinite. *MM* was written in a moment where cultural elites had lost interest in the instrument they had once so highly esteemed. Partially due to the challenges it posed and partly due to changing tastes, by 1676 the lute was a shadow of its former self. Mace came to bury music, after all, in addition to praising it. Mace's concern about these developments shows how one corner of music making geared toward amateurs responded to a loss of interest from these amateurs. Books geared toward the instruction of musical

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[74] Pamela Smith, *The Body of the Artisan: Art and Experience in the Scientific Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004),141-142.
[75] Thomas Mace, *Musick's Monument,* 64.

amateurs also point to shifting ideas about what kinds of music could be made by whom, and how they would go about it. In short, this story has been one of fundamental changes to musical institutions, which would continue to change into the eighteenth century and later.

During the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, these shifts were underscored by a dual-materiality of lesson books, which encompassed both the physical engagements with instruments they facilitated and their physical presence, formats, and layouts of the books themselves. Lesson books and the kinds of reading they encouraged had the potential to rewrite how people acquired skills in fundamental ways.. Looking to what happened next, it's hard to imagine that the quiet, private study that would come to dominate many educational settings also did not leave its mark on noisier activities such as learning to play instruments and to sing. My journey through these old books and the experiences of music they evoke has, at times, evoked memories of my own musical past.Much of my childhood music instruction came from books that echoed Morley's "plaine and easie" language, through phrases like "you can play," "teach yourself," and "guitar for dummies." While the popularity of certain instruments and the instruction books written for them waxes and wanes over the years, the concept of self-instruction books, and the ways they infiltrated and shaped modes and institutions of musical learning hascontinued apace. Enter any music store and you will find that the writing about music education, quite literally, remains on the wall.

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Appendix 1: “Plaine and Easie” Books Published in England

Author	*Title*	Publisher	Date
Malby, Nicholas, Sir., 1530?-1584	*A **plaine and easie** way to remedie a horse that is foundered in his feete by which vsing, this remedie (within .xxiiii. howres after his instaunt foundering) you maye within .xxiiij. howres after the curre vsed, trauell your horse, and iourney him at your pleasure, as if he had not bene foundered at all. Set out by Nicholas Malbie Gentleman, seruant to the Queenes moste excellent Maiestie.*	London: Thomas Purfoote, 1576	1576
Day, Angel, fl. 1575-1595	*The English secretoire Wherin is contayned, a perfect method, for the inditing of all manner of epistles and familiar letters, together with ther diversities, enlarged by examples under their severall tytles. In which is layd forth a path-waye, so apt, **plaine and easie**, to any learners capacity, as the like wherof hath not at any time heretofore beene deliuered. Nowe first deuized, and newly published by Angel Daye.*	London: Robert Walde-grave, 1586	1586
Whythorne, Thomas, b. 1528	*Cantus. Of duos, or songs for tvvo voices, composed and made by Thomas Whythorne Gent. Of the which, some be **playne and easie** to be sung, or played on musicall instruments, & be made for young beginners of both those sorts. And the rest of these Duos be made and set foorth for those that be more perfect in singing or playing as aforesaid, all the which be divided into three parts. [...] ,*	London: Thomas Este, the assigne of William Byrd, 1590	1590
Daneau, Lambert, ca. 1530-1595	*A fruitfull commentarie vpon the twelue small prophets briefe, **plaine, and easie**, going ouer the same verse by verse, and shewing every where the method, points of doctrine, and figures of rhetoricke, to the no small profit of all godly and well disposed readers, with very necessarie fore-notes for the vnderstanding of both of these, and also all other the prophets. The text of these prophets together with that of the quotations omitted by the author, faithfully supplied by the translatour, and purged of faults in the Latine coppie almost innumerable, with a table of all the chiefe matters herein handled, and marginall notes very plentifull and profitable; so that it may in manner be counted a new booke in regard of these additions. VVritten in Latin by Lambertus Danaeus, and newly turned into English by Iohn Stockwood minister and preacher at Tunbridge.*	Cambridge: Printed by Iohn Legate, printer to the Universitie of Cambridge [and at London, by J. Orwin] 1594	1594
Masterson, Thomas	Thomas Masterson his addition to his first booke of arithmetick Shewing the true vnderstanding of the same booke: with the examples therein, declared at large: also how the solutions of the questions propounded in his second booke of arithmeticke, may be calculated by the said first booke many seuerall wayes. All after so **plaine and easie** manner, that any which is desirous to make the said operations, may hereby vnderstand and learne to worke them, without the helpe of any other teacher.	London: Richard Feld, 1594	1594
Morley, Thomas, 1557-1603	*A **plaine and easie** introduction to practicall musicke set downe in forme of a dialogue: deuided into three partes, the first teacheth to sing with all things necessary for the knowledge of pricktsong. The second treateth of descante and to sing two parts in one vpon a plainsong or ground, with other things necessary for a descanter. The third and last part entreateth of composition of three, foure, fiue or more parts with many profitable rules to that effect. With new songs of 2. 3. 4. and .5 [sic] parts. By Thomas Morley, Batcheler of musick, & of the gent. of hir Maiesties Royall Chapell.*	London: Peter Short, 1597	1597
Owen, Lewis, 1572-1633	*The key of the Spanish tongue, or a **plaine and easie** introduction wehreby a man may in very short time attaine to the knowledge and perfection of that language*	London: Thomas Creede for W. Welby, 1605	1605
Morley, Thomas, 1557-1603	*A **plaine and easie** introduction to practicall musicke set downe in forme of a dialogue: deuided into three partes, the first teacheth to sing with all things necessary for the knowledge of pricktsong. The second treateth of descante and to sing two parts in one vpon a plainsong or ground, with other things necessary for a descanter. The third and last part entreateth of composition of three, foure, fiue or more parts with many profitable rules to that effect. With new songs of 2. 3. 4. and .5 [sic] parts. By Thomas Morley, Batcheler of musick, & of the gent. of hir Maiesties Royall Chapell.*	London: Humfrey Lownes, 1608	1608
Waymouth, John.	*A **plaine and easie** table, whereby any man may bee directed how to reade ouer the whole Bible in a yeere First framed for the vse of a priuate familie, and now made publike for the benefit of the Church of God. By Iohn Waymouth, gent.*	London: Felix Kyngston for William Welbie, 1613	1613

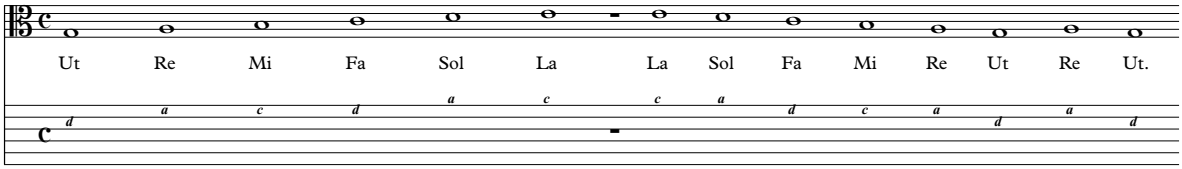
Appendix 2: Modern Edition of “Rules to Instruct you to Sing”

Rules to instruct you to sing.

Hould your Viole somewhat strogly betweene your legs, and in all points, carrie your left hand upon it, as you doe upon the Lute.

Hould your bow or stick, hard by the Nut of it, with your forefinger, above the stick, your second and third finger (in the hollow of the Nut) betweene the heire and the stick, and your little finger beneath the heire, slack quite from it.

VALE.



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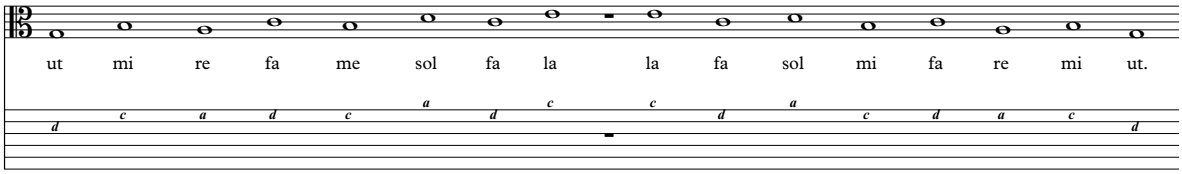

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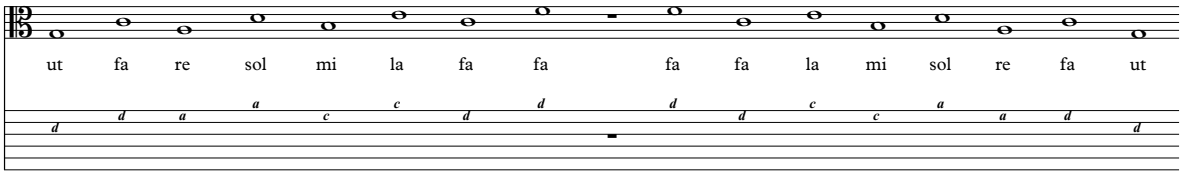

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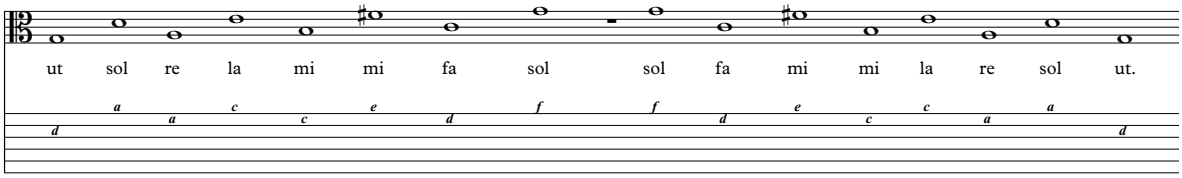

