The Printed Lute Song: A Textual and Paratextual Study of Early Modern English Song Books

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Abstract

Michelle Lynn Oswell: The Printed Lute Song: A Textual and Paratextual Study of Early Modern English Song Books
(Under the direction of John Nádas)

The English lute song book of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries represents a short-lived but well-admired flowering of English printed music. Situated between the birth of music printing in Italy at the turn of the sixteenth century and the rise of music printer John Playford in England in the 1650s, the printed lute song book’s style quite closely resembles the poetic miscellanies of the time. They were printed in folio and table book format rather than quarto-sized and in part books, their title pages often used elaborately-carved borders, and their prefatory material included letters rich with symbolism. Basing my work on the analyses of paratexts done by Gérard Genette and Michael Saenger, I examine the English printed lute song book from 1597-1622 as a book in and of itself.

While there has been a fair amount of research done on the lute song as a genre and on some individual composers, which I discuss in the introduction, comparably little discussion of the books’ paratexts exists. I begin in chapter two with an analysis of title pages and other engraved material (the visual paratexts), examining at least one title page from each lute song book printer. Title page layout, font choices, and wording indicate a fair amount of planning, and composers and printers made statements through these choices aimed at attracting an audience to their publications. In chapter three I review the verbal paratexts of these song books with an eye to how composers simultaneously enticed readers
and patrons to their books and fashioned identities for themselves out of their dedicatory letters and letters to the reader. In chapter four, I review the texts and music of the book proper in a structural analysis of small-scale compositional decisions regarding text choices and larger-scale issues of song placement within the book. Also, I consider the possibility that some books’ contents and structure were planned out based on elements of the books’ paratexts, including titles and dedicatees. Finally, I readdress the issue of the lute song book as a book rather than simply collection of songs.
Surely to leave a permanent record of events not previously recorded for the benefit of posterity is worthy of the highest praise; and the real worker is not the man who merely changes the order and arrangement of another man’s work, but the one who has something new to say and constructs a historical edifice of his own.

– Josephus, *The Jewish War*¹

Over the course of the dissertation process one finds so many people deserving of thanks and acknowledgement it becomes a Herculean task to name them all. Nonetheless, I gladly take on the challenge in offering my gratitude to the following people. First, I’d like to thank my advisor, John Nádas, whose time and patience has been more than I could have asked for, considering my tendency to work in spurts and at a pace of my own choosing. Not many would have been as understanding, and I truly appreciate his guidance throughout my time at Chapel Hill. On a related note, I acknowledge my readers – Tim Carter, Jim Haar, Anne MacNeil, and Severine Neff – for their time and effort in reading and commenting on my work. I’d also like to thank the staff of the Music Library – Phil, Diane, and Eva – for their assistance and welcoming nature during my stay at Chapel Hill and at MLA conferences since: my appreciation is even greater now that I’m a librarian myself than it was when I was a graduate student.

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Chapter One

Introduction

Let it not seeme straunge (courteous Reader) that I thus farre presume to take upon me, in publishing this volume of Lute Ayres, being no professor thereof, but like a blind man groping for my way, have at length happened upon a method: which when I found, my heart burning love to my friends would not consent I might conceale.

Thomas Morley, 1601

When I began this research project, I intended to answer the question of why lute songs stopped being printed in 1622. Five years of “groping for my way” and a degree in library science have colored my view of the field and the lute song genre considerably, to the point where I am no longer convinced this question is answerable, or even the right question. Instead, as I started rereading the scholarship I had gathered on lute songs and began my career as a librarian, I found my interests shifting to a more contextualized view of the lute song within the broader field of Elizabethan and Jacobean print culture. The opportunities afforded me as a bibliographer for music and literature (as a librarian, one can see almost everything being published, not just that which the library eventually purchases) are extensive; the conversations I’ve had with colleagues outside of the field of music broadened my vision, and I began reading more extensively in the areas of cultural studies and book

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2 Thomas Morley, *The first booke of ayres. Or Little short songs, to sing and play to the lute, with the base viole Newly published by Thomas Morley Bachiler of Musicke, and one of the gent. of her Maiesties Royall Chappel.* (London: [H. Ballard for] VVilliam Barley, 1600).
history. While reading a work such as Michael Saenger’s *The Commodification of Textual Engagements in the English Renaissance* or Wendy Wall’s *The Imprint of Gender*, both fine studies related to print and economics in the English Renaissance, I found myself wondering why they had so neglected the lute song books which, while a small percentage of the total books published at the time, were so rich in their connections to the Court, to the era’s finest poets, and to what musicologists think of as a defining point in English music history.³

Musicologists who have studied lute songs have only recently, and then very sparingly, considered ayres as more than simply songs. Daniel Fischlin’s fine work *In Small Proportions* and Erik Ryding’s book *In Harmony Framed* are two notable exceptions.⁴ Otherwise, and even within these studies at times, the scholarship tends to ignore the fact that the lute songs were printed in books, that they were not random collections of songs slapped together and printed off on a whim. Where book historians and literary scholars are now investigating all elements of the published book (i.e. texts and paratexts), lute song scholars to this point still focus on the songs as if they existed in a vacuum.⁵

To that end, what follows in this study is an attempt to address the lack of scholarship on the lute song books from 1597-1622 as actual books. I believe that what I have produced


⁵ This is not the case of course with all Renaissance and Baroque music, for especially Italian music and issues of printing have been examined at length by several music scholars, including Tim Carter, Stanley Boorman, Kate Van Orden, and Jane Bernstein, just to name a few. Of course, it could just be that Italian music printing is studied more because it is so much “sexier” – the printing firms that flourished on the Continent quite put poor England to shame, and the composers who were being printed on the Continent were writing the music that had more of an impact on music history (if one wants to speak in teleological terms).
is a full analysis of the printed lute song book, addressing both texts and paratexts in order to come to an understanding of the economic and cultural context in which lute songs were published and of which they were a part.