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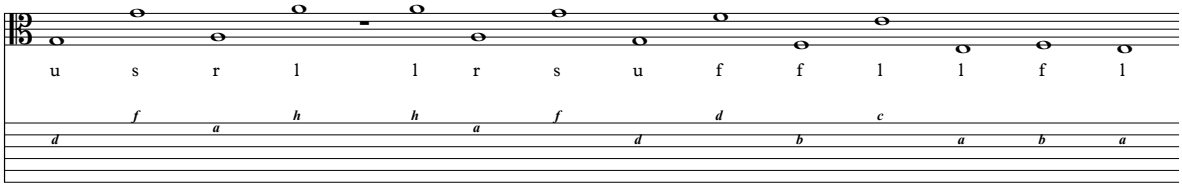
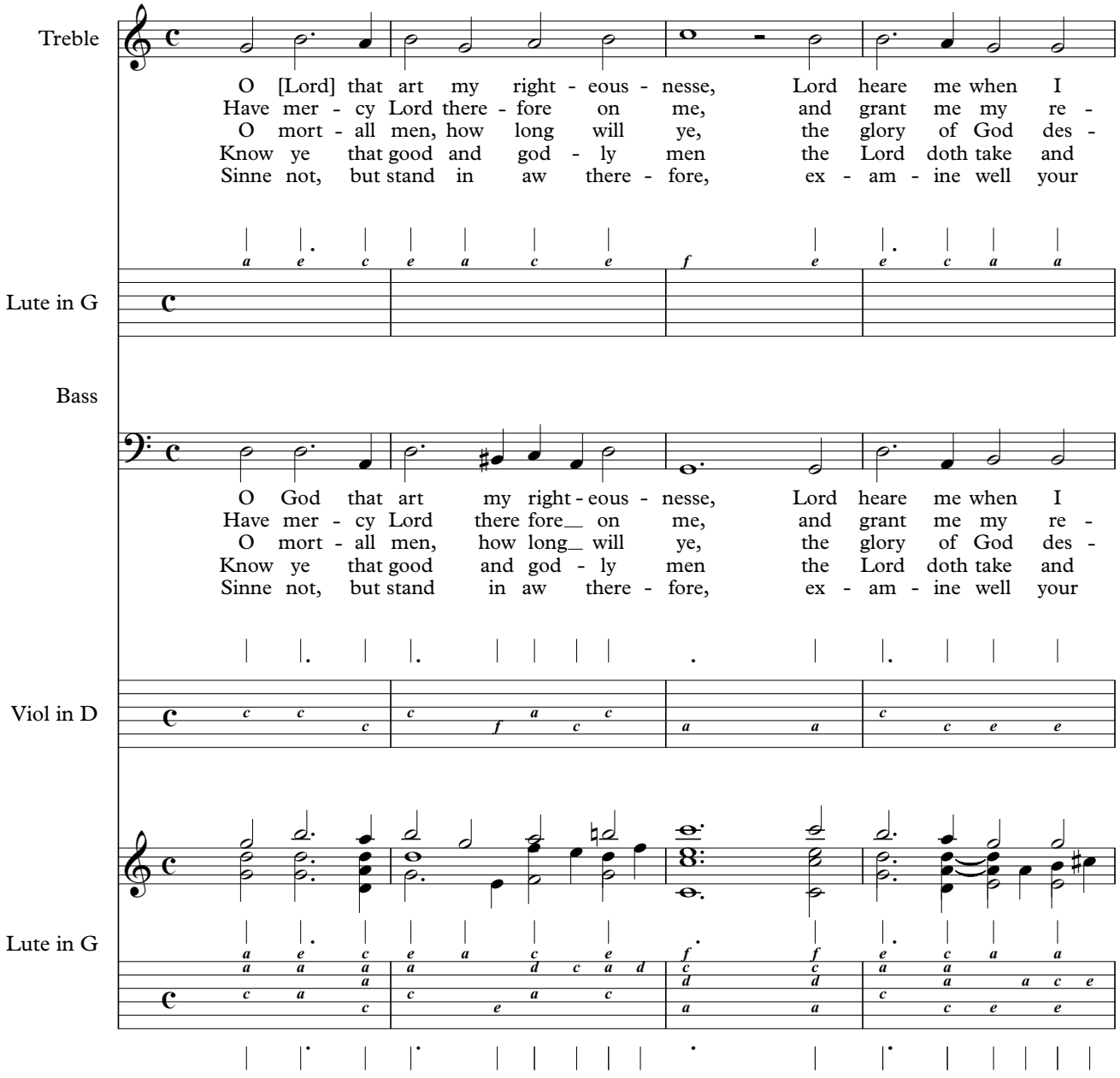
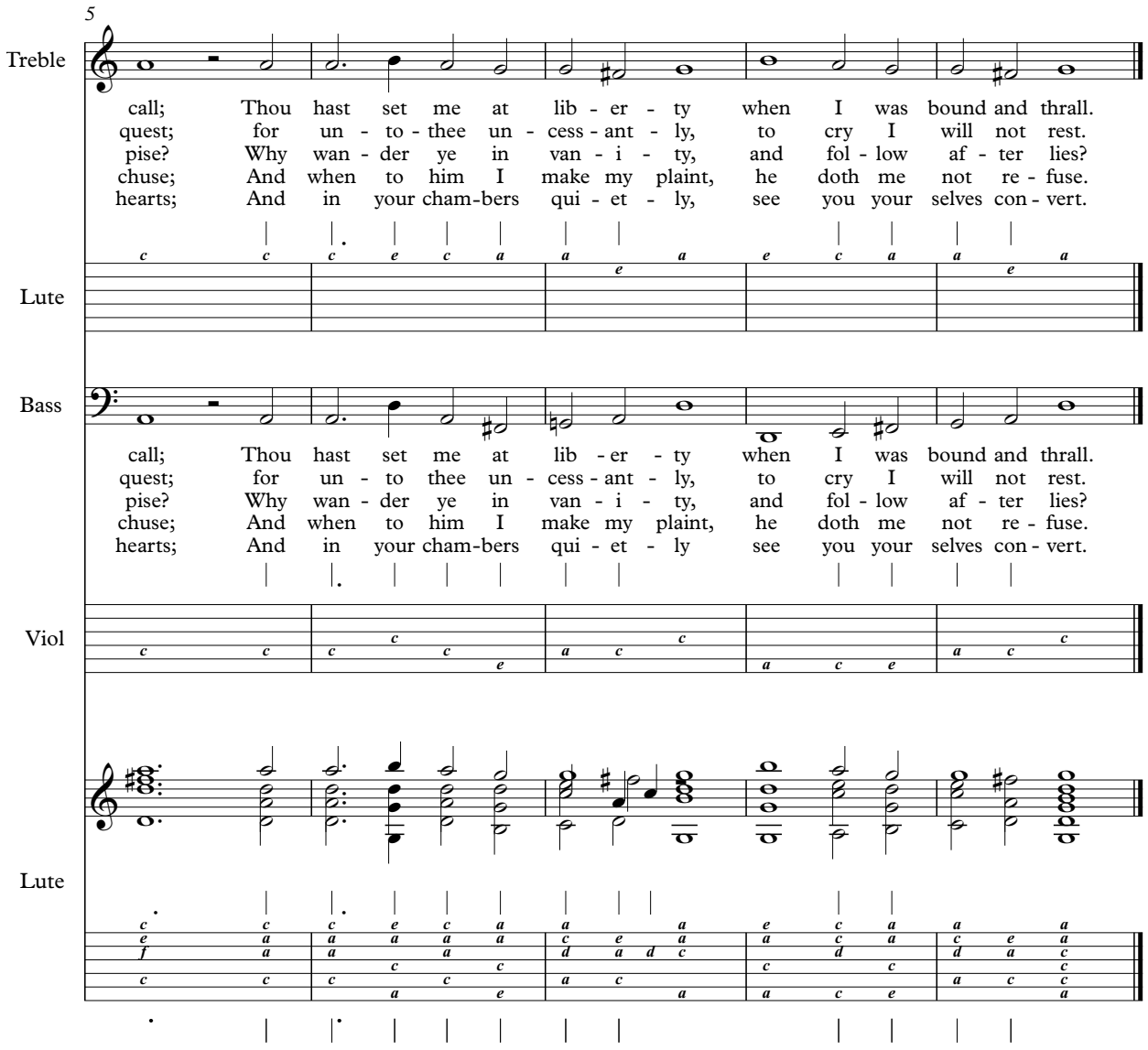


A Psalme

O Lord that art my righteousnesse

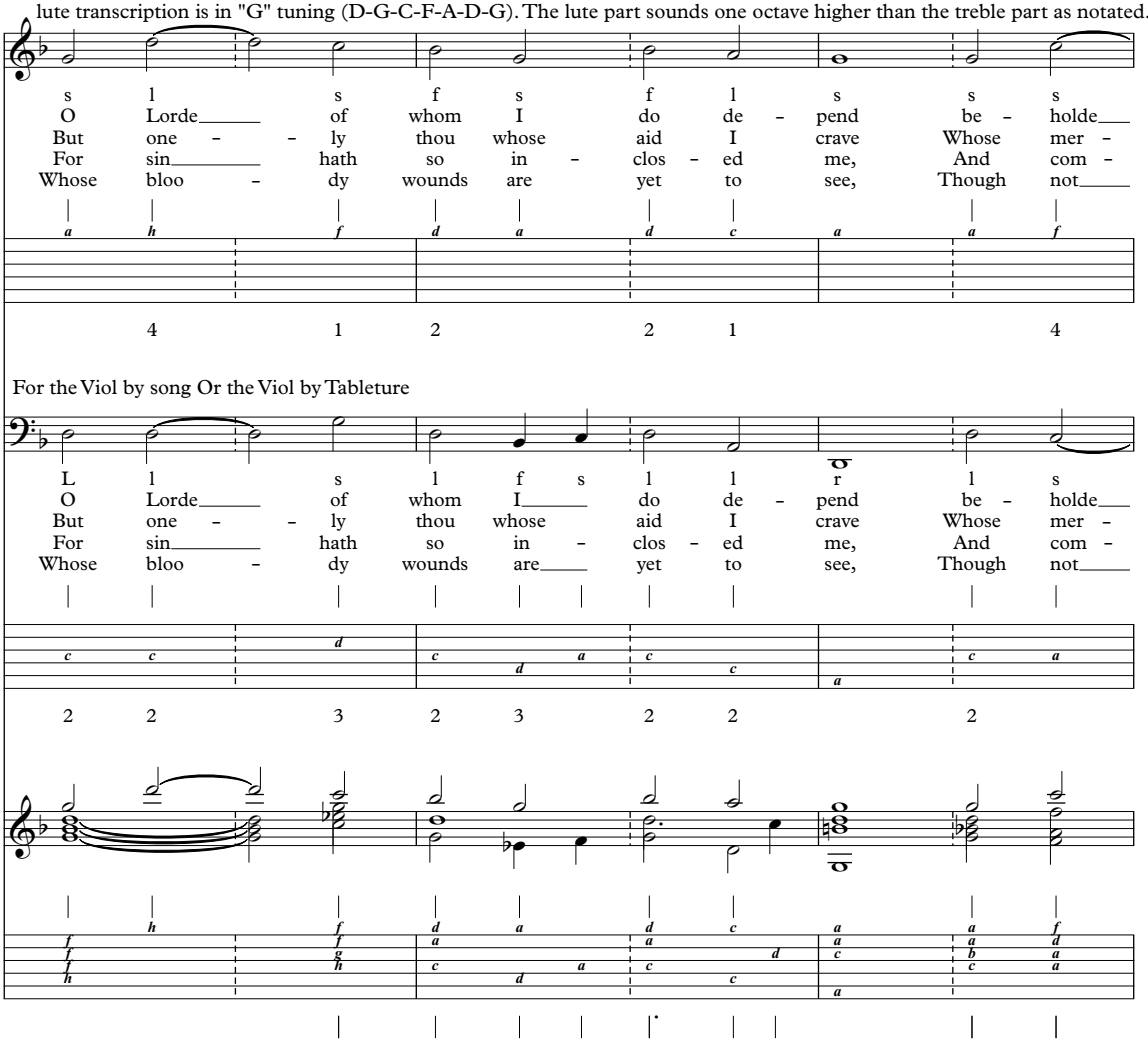


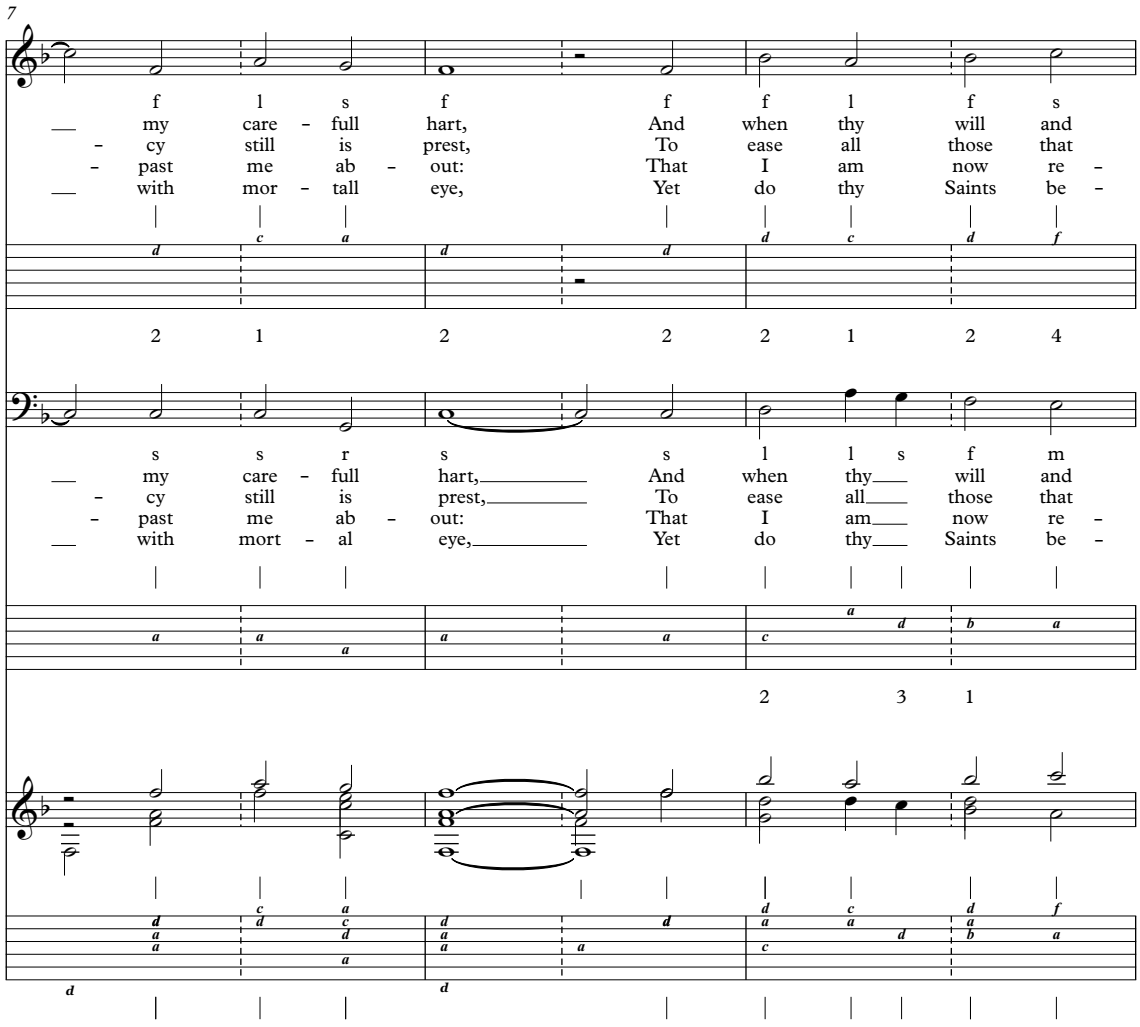

5
Treble
call; Thou hast set me at lib - er - ty when I was bound and thrall.
quest; for un - to - thee un - cess - ant - ly, to cry I will not rest.
pise? Why wan - der ye in van - i - ty, and fol - low af - ter lies?
chuse; And when to him I make my plaint, he doth me not re - fuse.
hearts; And in your cham-bers qui - et - ly, see you your selves con - vert.
Lute
Bass
call; Thou hast set me at lib - er - ty when I was bound and thrall.
quest; for un - to thee un - cess - ant - ly, to cry I will not rest.
pise? Why wan - der ye in van - i - ty, and fol - low af - ter lies?
chuse; And when to him I make my plaint, he doth me not re - fuse.
hearts; And in your cham-bers qui - et - ly see you your selves con - vert.
Viol
Lute

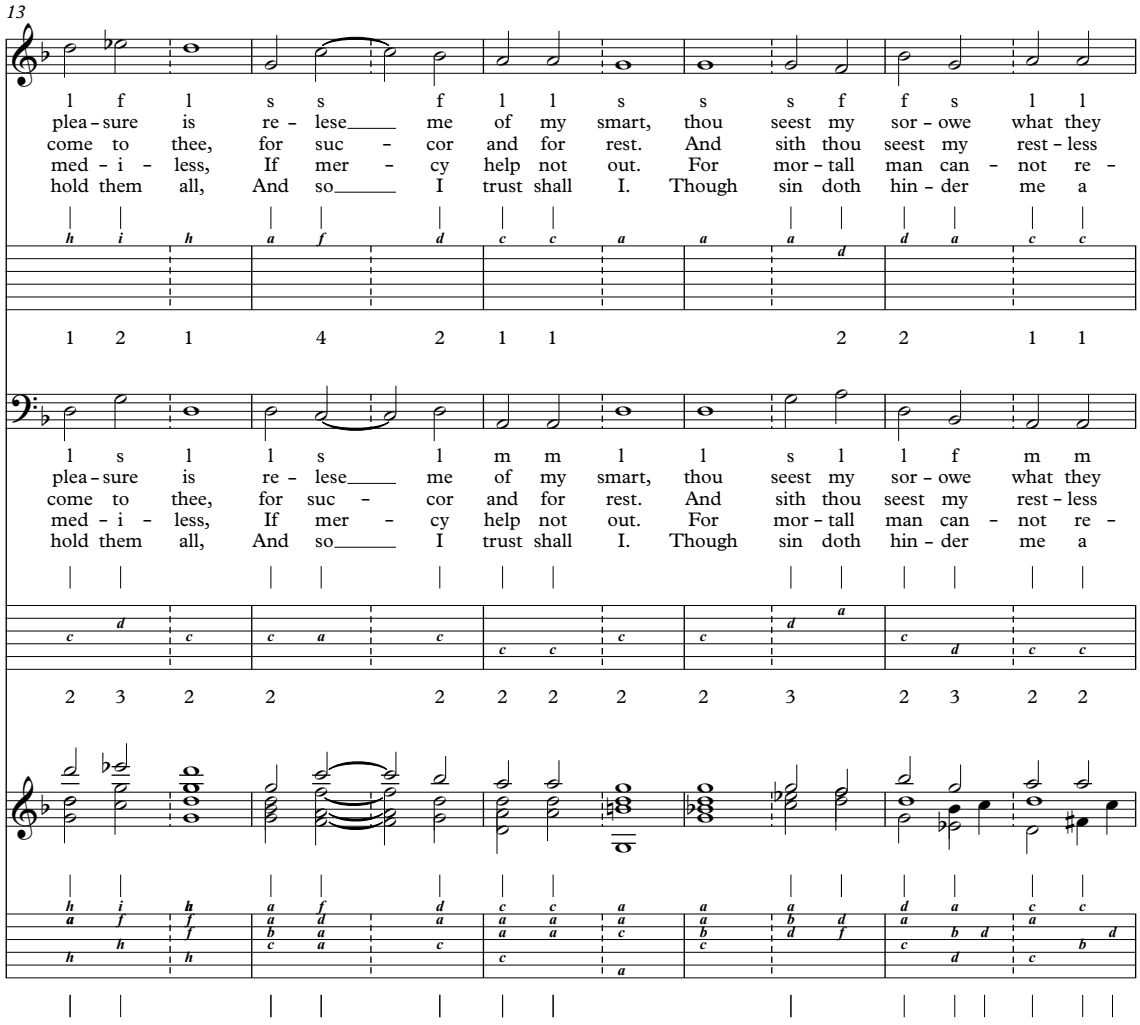
A Psalme

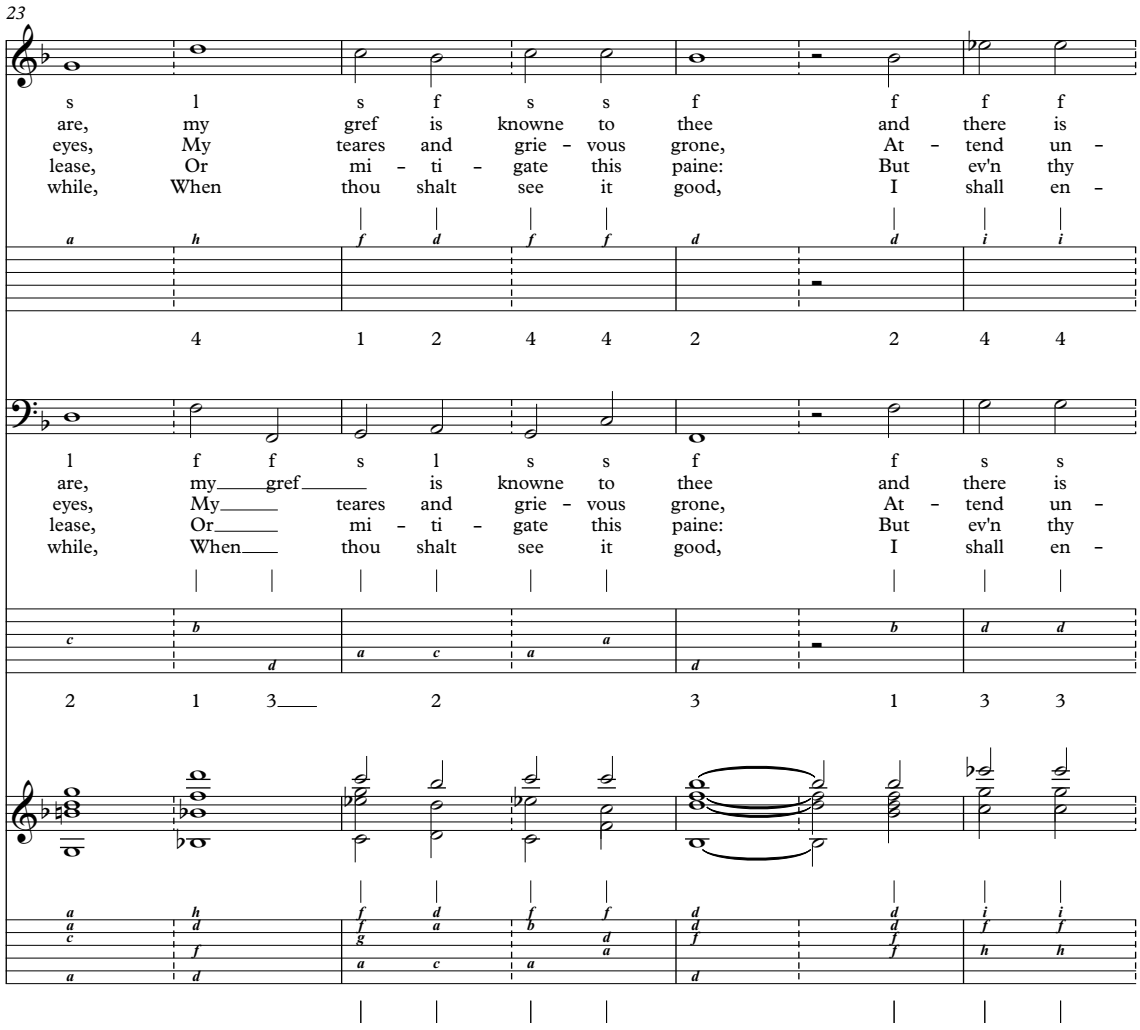
[O lord of whom I doe depend]