When writing a study of early modern printed texts, certain editorial decisions must be made for brevity’s sake and for ease of reading. To that end, throughout this study I refer to books by a shortened version of the title or a siglum where convenient (see Appendix One for a chart of book titles and their sigla). The early modern English language had no standardized spelling, and in this era of print several characters were still in use that are now archaic. My transcriptions are not strictly diplomatic: while I maintain all original spellings, I have chosen to edit some of the early characters in deference to readability. These include the interchanging Vs and Us, which I have left as they were in the original, the medial ſ, which I replace with a modern s, and the occasional use of vv as a w, in which I have maintained the original. Generally font sizes are not transcribed precisely from the original, although when pertinent I do use large and smaller sizes to indicate emphasis in the text. Voice and instrumental parts are referred to as they are in each book (usually cantus, altus, tenor, bassus) unless it is an obvious printing error. All of the lute song books have been published in facsimile in the Scolar Press English Lute Songs series, and all but one are available in the online collection Early English Books Online (EEBO). The electronic reproductions available in EEBO are the versions to which I refer unless otherwise stated.

**Background Research**

Surprisingly little has been written about the printing history of English music in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in comparison to studies of Italian music printing of the same period. The most well-known and comprehensive study of English
music printing is that of D.W. Krummel, whose 1975 book *English Music Printing, 1553-1700* is an excellent beginning for any analysis of lute song books.⁶ His work identifying the music fonts in use in England is still the standard, and his succinct description of the complicated laws and patents surrounding the English printing world are invaluable.

Krummel’s later work, *Music Publishing and Printing* (and the corresponding *New Grove* article) is another fine starting point for an explanation of the technical processes of printing and the dictionary which follows.⁷ Moving from the music-specific works, there are several mid-twentieth century studies on the book trade and printing that compile laws, publication data, and biographical detail upon which much of my and others’ works are based. H.S. Bennet’s set of monographs, *English Books and Readers* is an excellent study of the book trade.⁸ Each volume covers the political, social, and economic factors that contributed to the first two centuries of English printing. His analysis is quite broad, and in covering nearly two hundred years’ worth of books he manages to find some threads to carry through, including finding patterns in the types of books printed and for whom they were written; unfortunately music is all but ignored in all three volumes. However, he is one of the earlier scholars to consider prefatory matter in any detail; his analysis of the author’s aims in dedicatory epistles and letters is the basis for my own study in Chapter Three. A smaller,

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though not inconsequential scholarly work, is Francis Johnson’s 1950 article in *The Library*, “Notes on English Retail Book-prices, 1550-1640,” which stands out as perhaps the most important study on book prices and is still being cited today.9 His study analyzes the cost of bound and unbound books based on various types of primary data, including notations in the books themselves, account books, bills, and inventories; and he finds that despite the fact that the price index between 1550 and 1640 more than doubled, book prices remained fairly constant until 1635. From Johnson we learn that book prices were tied closely to paper costs; in 1598 the Company of Stationers decreed that all regular first-edition books were not to be sold above 1p. for two sheets.10 These standard prices, however, did not apply to poetical or musical works and did not include binding costs, which were an additional charge based on type and size of binding. Johnson’s analysis shows that the going rate for poetical works of a well-known poet such as Spenser or Shakespeare could be up to double that of other books, at ¾ of a penny or a penny a sheet.11 The cost of music books could be even higher: Margaret Dowling noted that in George Eastland’s suit against Thomas East over Dowland’s *Second Booke*, East testified that the standard cost was 2d. or less a sheet, but Eastland was selling the books for 4s. 6p, quite a steep price indeed.12

Other early bibliographic studies of importance to the study of books are the catalogues of title page borders and printers’ devices by Ronald McKerrow and F.S.


10 “Regular” books include standard texts using pica (Roman and Italic) or English letter fonts without illustrations.


12 Margaret Dowling, “The Printing of John Dowland's Second Booke of Songs or Ayres,” *The Library* IV, no. xii (1931): 374. At 2d. a sheet, Dowland’s book might reasonably have sold for around 2s. 1d.
Ferguson. McKerrow and Ferguson compiled and annotated over 300 title page borders in their books, which included reproductions of the borders. Their annotations are largely description-based; they wrote very little actual analysis of the borders, but their books are still valuable to scholars today for sheer breadth alone.