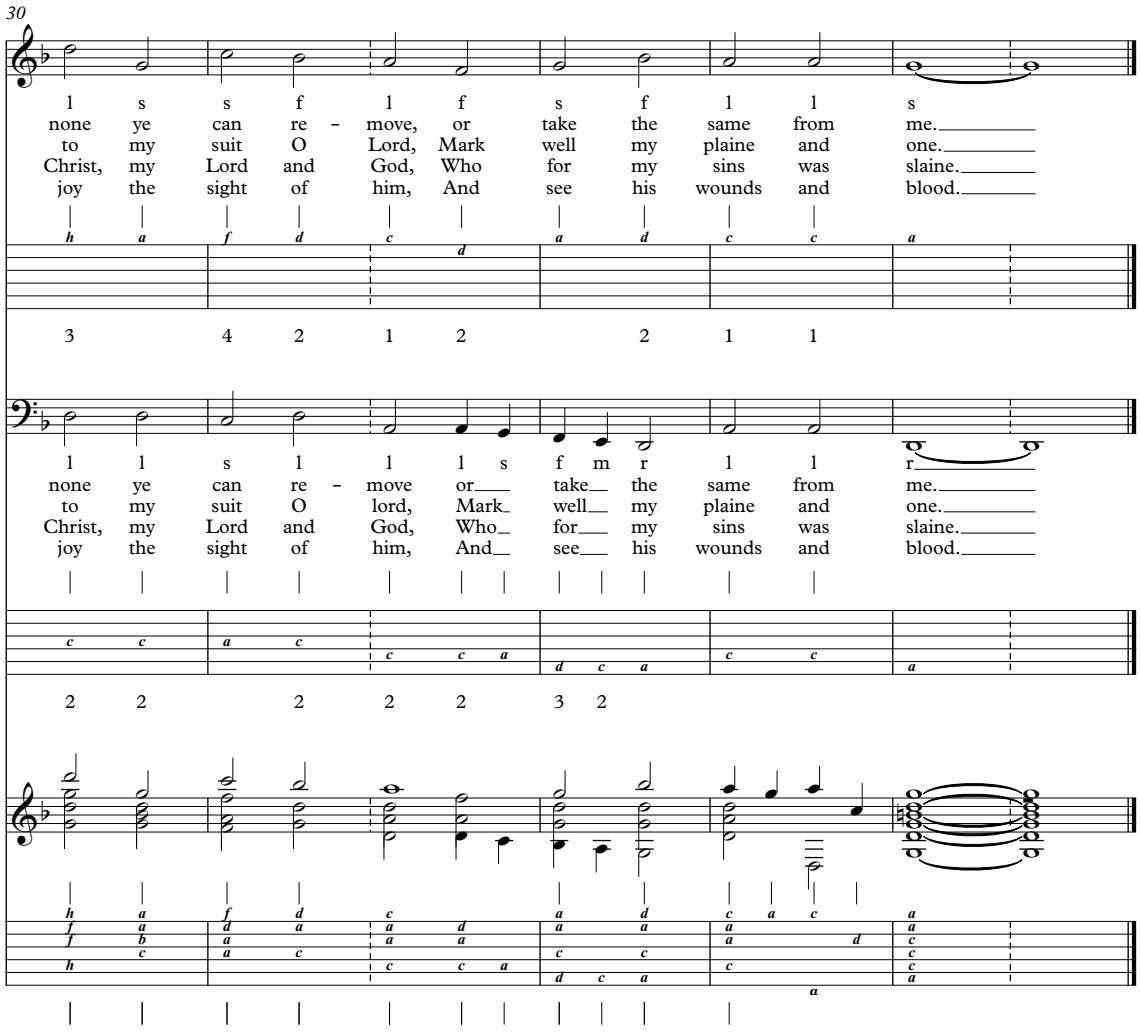
NB: Treble voice part doubled by lute in "G" tuning (D-G-C-F-A-D-G); Bass voice part in "D" tuning (A-D-G-C-F#-A-D); lute transcription is in "G" tuning (D-G-C-F-A-D-G). The lute part sounds one octave higher than the treble part as notated.




7
f l s f f f l f s
my care - full hart, And when thy will and
- cy still is prest, To ease all those that
- past me ab - out: That I am now re -
with mor - tall eye, Yet do thy Saints be -
2 1 2 2 2 1 2 4
s s r s s l l s f m
my care - full hart, And when thy will and
- cy still is prest, To ease all those that
- past me ab - out: That I am now re -
with mort - al eye, Yet do thy Saints be -
2 3 1


13
l f l s s f l l s s s f f s l l
plea - sure is re - lese____ me of my smart, thou seest my sor - owe what they
come to thee, for suc - cor and for rest. And sith thou seest my rest - less
med - i - less, If mer - cy help not out. For mor - tall man can - not re -
hold them all, And so____ I trust shall I. Though sin doth hin - der me a
1 2 1 4 2 1 1 2 2 1 1
l s l l s l m m l l s l l f m m
plea - sure is re - lese____ me of my smart, thou seest my sor - owe what they
come to thee, for suc - cor and for rest. And sith thou seest my rest - less
med - i - less, If mer - cy help not out. For mor - tall man can - not re -
hold them all, And so____ I trust shall I. Though sin doth hin - der me a
2 3 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 3 2 3 2 2


23
s l s f s s f f f f
are, my gref is knowne to thee and there is
eyes, My teares and grie - vous grone, At - tend un -
lease, Or mi - ti - gate this paine: But ev'n thy
while, When thou shalt see it good, I shall en -
4 1 2 4 4 2 2 4 4
l f f s l s s f f s s
are, my gref is knowne to thee and there is
eyes, My teares and grie - vous grone, At - tend un -
lease, Or mi - ti - gate this paine: But ev'n thy
while, When thou shalt see it good, I shall en -
2 1 3 2 3 1 3 3



And as thine Angels and thy Saints
do now behold the same,
So trust I to possesse that place,
with them to praise thy Name,
But whilst I live here in this vale,
where sinners do frequent
Assist me ever with thy grace,
my sins still to lament.

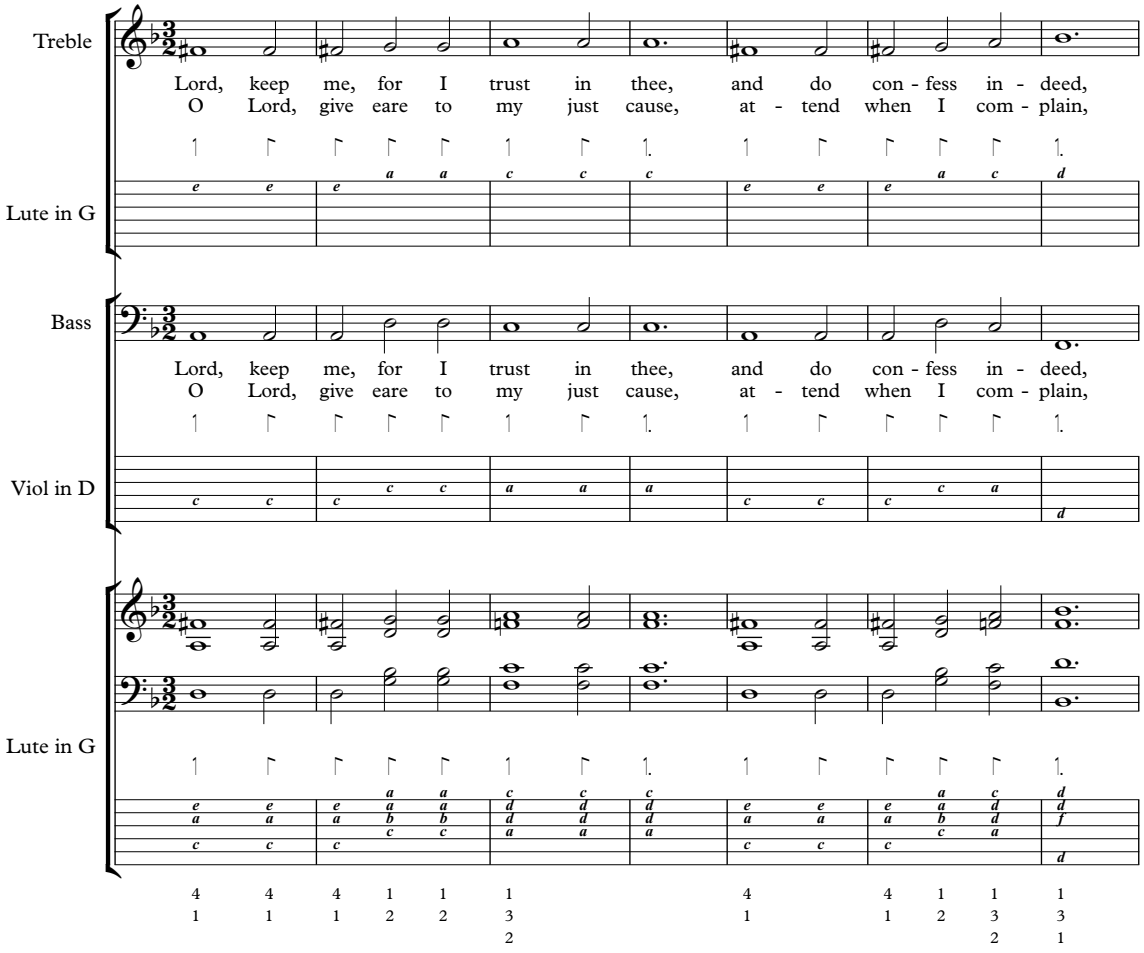
Lest that I tread the sinners trace,
and give them my consent,
To dwell with thim in wickedness,
whereto nature is bent.
Onely thy grace must be my stay,
lest that I fall down flat
And being down, then of my selfe
cannot recover that.

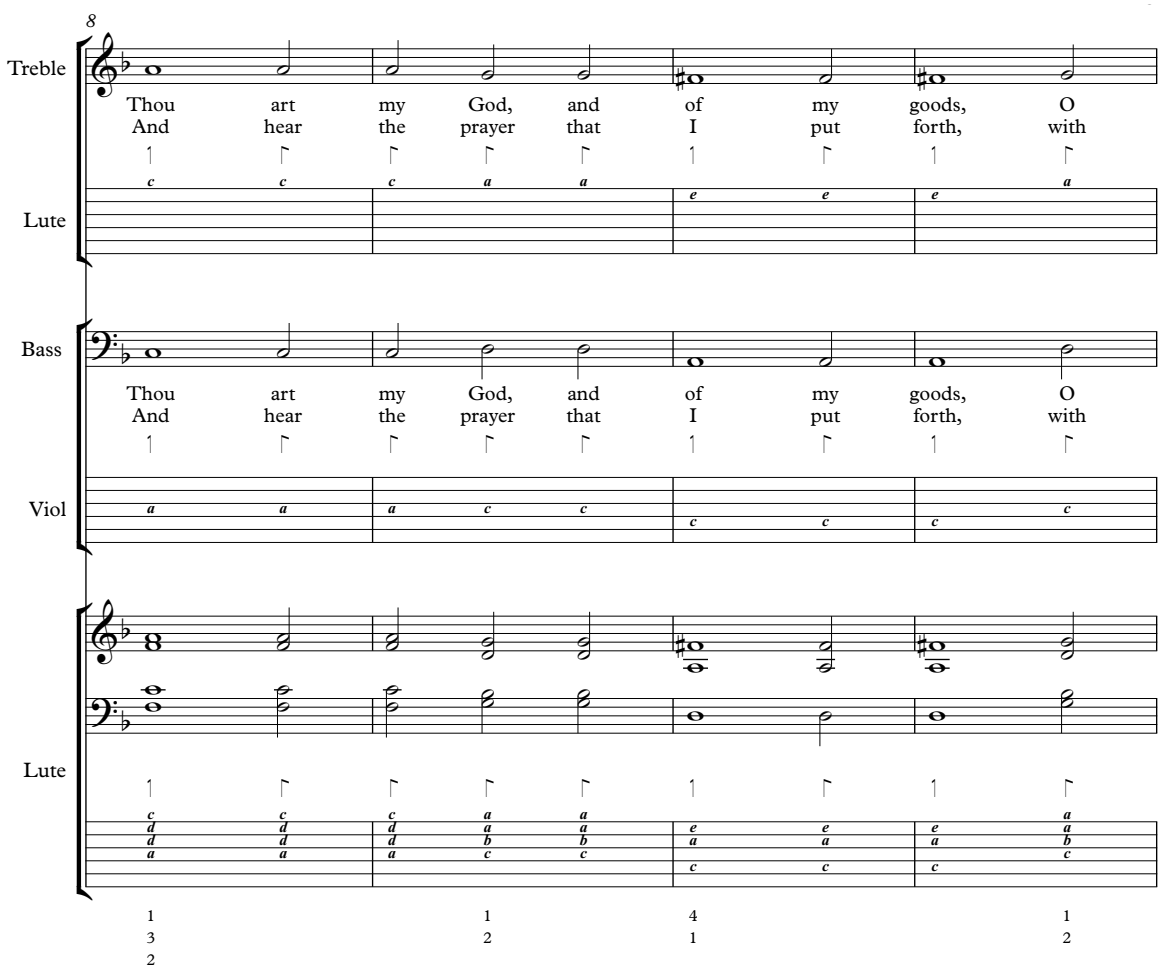
Wherefore this is yet once againe
my suit and my request
To grant me pardon for my sin,
that I in thee may rest.
Then shall my heart and tongue also
be instruments of praise:
And in thy Church and hose of Saints
sing Psalmes to thee alwaies.

A Psalme

from *Rules to instruct you to sing*

Thomas Robinson
arr. Jones

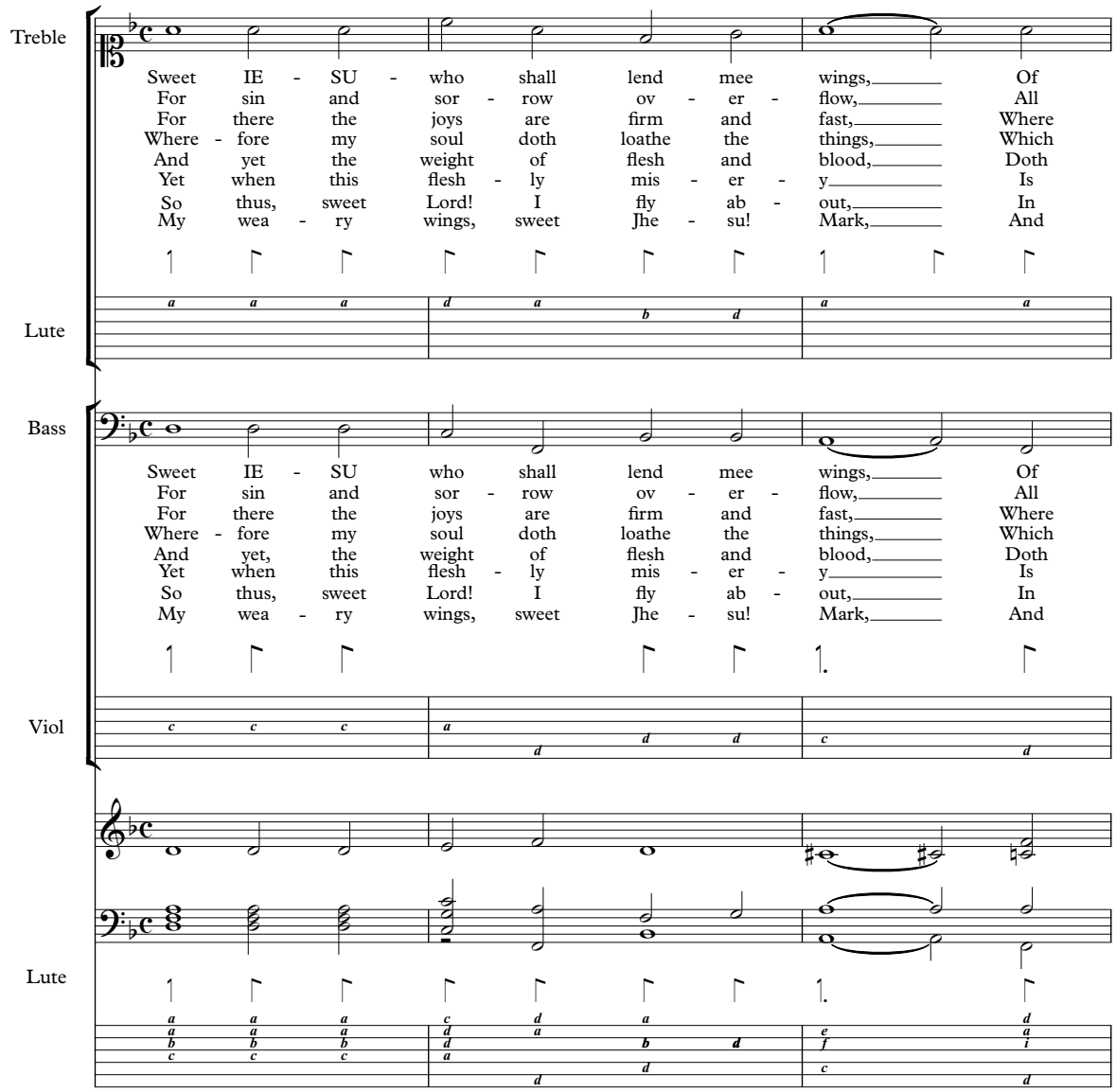


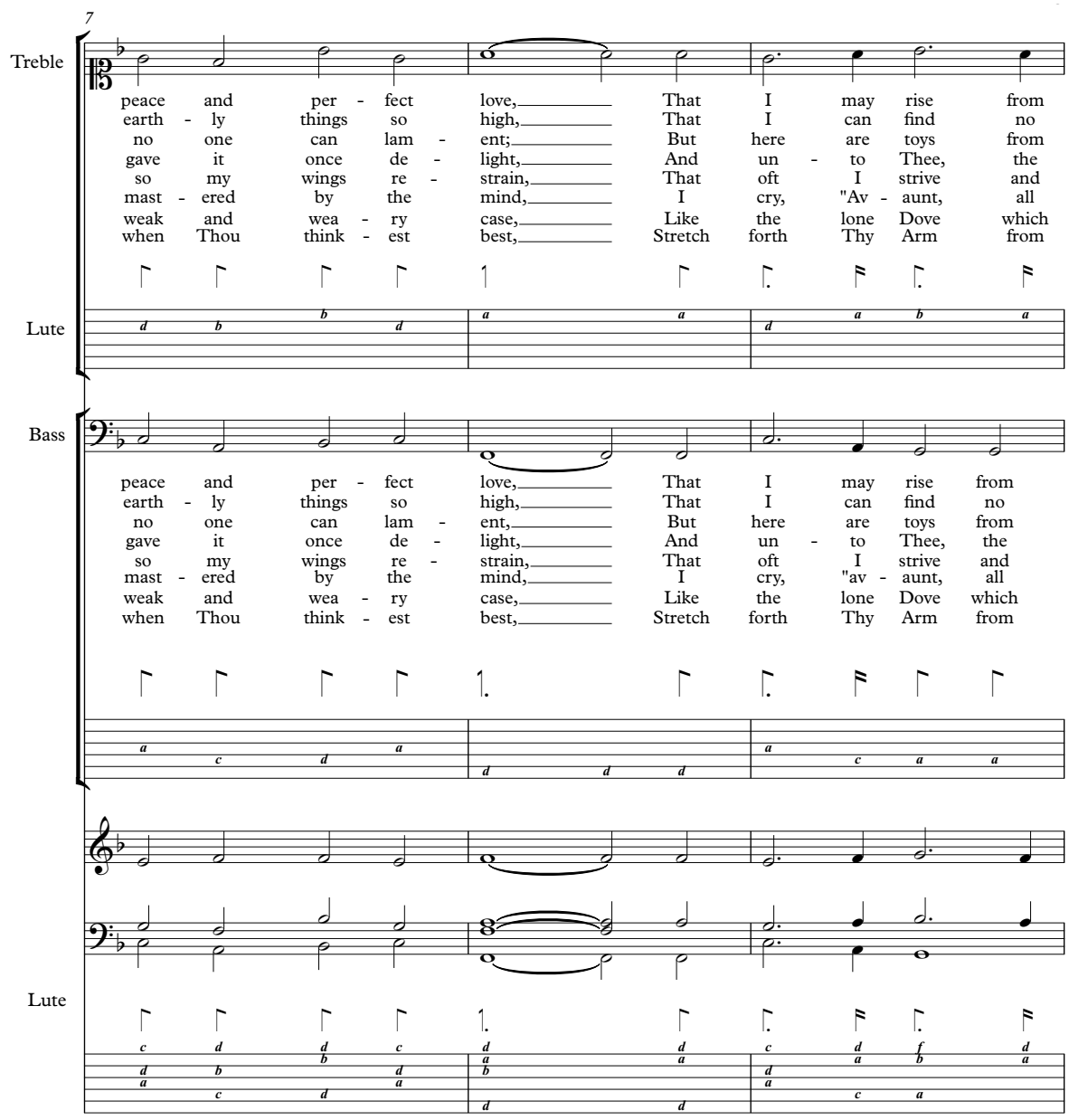

8
Treble
Thou art my God, and of my goods, O
And hear the prayer that I put forth, with
Lute
Bass
Thou art my God, and of my goods, O
And hear the prayer that I put forth, with
Viol
Lute
1 1 4 1
3 2 1 2
2

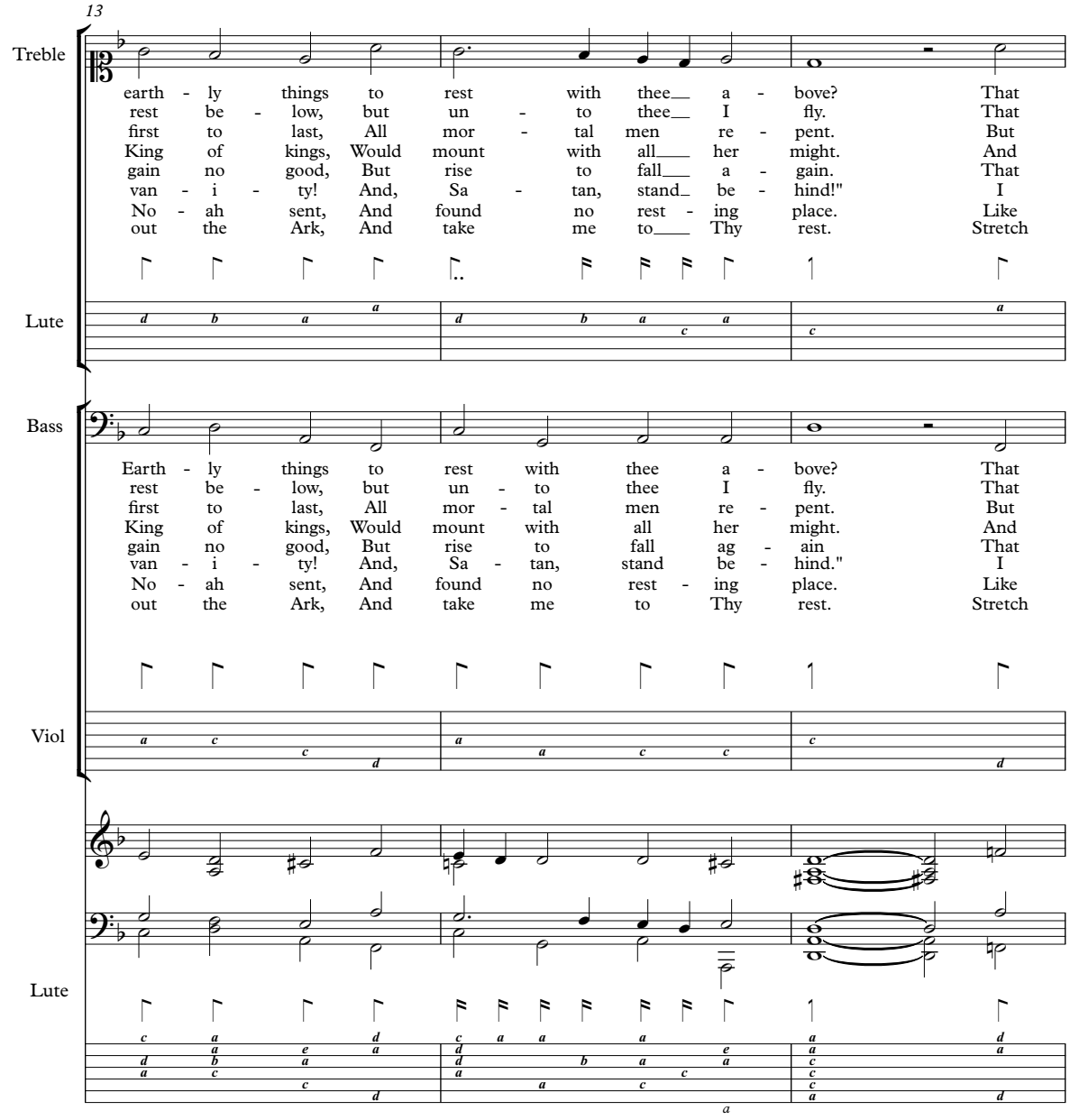
Sweet IESU who shall lend mee wings.