Recent studies on printing and the book have moved into a more textual criticism-based approach to books, the reader, and printers in early modern England. Most relevant to my dissertation are works by two literary critics, Gérard Genette and Michael Saenger. Genette’s book *Paratexts (Seuils* in the original French) analyzes the thresholds between the text proper and those mediating boundaries that color how the reader perceives the book. His analysis, not historical but descriptive, as he takes pains to remind the reader, is largely focused on literature of the Western canon, specifically literature of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Paratexts, consisting of all elements surrounding a text that are not the text proper, are the thresholds by which the author (or publisher, or even editor) places his book in context, where he interacts with readers and attempts to influence their reading of his text. Paratexts that circulate with a published book are called peritexts: these include titles, chapter headings, the presentation of an author’s name, prefaces, dedications, tables, and so forth. Epitexts, which are outside the scope of my study, include those elements that circulate apart from the text (whether concurrently or not) such as reviews, public responses, correspondence, diaries, and the like. Genette’s goal is to consider the features of as many

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paratextual elements as possible so as to gain an understanding of the “paratextual message” as sent by the paratexts’ creators. Though this treads closely on the (currently) forbidden ground of “intentional fallacy,” it is worth the danger of falling into the abyss, for as Genette himself reminds us “the author’s viewpoint is part of the paratextual performance, sustains it, inspires it, anchors it . . . the critic is by no means bound to subscribe to that viewpoint . . . [but] knowing it, he cannot completely disregard it.”¹⁵ This, to me, is the key point of paratextual analysis: to date, most analyses of lute song books have disregarded these elements that are so critical to our understanding of the book as presented by the author and printer/publisher. The most striking justification for the study of paratexts I have read to date is Genette’s comment, “how would we read Joyce’s Ulysses if it were not entitled Ulysses?”¹⁶ Similarly, how differently would one read Muses Gardin for Delights (Robert Jones’ fifth book) if it were simply entitled The Fifth Booke of Ayres?

The second study of major import to the textual analysis of paratexts is Michael Saenger’s The Commodification of Textual Engagements in the English Renaissance. Saenger’s approach has much more of an economic bent to it than Genette’s. Like Genette, Saenger considers the issues of why and how paratexts mediated the threshold between author/publisher and audience: title page border choices, the text layout on the page, forms of address, and the use of language all affect the way the reader engages with the text. Working from this approach, Saenger finds not-so-hidden humor and parody in dedicatory epistles and letters to the reader that previously had been read quite literally.¹⁷ What sets him apart from

¹⁵ Genette, Paratexts, 408-9.

¹⁶ Ibid., 2.

¹⁷ Robert Jones’ letter “To all Muscicall Murmerers” is a paratext that falls into this category and will be addressed further in Chapter Three.
Genette is a prevailing sense that these early modern books were commodities in a way that has since been forgotten in literary study thanks to centuries of editions that resign front matter to footnotes and appendices, and that paratexts functioned in a manner similar to modern advertising. Dedicatory epistles, letters to the reader, commendatory poems, all functioned as a means of interacting with the reader (or the potential buyer), giving him a way to approach and understand the text, and perhaps developing an emotional connection with him to encourage the purchase of the book. It is this combination of Genette’s and Saenger’s sensitivity towards front matter and Saenger’s understanding of these paratexts as playing a key role in commodifying the book that I focus on in my analyses of the title pages, dedicatory epistles, letters to the reader, and other paratextual material.

Musical analysis of lute songs is much more prevalent in the scholarly literature. The accepted paradigm, set at least as early as Ian Spink’s monograph *English Song, Dowland to Purcell*, is that of Dowland the “serious” or “contrapuntal” lute song composer, Campion the “light” ayre composer, and Ferrabosco and later Dowland songs in the “declamatory” style.18 Due to this paradigm perhaps, the secondary lute song composers have been little discussed in the scholarship and book-length studies exist only for Dowland, Ferrabosco, Campion, and Morley (who of course was well-known for works other than his lute songs).19 A glance at the *New Grove* entry for Robert Jones, composer of five books of ayres (representing a full sixth of the total printed lute song output) shows a dearth of recent scholarship, and in most


references Jones is of only secondary concern. The state of modern editions is also curious: the part songs have critical editions in volumes six, 53, and 54 of *Musica Britannica*, all edited by David Greer, but the solo songs lack new editions. For the solo songs, we have two editions: the 1920s series edited by Edmond Fellowes, *English School of Lutenist Song Writers*, and the series begun around 1960, *The English Lute-Songs*, which was in part a revision of Fellowes’ series and edited and revised by numerous people. While these editions offer some editorial notes, they lack the extensive musical and textual commentary of the *Musica Britannica* volumes and add notations such as tempo indications more appropriate for performing editions. Where Fellowes’ editions and the later revisions stand out is in their inclusion of prefatory material, including dedications, letters to the reader, commendatory poems, and occasionally reproductions of the title pages, showing an awareness of the books that contain the songs.

**Music Printing in England and the Lute Song Printers**

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When William Barley published his *A new booke of tabliture* (*STC* 1433) in 1596, he could hardly have suspected that he was to be a catalyst for a generation of printed books of lute songs. One of Dowland’s justifications for printing his *First Booke of Songs or Ayres* a year later was his claim that Barley had printed illicitly some of his lute pieces “falce and vnperfect,” and it was Dowland’s book of 1597, printed by Peter Short, that set the standard for all lute song prints that followed (29 unique books, including Dowland’s) between 1597 and 1622. Yet another catalyst, of course, was the lapse of the music printing patent held by William Byrd and Thomas Tallis in January 1596, creating a vacuum into which the enterprising printer Short would step, printing three volumes of music in 1597 alone. Thomas East, the one printer at the time with experience printing music (he had been the assignee of Byrd), continued printing music, issuing four volumes in 1597, including a second volume of *Musica Transalpina* (*STC* 26095) and madrigal books by George Kirbye and Thomas Weelkes.

Getting a handle on music printing (or any printing, really) in England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is no easy affair: England’s laws and the Company of Stationers (the guild of printers) restricted who could print, where prints could be made, and at times even how many presses a printer could own. The Company of Stationers, recognized in 1557, controlled the printers with rules, dues, and fines, but they themselves were controlled by a series of laws and monopolistic patents for printing. Patents were grants given by the Crown to individuals, sometimes printers, sometimes not, that gave the holder the sole right to a general printing privilege or a specific right, perhaps to produce or sell a particular book or a type of book. These patents were usually granted for a limited period of time and might be extended later. For example, in 1553 towards the end of Edward
VI’s reign, Richard Tottel (he of Miscellany fame) was granted a patent for printing all
Common Law books for seven years; in 1559, shortly after Elizabeth I took the throne,
Tottel’s patent was extended for as long “as he shall behave and demesne him selfe well in
using of the said priviledge” (essentially for life). In the same year, William Seres was
granted a patent for the printing of the psalms and primers in English, thus setting off a chain
of events leading to the first patent to impact music printing: the patent that granted John Day
and his son the right to print “the Psalms of David in Englishe Meeter, with notes” (the
metrical psalms).

Patents could prove quite lucrative for their holders; often men would collect multiple
patents, holding the rights to numerous books that, if popular, would ensure a hefty income.
Day, for example, held a patent to the ABC with Little Catechism in addition to his metrical
psalm patent: combined, they were thought to net him between £200 and £500 yearly.
These two books were incredibly popular: between 1560 and 1596 hundreds of copies were
printed (sometimes combined into one book, as in STC 2433), working out to approximately
three editions a year. The scope of this work does not allow for an extensive investigation of
the metrical psalms, and at any rate, Krummel’s excellent typographical study makes any
attempt superfluous. A basic overview, however, will aid in the understanding of English
music printing’s milieu.

23 Quoted from Anna Greening, “Tottell, Richard (b. in or before 1528, d. 1593),” in Oxford Dictionary of
National Biography, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004),

24 Day had printed a “a quartron of psalms with notes” and Seres sued Day for printing psalms for which Seres
had a patent. Day was fined 12s., but less than two months later Day was granted a patent for the printing of the
metrical psalms. The second patent was William Byrd and Thomas Tallis’ music patent, which will be
discussed below.

Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004),
Developed in Geneva in the mid-1550s by Protestant exiles from Mary I’s Catholic England, the metrical psalms were vernacular translations from the Bible set to simple, usually monophonic, tunes. The initial English translations came from court poet Thomas Sternhold ca. 1549 and were added to by John Hopkins; the Sternhold and Hopkins version became the English standard, and often included additions such as hymns or canticles. They were generally in iambic pentameter and common meter (alternating eight and six syllables). The first tunes, added in 1556/7 in a Geneva edition, seem not to have been based on popular songs, but as the metrical psalms grew in popularity tunes changed with editions. Once Day obtained the patent for the metrical psalms, he never lost it: it was renewed first in 1567 for ten years and then again in 1577 for his lifetime and that of his son, Richard. Unlike the aforementioned print by William Barley, the metrical psalms were printed using movable type, and approximately 12 different music fonts appear in various editions of the metrical psalms between 1560 and 1621, used by John Day, John Wolfe, Thomas East, Peter Short, John Windet, and Humphrey Lownes.26 Several of these names will figure prominently later in the present study; it is significant that three of the most prominent printers of lute songs, East, Short, and Windet, began their careers in music printing with editions of metrical psalms. In addition, the printers’ early work with the metrical psalms must have given them some facility with setting music and text together, judging book sizes based on the amount of space music fonts require, to say nothing of the fact that they already owned music fonts when Byrd’s music patent lapsed.

The second printing patent that had an effect on music in England was the William Byrd/Thomas Tallis patent to print “any and so many . . . set songe or songes in partes, either

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26 Krummel, English Music Printing, 1553-1700, 175.
in English, Latine, French, Italian, or any other tongues that may serve for musicke either in Church or chamber, or otherwise to be either plaid or soonge” as well as the right to make and sell printed staff paper. Granted on January 22, 1575 for a period of 21 years, it gave them the privilege to print essentially any music, sacred and secular, except the metrical psalms. As Donald Krummel suggests, the patent “was intended mainly to control not music printing, but music itself.”27 With control over both what music was printed and the production of staff paper, they had quite a monopoly on their hands and the power to approve or deny any musician the printing of his works, if they so desired.