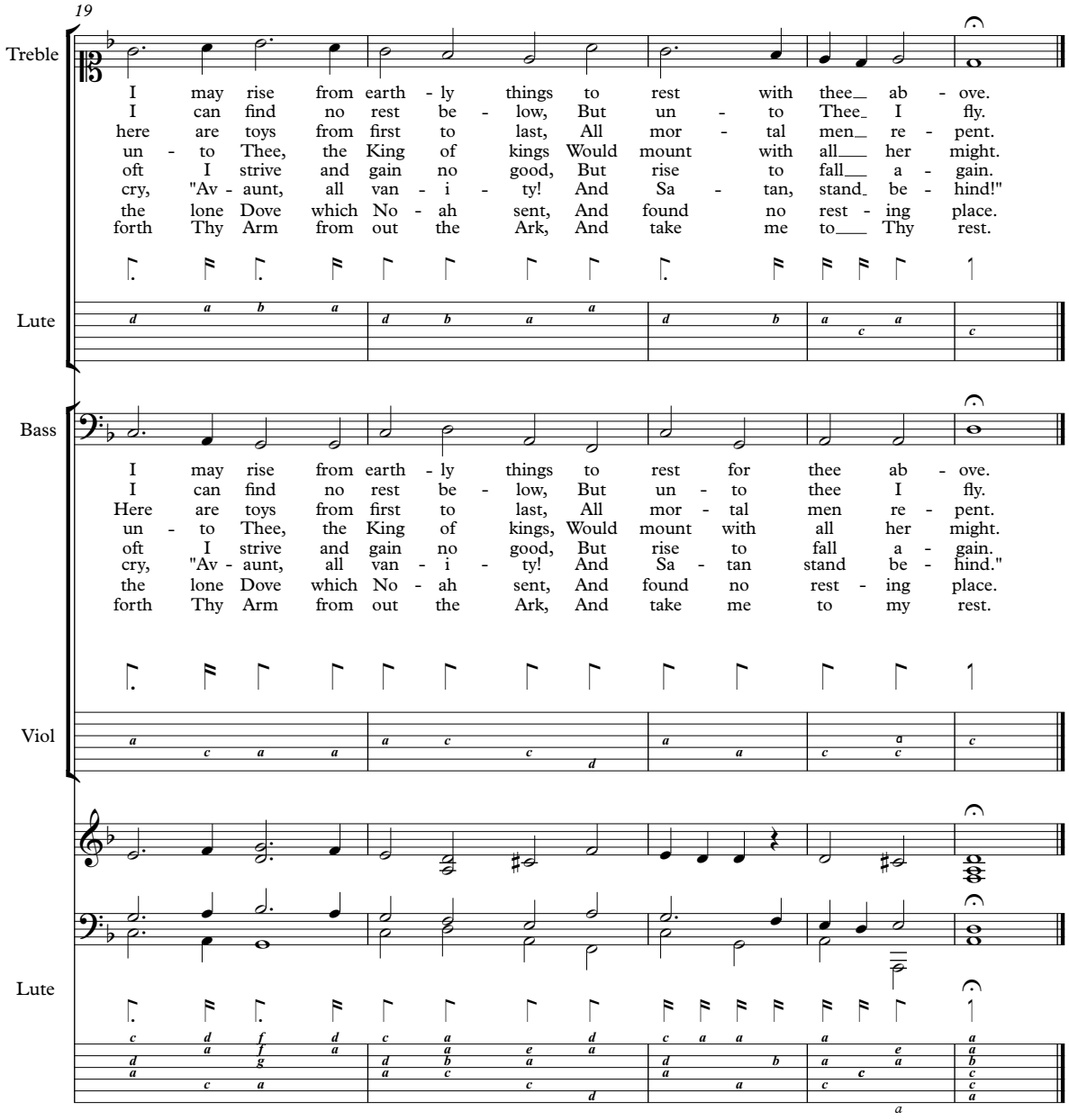
From *Rules to instruct you to sing.*

NB: All lute tablature was made for instruments tuned in D; the treble lute is tuned C3-D3-G3-C4-E4-A4-D5,
And the bass lute or viol is tuned C2-D2-G2-C3-E3-A3-D4.




7
Treble
peace and per - fect love, That I may rise from
earth - ly things so high, That I can find no
no one can lam - ent; But here are toys from
gave it once de - light, And un - to Thee, the
so my wings re - strain, That oft I strive and
mast - ered by the mind, I cry, "Av - aunt, all
weak and wea - ry case, Like the lone Dove which
when Thou think - est best, Stretch forth Thy Arm from
Lute
Bass
peace and per - fect love, That I may rise from
earth - ly things so high, That I can find no
no one can lam - ent, But here are toys from
gave it once de - light, And un - to Thee, the
so my wings re - strain, That oft I strive and
mast - ered by the mind, I cry, "av - aunt, all
weak and wea - ry case, Like the lone Dove which
when Thou think - est best, Stretch forth Thy Arm from
Lute


13
Treble
earth - ly things to rest with thee a - bove? That
rest be - low, but un - to thee I fly. That
first to last, All mor - tal men re - pent. But
King of kings, Would mount with all her might. And
gain no good, But rise to fall a - gain. That
van - i - ty! And, Sa - tan, stand be - hind!" I
No - ah sent, And found no rest - ing place. Like
out the Ark, And take me to Thy rest. Stretch
Lute
Bass
Earth - ly things to rest with thee a - bove? That
rest be - low, but un - to thee I fly. That
first to last, All mor - tal men re - pent. But
King of kings, Would mount with all her might. And
gain no good, But rise to fall ag - ain That
van - i - ty! And, Sa - tan, stand be - hind." I
No - ah sent, And found no rest - ing place. Like
out the Ark, And take me to Thy rest. Stretch
Viol
Lute


19
Treble
I may rise from earth - ly things to rest with thee ab - ove.
I can find no rest be - low, But un - to Thee I fly.
here are toys from first to last, All mor - tal men re - pent.
un - to Thee, the King of kings Would mount with all her might.
oft I strive and gain no good, But rise to fall a - gain.
cry, "Av - aunt, all van - i - ty! And Sa - tan, stand be - hind!"
the lone Dove which No - ah sent, And found no rest - ing place.
forth Thy Arm from out the Ark, And take me to Thy rest.
Lute
Bass
I may rise from earth - ly things to rest for thee ab - ove.
I can find no rest be - low, But un - to thee I fly.
Here are toys from first to last, All mor - tal men re - pent.
un - to Thee, the King of kings, Would mount with all her might.
oft I strive and gain no good, But rise to fall a - gain.
cry, "Av - aunt, all van - i - ty! And Sa - tan stand be - hind."
the lone Dove which No - ah sent, And found no rest - ing place.
forth Thy Arm from out the Ark, And take me to my rest.
Viol
Lute

Appendix 3: Texts from "Rules to Instruct you to Sing"

O Lord on whom I do depend[1]

O Lord on whom I do depend,
Behold my carefull heart:
And when thy will and pleasure is,
Release me of my smart.
Thou seest my sorrowes what they are,
My griefe is known to thee:
And there is none that can remove,
Or take the same from me.

But onely thou whose aid I creve
Whose mercy still is prest,
To ease all those that come to thee,
For succour and for rest.
And sith thou seest my restless eyes,
My teares and grievous grone,
Attend unto my suit O Lord,
Mark well my plaine and one.

For sin hath so inclosed me,
And compast me about:
That I am now remediless,
If mercy help not out.
For mortall man cannot release,
Or mitigate this paine:
But even thy Christ, my Lord and God,
Who for my sins was slaine.

Whose bloody wounds are yet to see,
Through not with mortall eye,
Yet do thy Saints behold them all,
And so I trust shall I.
Thought sin doth hinder me a while,
When thou shalt see it good,
I shall enjoy the sight of him
And see his wounds and blood.

And as thine Angels and thy Saints
do now behold the same,
So trust I to possesse that place,
with them to praise thy Name,
But whilst I live here in this vale,
where sinners do frequent
Assist me ever with thy grace,
my sins still to lament.

Lest that I tread the sinners trace,
and give them my consent,
To dwell with thim in wickedness,
whereto nature is bent.
Onely thy grace must be my stay,
lest that I fall down flat
And being down, then of my selfe
cannot recover that.

Wherefore this is yet once againe
my suit and my request
To grant me pardon for my sin,
that I in thee may rest.
Then shall my heart and tongue also
be instruments of praise:
And in thy Church and hose of Saints
sing Psalmes to thee always.

[1] T. Sternhold and I. Hopkins, *The Whole Booke of Psalmes, collected into English metre* (London: John Day, 1562), Bvir–Bviir.

O God that art my righteousness[2]

O God that art my righteousnes,
Lorde heare me when I call:
Thou hast set me at liberty
When I was bonde and thrall:
Have mercy Lorde therefore on me,
And graunt me this request:
For unto thee uncessantly,
To cry I will not rest.

O Mortall men, how lonnge will ye
My glory thus despise?
Why wander ye in vanitie,
And folow after lyes.
Knowe ye that good and godly men,
The Lorde doth take and chuse:
And when to him I make my plaint,
He doth me not refuse.

Sinne not, but stande in awe therefore,
Examine well your heart:
And in your chambre quyetly,
See you your selves converte,
Offer to God the sacrifice,
Of rightousnes I say:
And loke that in the living Lorde,
You put your trust alway.

The greater sort crave worldly goodes,
And riches doo embrace:
But Lord graunt us thy countenaunce,
Thy favour and thy grace.
For thou therby shalt make my hart,
More joyfull and more glad:
Then they that of their corne and wine
Full great increase have had.

In peace therefore lie downe will I,
Taking my rest and slepe:
For thou onely wilt me, O Lorde,
Alone in safety kepe.

[2] Sternhold and Hopkins, *The Whole Booke of Psalmes, collected into English metre* (London: John Day, 1562), 6-7.

Sweet IESU who shall lend mee wings:[3]

Sweet Jhesu! Who shall led me wings
Of peace and perfect love,
That I may rise from earthly things,
To rest with Thee above?

For sin and sorrow overflow
All earthly things so high,
That I can find no rest below,
But unto Thee I fly.

For there the joys are firm and fast,
Where no one can lament;
But here are toys from first to last
All mortal men repent.

Wherefore my soul doth loathe the things
Which gave it once delight
And unto Thee, the King of kings,
Would mount with all her might.

And yet the weight of flesh and blood
Doth so my wings restrain,
That oft I strive and gain no good,
But rise to fall again.

Yet when this fleshly misery
Is mastered by the mind,
I cry, "Avaunt, all vanity!
And, Satan, stand behind!"

So thus, sweet Lord! I fly about
In weak and weary case,
Like the lone Dove which Noah sent,
And found no resting-place.

My weary wings, sweet Jhesu! Mark,
And when Thou thinkest best,
Stretch forth Thy Arm from out the Ark,
And take me to Thy rest.

Oh that I had wings like a dove:

O Gracious God, O Saviour sweet,
O Jesus, think on me,
And suffer me to kiss Thy feet,
Though late I come to Thee.

Behold, dear Lord, I come to Thee
With sorrow and with shame,
For when Thy bitter wounds I see,
I know I caused the same.

Sweet Jesu, who shall lend me wings
Of peace and perfect love,
That I may rise from earthly things
To rest with Thee above?

For sin and sorrow overflow
All earthly things so high
That I can find no rest below,
But unto Thee I fly.

Wherefore my soul doth loathe the things
Which gave it once delight,
And unto Thee the King of kings,
Would mount with all her might.

And yet the weight of flesh and blood
Doth so my wings restrain,
That oft I strive and gain no good,
But rise, to fall again.

Yet when this fleshly misery
Is master'd by the mind.
I cry, "avaunt, all vanity":
And "Satan, stand behind."

So thus, Sweet Lord, I fly about
In weak and weary case
Like the lone dove which Noah sent [out],
And found no resting place.

My weary wings, sweet Jesu, mark,
And when Thou thinkest best
Stretch forth Thy arm from out the ark,
And take me to Thy rest.

[3] Samuel Rowles Pattison, *The Brothers Wiffen: Memoirs and Miscellanies* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1880), 164-165.

A Psalme

O Lord give eare to my just cause,
Attend when I complaine:
& Heare the prayer that I put foorth,
With lips that doe not faine.
And let the iudgement of my cause
Procede alwaies from thee:
An let thine eies behild and cleare
This my simplicity.

Thou hast well tried me in the night,
And yet couldst nothing finde:
That I have spoken with my tongue,
That was not in my minde.
As from the works of wicked men,
And paths perverse and ill:
For love of thy most holy word,
I have refrained still.

Then in thy paths that be most pure,
Stay me, Lord, and preserve:
That fro the way, wherein I walke,
My steps may never swerve.
For I doe call to thee (O Lord)
Surely thou wilt me aide:
Then heare my praier and way right well,
The words that I have said.

O thou the saviour of all them,
That put their trust in thee:
Declare thy strength on them that spurne,
Against thy maiestie.
O keepe me Lord as thou wouldst keepe
The apple of thine eie,
And under cover of thy wings,
Defend me secretly.

The second part.

From wicked men that trouble me,
And daily me annoy:
And from my foes that goe above
My soule for to destroy.
Which wallow in their worldly wealth
So full and eke so fat:
That in their pride they doe not spare,
To speake they care not what.

They lie in wait where I should passe
With craft me to confound:
And musing mischiefe in their mides,
To cast me to the ground.
Much like a Lyon greedely,
That would his pray imbrace,
Or lurking like a Lyons whelpe,
Within some secret place.

My Lord wich hast prevent my foe,
And cast him at thy feete:
Save thou my soule from evill man,
And with the sword him smite.
Deliver me Lord by thy power,
Out of these tyrants hands:
Which now so long time raigned have
And kept us in their hands.

I meane from worldly men to when
All worldly goods are rife:
That have no hope or part of ioy
But in this present life.
Thou of thy store their bellies [fill'd]
With pleasures to their mindes,
Their children have enough, and leave
To theirs the rest behind.

Appendix 4: Books using table-book format in early modern England

- Thomas Morley, *PEIPM* (Peter Short, 1597)
- John Dowland, *The First Booke of Songes or Ayres* (Peter Short, 1597)
- Anthony Holborne, *The Cittharn Schoole* (Peter Short, 1597)
- Thomas Morley, *Canzonets* – cantus part only (Peter Short, 1597)
- Richard Alison, *The Psalmes of David in Meter* (William Barley, 1599)
- John Dowland, *The Second Booke of Songs or Ayres* (Thomas East, 1600)
- Robert Jones, *The First Booke of Songs & Ayres* (Peter Short, 1600)
- Thomas Morley, *The First Booke of Ayres or Little Short Songs* (William Barley, 1600)
- Thomas Campion and Philip Rosseter, *A Booke of Ayres* (Peter Short, 1601)
- Robert Jones, *Second Booke of Songs and Ayres* (Peter Short, 1601)
- John Dowland, *The Third and Last Booke of Songs* (Peter Short, 1603)
- John Dowland, *Lachrimae, or the Seaven Teares* (John Windet, 1604)
- Thomas Greaves, *Songes of Sundrie Kindes* (John Windet, 1604)
- Tobias Hume, *The First Part of Ayres* (John Windet, 1604)
- Francis Pilkington, *The First Booke of Songes or Ayres* (Thomas East, 1605)
- John Bartlet, *A Booke of Ayres* (John Windet, 1606)
- John Coperario, *Funeral Teares* (John Windet, 1606)
- John Danyel, *Songs for Lute, Viol and Voice* (Thomas East, 1606)
- Thomas Ford, *Musicke of Sundrie Kindes* (John Windet, 1607)
- Tobias Hume, *Poeticall Musicke* (John Windet, 1607)
- Alfonso Ferrabosco, *Ayres* (Thomas Snodham, 1609)
- Alfonso Ferrabosco, *Lessons for 1, 2, and 3 Viols* (Thomas Snodham, 1609)
- Robert Jones, *A Musicall Dreame* (John Windet, 1609)
- Thomas Robinson, *New Citharen Lessons* (William Barley, 1609)
- William Corkine, *Ayres to Sing and Play to the Lute and Bass Violl* (William Stansby, 1610)
- Robert Dowland, *A Musicall Banquet* ([Thomas Snodham] for Thomas Adams, 1610)
- Robert Jones, *The Muses Gardin for Delights* (William Barley, 1610)
- John Maynard, *The XII Wonders of the World* (Thomas Snodham, 1611)
- William Corkine, *The Second Booke of Ayres* (Matthew Lownes, John Browne, and Thomas Snodaham, 1612)
- John Dowland, *A Pilgime's Solace* (Matthew Lownes, John Browne, and Thomas Snodham, 1612)
- Thomas Campion, *The First Booke of Ayres* (Thomas Snodham, 1613?)
- William Leighton, *The Teares of Lamentacions of a Sorrowfull Soule* (William Stansby, 1614)
- George Mason and John Earsden, *The Ayres that Were Sung and Played at Brougham Castle* (Thomas Snodham, 1618)
- Martin Peerson, *Private Musicke. Or The First Booke of Ayres and Dialogues* (Thomas Snodham, 1620)
- John Attey, *The First Booke of Ayres in Foure Partes* (Thomas Snodham, 1622)
- Pierre Guedron, *French Court-Aires* (William Stansby, 1629)
- John Playford, *A Musicall Banquet* (Thomas Harper For John Benson and John Playford, 1651)
- Anonymous, *The Second Booke of Ayres, containing Pastorall Dialogues* (Thomas Harper for John Playford, 1652)
- John Playford, *Select Musical Ayres and Dialogues* (Thomas Harper, 1653)

- Henry Lawes, *Ayres and Dialogues, First Book* (Thomas Harper 1653)
- Henry Lawes, *Ayres and Dialogues, Third Book* (Thomas Harper 1658)
- John Playford, *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick* (William Godbid for John Playford, 1658)
- John Gamble, *Ayres and Dialogues For One, Two and Three Voyces* (William Godbid, 1659)
- *Select Ayres and Dialogues* (William Godbid for John Playford, 1659)

Appendix 5: Editions of Playford's *A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick,* accounting for his use of tablature in his pedagogy.

Year	Title	Tablature?	Mentions tablature in introduction?	How is tablature used?	Notes	Plain and easy language?
1654	A Breefe Introduction to the Skill of Musick	No	No	N/A	N/A	yes — "plaine and briefe"
1655	An Introduction to the Skill of Musick in two books	Yes	No	In comparison with staff notation, actually in Thomas Campion's instructions, which are appended to Playford's rules.	Introdution speaks of Butler's 1663 book, which is after the date on the title page, so it must have been printed later.	Yes
1658	A brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick for Song and Viol	No	No	N/A	Introduction shorter than "1655" version	v
1659	A Breefe Introduction to the Skill of Musick for Song and Violl by JP [title page only]	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1660	A brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick for Song and Viol in two Books	Yes	No	Assigns tablature to the frets of the treble violin, pp. 85-90 (before Campion's instructions begin; Campion's instructions no longer have tablature in them)	Introduction makes no mention of publication date of Butler's instructions	Yes
1662	A brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick. in two Books	Yes	No	Assigns tablature to the frets of the treble violin, pp. 85-90 (before Campion's instructions begin; Campion's instructions no longer have tablature in them)	Appears to be the same treble violin instructions as 1660.	Yes
1664	A brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick. in two Books	Yes	No	Assigns tablature to the frets of the treble violin, pp. 97-108 (different printing than 1660 version)	Includes tunes transcribed in both staff notation and tablature	Yes
1666	A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick. In Three Books	Yes	No	Assigns tablature to the frets of the treble violin, pp. 91-102,	Appears to be same layout to 1664 version but with different page numbers	Yes
1667	A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick: In Three Books	Yes	No	Assigns tablature to the frets of the treble violin, pp. 91-102,		Yes
1670	A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick: In Three Books.	Yes	No	Assigns tablature to the frets of the treble violin pp. 80-91	Includes tunes transcribed in both staff notation and tablature	Yes

Appendix 6: Mace's Subscribers

Transcribed from folios cv-dr of *Musick's Monument*.

The names of Divers Honourable, Reverend, Worshipful, and very Worthy Persons, who did Encouage towards the Printing of this Book, by Subscribing Their Names, Each one to take a Copy of the Same, at the Price of 12s. But It cannot be Expected, in the setting down of These Names, that I should know How to Place every One according to the Right of Precedency; nor (It may be) give every One His Due Title: because many (unknown to me) sent in Their Names without any Titles Express'd; Therefore I hope None will take Offecnce, that I Thus set Them down Promiscuously, as They hapned to come to my Hands, from Their own Hand Writings; yet I have, (as near I could) Set Such and Such of a County, &c. to stand together; and Begin with the city of York First; because There, I First Tendred This Business to the Right Honourable

John Lord Frecheville *Baron of* Stavely, and Governor of York

Bishopthorpe:

Rich. Sterne, Esq.
Sim. Sterne, Gent.
Lyon Fanshaw, Gent.
Sam. Brearey, Gent.