Economically speaking, the patent holder had only a few options open to him when printing a book: first, if he were a printer (like Day) he could finance and print the works in his own shop; second, he could farm the work out to one or more other printers (as was often the case with large books); third, if the patent holder did not own a press, he would grant the right to print the work to a particular printer, either financing it himself or charging a fee to an intermediate publisher who financed the printing (as was the relationship between Morley and Eastland in 1600 with Dowland’s Second Booke). Byrd and Tallis were not printers and therefore had no equipment, so they had to assign their right to print to a printer with the necessary equipment. In 1575, only Thomas Vautrollier had the appropriately-sized music fonts and thus the ability to print the books they desired to print. His first print as their assignee, Cantiones, quae ab argumento sacrae vocantur (STC 23666) was published in 1575, but it was not very successful. Since Byrd and Tallis had published the unsuccessful volume themselves, two years later they were in debt to the tune of at least 200 marks. The failure apparently left them snake-bitten, and almost no music other than the psalms was

27 Ibid., 16.
printed until after Tallis’ death in 1585 and Vautrollier’s death in 1587. At this point, Thomas East managed to obtain the larger of Vautrollier’s music fonts (perhaps due to a familial relationship between Richard Field and Lucretia East, Thomas’ wife) and convinced Byrd to allow him to print music.²⁸ East developed quite a close working relationship with Byrd, and among East’s prints as Byrd’s sole assignee between 1588 and 1596 are such notable books as *Musica transalpina* (*STC* 26094, 1588; a collection of Italian madrigals with texts translated into English) and Thomas Morley’s first books of canzonets and madrigals. By 1596, when Byrd’s patent lapsed, East and Byrd had created such a market for music that in the following two years between Peter Short (who had acquired a music and a tablature font) and East a total of fourteen books of music were printed as compared to the eighteen books published during East’s eight-year reign as sole printer for Byrd.

In 1598, however, Thomas Morley petitioned for and was granted the music patent, forcing printers to once again gain permission to print music. Shortly thereafter Morley attempted, but failed, to gain a foothold in the more lucrative metrical psalm printing business; by 1600 he had signed both Short and East to three-year contracts for the printing of music. When Morley died in 1602 the state of the music patent was in flux for a few years, King James having suspended most charters and monopolies, but in 1606 William Barley (a draper, not a stationer by trade) brought suit against East, claiming the right to the music patent as Morley’s business partner. He won the case, joined the Stationers, and took over Morley’s patent, which was valid until 1619. When Barley died ca. 1614, his rights

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appear to have been taken over by John Browne, Matthew Lownes, and Thomas Snodham (whose names and initials we shall see on many of the later lute song prints).²⁹

Moving on from the intricacies of the music patents themselves, a short interlude on the actual music printers seems in order. There were seven printers: Peter Short, Thomas East, John Windet, Humphrey Lownes, Thomas Snodham, William Stansby, and William Barley. An analysis of the lute song book printers shows what amounts to two generations, the elder generation passing their equipment and book rights down to the second generation. Figure 1 shows the somewhat complicated relationships between the printers.

![Figure 1: The two generations of English lute song printers](image)

Of the printers mentioned above, Humphrey Lownes appears to have printed very little in the way of music, restricting himself largely to new editions of books to which he had gained the rights through inheritance, including Dowland’s *First Booke* and Morley’s *Plaine and Easie Introduction*. Barley apparently did no printing of his own, farming it out instead to printers such as Henry Ballard. The difference in experimentation and interest in music is striking

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²⁹ This is an admittedly simplified version of events; for a much more detailed timeline see Krummel, *English Music Printing, 1553-1700*; Jeremy L. Smith, *Thomas East and Music Publishing in Renaissance England*. 15
between the generations: whereas East and Short were truly innovators and Windet devoted some time to music prints despite being the official Printer to the City of London, Stansby, Snodham, and Lownes seem to have been content to follow the patterns laid out by their predecessors, and often their prints were of considerably poorer quality.

The number of music prints in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries was never very large, even when compared to the total number of books published each year. Table 1 is an analysis, based on data compiled from the Short-title Catalogue, of music printing between 1590 and 1630 (sans the ever-popular metrical psalms, which quite skew the data).³⁰

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Publication Year</th>
<th>Number of music books</th>
<th>Difference from previous year</th>
<th>Percent change</th>
<th>Percentage of music books to total books</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1590</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1591</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1592</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-2</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1593</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1594</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
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<td>1.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1596</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1597</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1598</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>-2</td>
<td>-20.00%</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1599</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-4</td>
<td>-50.00%</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1600</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1601</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-4</td>
<td>-50.00%</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1602</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-2</td>
<td>-50.00%</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>0.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1604</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>33.33%</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1605</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1606</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>75.00%</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1607</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-4</td>
<td>-57.14%</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Music books (without metrical psalms) printed between 1590 and 1630

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Copies</th>
<th>Profit</th>
<th>% Change</th>
<th>Profit %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1608</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1609</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>266.67%</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1610</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>-3</td>
<td>-27.27%</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1611</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-3</td>
<td>-37.50%</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1612</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>-20.00%</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1613</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>175.00%</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1614</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-6</td>
<td>-54.55%</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1615</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-3</td>
<td>-60.00%</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1616</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-2</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1617</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1618</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>400.00%</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1619</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-2</td>
<td>-40.00%</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1620</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1621</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>-33.33%</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1622</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1623</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-2</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1624</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>200.00%</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1625</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1626</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-2</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1627</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1628</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1629</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1630</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The statistics show that music books accounted for an average of around 1% of the total books published yearly, reaching a high of 3.5% in 1597, one of the years in which the music patent had lapsed, and dipping down to nothing in the years 1592, 1616, 1623, and 1626-28. To what we should attribute the dramatic drop in music printing after 1614 is unclear and may ever be. What we do know is that in 1616, a law was passed limiting the number of presses a printer could own: a small group of printers were permitted two, the rest were allowed only one. The time and money involved in producing books with so limited an audience must have been strained even further by this restriction. This, combined with
changing tastes at court and in the general populace could have affected printers’ and publishers’ willingness to invest in music books. Though printed music in England was on the decline, the same can not be said for music in general; manuscript transmission was as strong as ever, and composers such as Henry Lawes and Nicholas Lanier, for example, are well-known for their masque songs.31

Where other studies of lute songs have chosen a chronological or musical stylistic organization, I have chosen instead to come at the song books in a different way, by first analyzing the paratexts and then moving to the texts themselves. A chronological organization strikes me as overkill for a genre that lasted only twenty-five years and a stylistic organization, while it has its upside, will simply not address the issues I wish to address in this study. Therefore, Chapter Two is an analysis of image-based paratexts including title page engravings (also called title page borders) and the textual elements contained therein, engraved headers and footers (common around tables of contents), and engraved initials. These visual paratexts are the ones over which the printer likely had the most control: the printer’s stock of title page borders and other engravings naturally determined what he could use for any single print, and I will consider whether the engravings themselves had any bearing on the book’s contents. I will also analyze the typesetting and word choices used on the title page to compare printers’ methods for maximizing marketability and gaining the potential buyer’s attention. To that end, at least one title page from each lute song book printer is analyzed with an eye to the printer’s decisions. An investigation into the borders and initials used will help one see what techniques the printers

used inside the book, and will show the strong connections between generations of printers as their stock was passed down to their successors.

Chapter Three investigates verbal paratexts and the historical and cultural context in which dedicatory epistles and letters to the reader were written. Most books printed in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries included dedicatory epistles to patrons, and many, including about half of the lute song books, included letters to the reader. These epistles served multiple functions and used several different writing techniques to attract and hold the attention of the reader. While often overlooked by other scholars except when the epistles make specific musical points, they offer insight into the author’s attempts to engage and create a connection with the reader. I will examine all of the stylistic techniques used in the lute song books’ front matter using examples from multiple authors to compare their styles. After that, I will study in detail the verbal paratexts in John Dowland’s and Robert Jones’ *First Bookes* to discover if Jones used the dedicatory epistle and letter to the reader to fashion for himself an identity quite distinct from John Dowland.

Chapter Four will look at the music and song texts of several books with an eye to understanding the books’ contents. Small, medium, and large-scale structures existed within the books, ranging from the decisions made when choosing a particular text (what is significant about a particular poem or its musical setting), to the decision to combine several songs into a song cycle, to overarching principles of organization that bring a book together. In this chapter I will particularly consider two books with female dedicatees to see what musical and textual choices those composers made, and I will once again return to the possibility of Jones creating an identity for himself by simultaneously setting himself apart from and comparing himself to Dowland.
Chapter Two: Image-based paratexts

Lute songs as a musical genre have been analyzed in detail in numerous scholarly works, the song texts have received much attention, the composer’s patrons have been discussed: what follows in this chapter is the first part of an analysis of the lute song book itself as a genre, as a distinct element separate, but connected to, the music and the song texts contained therein. A study of the paratextual elements that frame the lute songs, those things that make the book a book rather than something akin to a formalized manuscript, are where we shall begin our analysis. Starting with the visual paratexts, we will study the title page (borders, engravings, layout and content), ornamental engravings, and initials (the latter not always paratextual elements, but for reasons that shall be discussed below, appropriately placed in this chapter).

The paratexts under discussion are separated into image and text because, firstly, there is a natural separation between the visual and the textual. Images in these texts serve many functional purposes, yes, but they do please the eye and draw the potential buyer’s attention. Engraved title pages, for example, make fine advertisements in and of themselves and were apparently used in such a manner.32 The image-based paratexts are separated also because they were, for the most part, under the control of the printer rather than the composer or author. As we shall see, occasionally the author may have had some input (perhaps in the accolades attached to an author’s name on the title page or a motto), but by and large the

32 One might compare these to say, modern paperback book covers whose images are those of the latest movie adaptation.
inclusion and setting of visual elements was the purview of the printer. We might then consider these paratextual elements with a seller’s eye: what might the potential buyer want to see, to what did the printer draw the buyer’s attention, and how did the printer use his resources to layout and print a lute song book.

**Title Pages**

Title pages in the early modern period, the reader’s first glimpse at a book, could range from beautifully complex engravings to architectural designs to relatively simple borders (or no borders at all) surrounding the title, author, and imprint. The title page was the potential buyer’s entrance into the book: not only was it the book’s first page, but it might also be used as an advertisement itself with extra pages printed and posted around the city.  

Though Diana Poulton claimed that the title page borders “were used with little regard for their suitability to the book in question,” I disagree that this was always, or even often, the case when it came to lute songs.  

Certainly borders and engravings were reused multiple times, but often, as we shall see below, those engravings were chosen with apparent care and did indeed relate to the texts that followed, either through a direct connection or a contextual connotation. John Guillim, in an epigram describing the title page of his book *A display of heraldrie* (1610), claimed “That euery great and goodly Edifice,|Doth aske to haue a comely Frontispice.”  

His epigram described every aspect of the engraving: each element – the arch, the coats of arms, the pillars – all served a purpose in the design, proving that Guillim’s

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34 Poulton, *John Dowland*, 213.