York:

Tob. Wickham, D. D.
Ant. Wright, B. D.
Will. Loe, A. M.
Will. Auscough, M. B.
Madam Mary Harrison
Sir Jo. Hewley, knight
Jo. Brook, Esq.
Will. Brearey, LL. D.
Walter Brearey, Gent.
Hen. Maisterman, Esq.
Tho. Jackson, Esq.
Hen. Mace, Cler.
Eli. Micklethwaite, Cler.
Tim. Wallis, Cler.
Geo. Tiplin, Cler.
Tim. Welsit, Cler.
Rich. Tenant, Cler.
Tho. Preston, Gent.
Jo. English, Gent.
Tho. Hesletine, Gent.
Will. Stubs, Gent.
Theo. Browning, Gent.
Tho. Thompson, junior, Gent.
Tho. Fairfax, Gent.
Ambr. Girdler, Gent.
Nath. Topham, Gent.
Rich. Procter, Cler.
Joh. Farrer, Gent.
Jo: Baines, Gent.

Yorkshire

Sir Jo. Reresby, Baronet.
Sir Tho. Yarbrough, Knight.
Walter Laycock, Gent.
Sam. Savile, Gent.
Hen. Eyre, M. D.
Jo. Ixem, Cler.
Geo. Westby, Gent.

Fra. Stanhope, Gent.
Will. Sympson, M. D.

Nottingham

Robert Pierrepont, Esq.
Geo. Gregory, Esq.
Tho. Charleton, Esq.
Char. Hutchinson, Esq.
Sim. Every, Esq.
Will Graves, A.M.
Chri. Hall, Gent.
Jer. Cudworth, Gent.
Ben. Richards, Gent.
Jos. Clay, Gent.
Rich. Rippon, Gent.

Nottingham-Shire

Sam. Brunfell, D. D.
Joh. Brunfell, Gent.
Will Sucheverill, Esq.
Joh. Dand, Gent.
Madam Mary Saunderson
Will. Cartwright, Gent.
Joh. Burton, Cler.
Sam. Leeke, Cler.
Rich. Slater, Esq.
Hen. Watson, M.D.
Will. Deancleer, Gent.
Will. Levett, Cler.
Ste. Masters, Cler.
Joh. Richardson, Cler.
Jo. Holmes, Gent.
Hen. Smith, Cler.
Will. Coodall, Cler.
Arthur Warren, Gent.
Edw. Carver, Cler.
Phin. Mace, Cler.
Fra. Walsall, Cler.
Will Norwich, Cler.
Tho: Cotchet, Esq.
Tho: Morton, Phi.
Ellis Farnworth, Cler.

The University of Cambridge

Dr. Pet. Gunning, Bishop of Ely.
Dr. Ja. Fleetwood, B. of Worcester
Dr. Isa. Barrow, Vice-Chancellor, and Mr. of Trin. Colledge.
O. Mountague and J. Mounague, Noble-men.
Sir Tho: Slater, Baronet
Sir Tho. Page, Provost of Ks. Coll.
Sir Jo: Rous, Knight.
Dr. Tho. Holbeck, Mr. of Eman: C.
Dr. Ja: Duport, Mr. of Mag: Coll:
Dr. Theop. Dillingham, Mr. of Cl. H.
Dr. R. Cudworth, Mr. of Chr. Coll.
Dr. Jo: Spencer, Mr. of Ben. Coll:
Dr. Fra. Turner, Mr. of St. Johns C.
Dr. Rob: King, Mr. of Qu. Coll. B.D.
Geo. Chamberlaine, D.D.
Ant: Marshall, D.D.
Hen: More, D.D.
Ra: Widdrington, D.D.
Tho. Watson, D.D.
Clem: Nevill, Senior of Trin. Col.
Hum: Babington, D.D.
Will Linnet, D.D.
Tho: Belk, D.D.
Geo. Bright, D.D.
Ja: Jackson, M.D.
Jo. Boord, LL.D.
Will: Fairbrother LL.D.
Ra: Flyer, M.D.
Jo: Gostlin, M.D.
Pierce Brakenbury, M.D.
Edm: Matthewes, Bs. D.
Ja: Chamberlaine, Bs. D.
Hum. Gower, Bs. D.
Fr: Roper, Bs. D.
Jos. Johnston, B.D.
Jo: Hawkins, B.D.
Mich. Belk, B.D.
Masters of Art. And Fellows:
Tho: Peel
Geo: Griffith
Tho: Fairmeadow
Cha: Smithson

Will: Buckley
Tho: Bainbrigg
Tho: Gipps
Tho: Boteler
Jos: Gascoigne
Sam: Scattergood
Isa: Newton
Jo: Batteley
Jo: Wickins
Jo: Goodwin
Ric. Staunton
Fellow Commoners:
Rob: Paston
Will: Humble
Maurice Kay
Jo: Milner
Hum: Skipwith
Will Bowes
Masters of Art, and Fellows.
Will. Sampson
Nat. Coga
Marm: Urlin
Ric: Neech
Fr: Grigg
Rob: Peachey
Ed: Duncoon
Tho: Browne
Ric: Blyth
Sam: Bale
Fellow Commoners:
Ra: Earle
Joh: Wodehouse
Ni: Bacon
Joh: Alport
Masters of Art, and Fellows
O. Doyley
Arth: Fleetwood
Eze: Foxcroft
Tho: Palmer
Edw: Goodall
Matth: Rutton
Nat: Vincent
Sam: Blythe
Ja: Lowde
Rich: Hooke
Joh: Scamler
Joh. Love
Ja: Hollis
Sam: Herne
Rich: Leach
Will: Buckley
Sim: Bagge
Cha: Alston
Geo: Wichcot
Ja: Goodwin
Jos: Maryon
Luke Bagwith
Tho: Houghton
Joh: Spencer
Edm: Walthew
Jo: Eacherd
Jo: Spurling
Jo: Pern
Jo: Glover
Barlow Wickham
Robert Eade
Jo: Hughes
Geo: Oxinden
Tho: Fairmeadow
Char: Smithson
Tho: Burlz, LL.B
Robert Drake, Gent.
Robert Wilson, Mr. in Musick.
Tho: Tudway, Mr. in Musick.
Fra. Crispe, Mr. in Musick.
Batchelors in Arts:
Dan: Price
Jo: Brookbank
Jo: Tuthill
Jos: Oldroyd
Joh: Caesar
Jo: Galurd
Wil: Umfrevile
Tho: Felstead
Will. Ashton

Cambridge Town:

Ja: Robson, Gent.
Isa: Watlington, Gent.
Tho: Flack, Gent.

Mrs. Eliz. Heath.
Mrs. Sarah Lilly

County of Cambridge:

Joh: Robson, Gent.
Rich: Winde, Gent.
Char: Studeville, Esq.
Captain Roger Thornton, Esq.
Joh: Badcock, Gent.
Tho: Archer, Cler.

Bedfordshire

Rich: Lee, D.D.
Jo: Browne, Esq.
Hen: Beacher, Esq.
Tho: Salmon, Cler.
Herbert Ashley, Dean of Nor., D.D.
Will: Herbert, D.D.
Joh: Hobert, Esq.
Will: Crabe, M.D.
Ow: Hughes, LL.D.
Tho: Tenison, B.D.
Cha: Robotham, B.D.
Will: Adamson, Cler.
Jo: Connould, A.M.
Hen: Mazey, Cler.
Jo: Paris, A.M.
Gawen Nash, Cler.
W. Rawley, Gent.
Joh: Hayward, School-master
Tho: Pleasants, Organist.
Sam: Cook, Gent.
Sam: Rix, A.B.
Rich: Webster, Cler:
Fra: Price, Gent.
Fra: Emperour, Gent.
Will: Ferrer, Gent.
Ja: Lawes, Master in Musick
Tho: Lawes, Master in Musick
Nath: Burrel of Sudbury, Cler.

Kings-Iynn

Hen: Bell, junior, Gent.
Hen: Hoogan, M.D.
Jo: Puluertoft, Gent.
Joh: Cary, Gent.

Manchester County

Nich. Stratford, Warden, D.D.
Fra: Mosely, Fellow, A.M.
Mich: Adams, Fellow, A.M.

Lincolnshire

Sir Robert Bolles, Baronet.
Math: Barraford, .M.
Ja: Spencer, A.M.

Peterborough

Fra: Standish, Cler.
Joh: Workman, Cler.
Will. Forster
Rich: Carier, Cler.
Jo: Wyldbore

London

Dr. Hen: Bridgeman, Bishop of the isle of Man
Sr. Will: Langham, Knight
Sir Sam: Morland, Baronet
Sim: Patrick, D.D.
Jo: Gardiner, D.D.
Luke Ridgeley, M.D.
Peter Barwick, M.D.
Edw. Duke, M.D.
Dr. Chamberlaine, Jun' M.D.
Robert Vinke, B.D.
Robert Tatnall, A.M.
Eze: Lampen, Gent.

Hum: Dove, Gent.
Hen: Dove, Gent.
Ja: Chafe, Gent.
Ja: Hart of the Royal Chapel, Gent.
Bryan Fairfax, Esq.
Geo: Evelyn, Esq.
Madam Ann Monteith
Jer: Forcer, Mr. in Musick
Josias Chorley, A.M.
Tho: Clebourne, Gent.
Basil Hill, Chyrurgeon
Ja: White, Organmaker
Sam: Bishop, of Finchingfeild, Cler.
Jo: Bourn, of Wiltshire, Cler.
Lawr: Fogge, of Chester, B.D.
Tho: Clark of Chester, Cler.
Jo: Nicolson, of Durham, M.D.

Middle Temple

Jo: Orleber, Esq.
Tho. Serjeant, Gent.
Tho: Brandon, Gent.
Char: Blount, Gent.
Jo: Sturt, Gent.

Grays-Inn

Justin Paget, Esq.
Will: Drake, Gent.
Rich: Hacker, Gent.

Lincolns-Inn

Sir Rich: Stote, Knight & Serg. at Law
Will: Lodge, Gent.
Fra: Bowes, Gent.
Will: Jenison, Gent.
Will: Faithorne, for 3 Books. Gent.

Hum: Salt, *the Printer-Composer of This Book.*

These are All the Names which have been Hitherto sent me In, from Sundry Friends, (My Self having Visited very Few, of the whole Number;) Therefore I hope I shall not be Blam'd for not Publishing the Names of Divers, (who I doubt not but have already Subscribed; but (as yet) not come to my Hands) the Work not admitting any Longer Delay. Yet I have left This Next Page Blank, on Purpose, for the Names of All Such Persons, as may happly be sent In, before the whole Impression be Quite put off: And if so, I do intend (God willing) to have Them set down in That Page, in Those Books which shall Then Remain un-put off.

Appendix 7: Books as "Monuments"

The following list of books were found using the *Early English Books Online* search engine. This list does not represent every book that uses this term, but rather those most representative of the kinds of books discussed in this chapter, roughly one third of the titles returned in the search results:

Author	Title	Publication information	Date
Chester, Robert	*The anuals [sic] of great Brittaine. Or, a most excellent monument*	E. Allde for Mathew Lownes	1611
Day, Martin	*A monument of mortalitie*	J. Bill for Iohn Hodgets	1621
Cleland, James	*A monument of mortalitie*	William Stansby for Ralph Rounthwaite	1624
Denison, Stephen	*The monument or, tombe-stone, or, A sermon preached at Laurence Pounties in London... at the funerall of Mrs. Elizabeth Iuxon*	George Miller	1631
Anon.	*A funeral monument*	J. Hancock	1646
Leicester, John	*England's miraculous preservation emblematically described, erected for a perpetual monument to posterity*	John Hancock	1647
Carter, John	*The tomb-stone, and A rare sight*	Tho. Roycroft, for Edw. Dod, and Nath. Ekins	1653
Firth, William	*A saints monument, or, The tomb of the righteous*	For Ed. Brewster	1662