35 John Guillim, *A display of heraldrie manifesting a more easie accesse to the knowledge thereof then hath beene hitherto published by any, through the benefit of method, whereinto it is now reduced by the industry of Joh. Gwillim Pursuivant of Armes.* ([London]: Printed by William Hall, 1610).
Although none of the engravings used in the lute song books were designed specifically for them, we should not disregard them as completely meaningless. As we shall see below, sometimes engravings were used so often for music prints that they almost certainly became a sign to the buyer that a particular book contained music, even without reading the title.36

The titles with which the lute song books were named also helped to advertise their books. The early modern title is, as Gérard Genette and Leo Hoek assert,

an artificial object, an artifact of reception or of commentary, that reader, the public, critics, booksellers, bibliographers, . . . and titologists . . . have arbitrarily separated out from the graphic and possibly iconographic mass of a ‘title page’ or a cover. This mass includes, or may include, many appended bits of information that the author, the publisher, and their public did not use to distinguish as clearly as we do now.37

In other words, the title page should be taken as a whole, and we must be aware when referring to a book’s title that it is comprised of separate distinct elements including the “main” title, a secondary title, and a subtitle, all of which may or may not be present for any book. Genette’s exemplar for these terms is Voltaire’s Zadig ou La Destinée, Histoire orientale where Zadig is the title, “ou La Destinée” is the secondary title, and Histoire orientale is the subtitle. The secondary title is generally marked (in French) by the word “ou” or a comma, and usually separated out typographically, and the subtitle is a genre indication.38 Of course, both Genette and Hoek are writing almost exclusively about literary works; lute song books generally have two-part titles where the secondary title and subtitle

36 Border 132 from McKerrow’s Title-page Borders as used in Pilkington’s book is an excellent example of this (McKerrow and Ferguson, Title-page Borders Used in England & Scotland, 1485-1640, 114-16).

37 Genette, Paratexts, 55-6. Genette does not make it clear where he is paraphrasing Hoek.

38 Ibid., 56. This three-part definition of a title is actually from Leo H. Hoek, “Pour une sémiotique du titre” (Urbino, February 1973) Genette takes issue with the three-part definition, pointing out that rarely are the separations so formal, and generally refers only to title and subtitle in his discussion.
are combined typographically and functionally. And lute song books complicate the matter even further, because while some composers chose fairly creative titles that invoked various images to entice the buyer into identifying with (and thus buying) the book, others chose to title their books generically. Examples of the former titular style include three of Robert Jones’ books: *Ultimum Vale, A Musicall Dreame*, and *The Muses Gardin for Delights*, whereas all but one of Dowland’s books demonstrate the latter style. Therefore, regardless of the function of titular information, for the purposes of this discussion I will refer to the main title as the title, and any information following the main title as the subtitle.

Other elements of the title page include the composer’s name and *bona fides*, more content-related information and mottos, and imprint information, where the printer and/or publisher’s names and addresses along with the publication year were printed. The imprint information offers another clue as to the function of the title page, since many, if not most, imprints included an address where the book could be purchased. Consider why, for example, someone who is already in Peter Short’s bookshop or has already purchased one of his books needs to know that he was “dwelling on Bredstreet Hill at the sign of the starre”?

That information is chiefly useful to either a potential buyer reading the title page as an advertisement elsewhere or the reader who wants to purchase another book from the same printer (or publisher, since sometimes the books were sold at the publisher’s rather than the printer’s shop).

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39 Jones’ books are *STC* 14738, printed in 1605; *STC* 14734, printed in 1609; *STC* 14736, printed in 1610.

40 From the title page of Dowland’s *First Booke of Songes or Ayres* (*STC* 7091, printed in 1597).

41 See for example both of Copario’s books, published and sold by John Browne (*STC* 5679, printed in 1606, and *STC* 4546, printed in 1613).
John Dowland’s First Booke of Songes or Ayres (1597, Peter Short)

Generally speaking, the title pages for lute song books used more complex engravings and borders than those for say, part books, and Peter Short’s print of John Dowland’s *First Booke of Songes or Ayres* certainly set the standard for future prints.\(^\text{42}\) The title page engraving is a design filled with Classical and mythological references and features prominently the four branches of the *quadrivium* ruled over by the god of learning, Mercury: Geometry, Arithmetic, Music, and Astronomy, all depicted as women holding the instruments of their science.

\(^{42}\) As he did for other areas of lute song printing, including the table book format.
Figure 2: Title page of Dowland’s *First Booke of Songs or Ayres*
Geometry holds a compass and a rule, Arithmetic holds a number chart, Music holds a lute, and Astronomy holds an armillary sphere (a globe depicting the celestial sphere). On either side of Mercury are the astrological signs Gemini (represented by two children and the astrological symbol \( \text{♊} \)) and Virgo (represented by a young woman and the astrological symbol \( \text{♍} \)). Above the figures of the quadrivium sit Ptolemy and Marinus. Ptolemy, wearing a crown and with one hand on a globe and the other pointing towards the stars, rules over Aratus and Hipparchus.\(^{43}\) On the right-hand side of the title page, Marinus sits above Strabo pointing to England on a map and Polibius holding a cross-staff. In between Ptolemy and Marinus is a globe, under which a banner proclaims *Virescit Vulnere Veritas* (Truth flourishes from a wound).\(^{44}\) Above Ptolemy and Marinus, Saturn, God of Time, wields his sickle with the three ages of man (youth, adulthood, senility) represented alongside him.

Outside the engraving’s border lie representations of the sun and moon; one side depicts a young boy and an old king next to a lion, the other shows a man and a woman, the woman holding what appears to be a lobster. One possible interpretation of these figures above the border is that they are an alchemical representation of time; the male figures with the sun represent the “succession of generations” throughout time; the man and woman with the moon, engaged in obvious sexual activity represent finite temporality. Together the two sides complete a picture of eternity, a complete day, a succession of days, and, finally “the


\(^{44}\) Thanks to Tom Izbicki for his help on the translation of this phrase.
conjunction of sun and moon is an icon for the complete opus.” The letters “I B F” are engraved in the bottom left-hand corner, perhaps standing for the initials of John Bettes, an engraver in London, and the word *fecit* (“he did it”).

Dowland’s 1597 publication is not the first use of this engraving, and indeed, Peter Short was not the first printer to use it. In 1559, John Day (the same John Day with the metrical psalm patent) printed William Cuningham’s *The Cosmographical Glass*; the title page engraving is the same one under discussion here. The engraver “I.B.” engraved at least one of the maps in the book in addition to the title page. The “astronomers engraving” was most likely commissioned specifically for use in *The Cosmographical Glass*, and Day then found another use for it in later books up through the year 1574. By the time Peter Short began using it in 1597, though, John Day was dead and his metrical psalm patent had passed to his son, Richard. Richard, instead of using his father’s materials to print his own books, more often chose to extend his privileges to others such as John Wolfe, John Windet, and even Peter Short, who printed *A Book of Christian Prayers* (1590) and *The seconde...*

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45 S. K Heninger, *The Cosmographical Glass: Renaissance Diagrams of the Universe* (San Marino, Calif: Huntington Library, 1977), 2-3. I refer the reader to Heninger for a more extended explanation of the possible alchemical meaning of the top figures, which has little bearing on Short’s use of the title page.


49 McKerrow and Ferguson, *Title-page Borders Used in England & Scotland, 1485-1640*, 93. The astronomers engraving was used several more times by Day, including an edition of Euclid’s *Elements* translated by H. Billingsley (1570).
volume of the Ecclesiastical History (1597) with Day’s permission. The question remains, though, why did Peter Short end up with Day’s engraving when Wolfe and Windet clearly had a more extensive working relationship with the Days? Between 1590 and 1597, Peter Short printed only seven works as the assignee of Richard Day, two of those with partner Richard Yardley, while Windet printed at least 40 books as Day’s assignee between 1592 and 1604, and John Wolfe over 20 between 1583 and 1591. McKerrow suggests that these elaborate borders passed “freely from one printer to another,” this particular border was rarely used considering its complexity and does not seem to have passed very freely beyond Peter Short and his immediate successor.

Though we may never know for sure exactly how Short came to own this engraving, what is clear is that he possessed more than one of Day’s old title page engravings. In 1569, John Day printed his son’s Christian Prayers and Meditations (later called A Booke of Christian Prayers), whose title page was an engraving of several key figures from the Bible – David, Solomon, Mary, and Jesus – represented using the iconographic trope of the Tree of Jesse. Several reprints of Day’s book of prayers were issued, including one in 1590 by Short and Yardley (new owners of their former employer’s, Henry Denham, business), and each print used the original title page. Besides this engraving, the title page to John Foxe’s Actes and Monuments of These Latter and Perillous Dayes Touching Matters of the Church (printed by Day in 1563), an intricate engraving was reused in Short’s 1597 print of the 2nd

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51 Ronald Brunlees McKerrow, An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students (Winchester: St. Paul's Bibliographies, 1994), 118.

52 See Arthur Watson, The Early Iconography of the Tree of Jesse (London: Oxford University Press, 1934) for further information on the symbolism of the Tree of Jesse in art. See STC 6428 (the first print by Day), STC 6431 (Short’s print, 1590), and STC 6432 (Humphrey Lownes’ print, 1608).
volume.\textsuperscript{53} It appears that every edition of Foxe’s work used the same title page engraving up through Peter Short’s printing in 1597. I suspect that in 1590, when new business owner Short was given the job of printing Richard Day’s book he was given also the title page engraving that had accompanied every issue of Day’s book. Perhaps Short took advantage of this working relationship and, seeing other attractive engravings like the astronomer one, bought or was given them for use in his own prints.

At any rate, Short and his eventual successor Humphrey Lownes did put the border to good use. In 1597, he used it for both Dowland’s \textit{First Booke} and Thomas Morley’s \textit{A Plaine and Easy Introduction to Practicall Musicke}. At the time, the border may not have been anything other than an attractive engraving to use. Since it had not been used for over twenty years it was for all intents and purposes “as good as new,” an eye-catcher, but following these two publications, it was used at least nine more times only one of which was for a non-music print (a 1605 printing of \textit{The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia}). The border saw four reprints of Dowland’s \textit{First Booke}, a reprint of Morley’s \textit{Plaine and Easie Introduction}, and three more music prints besides.\textsuperscript{54} I suspect that, based on the border’s consistent use for musical works starting in 1597, it could have been a ready symbol to the buyer that music was contained therein.

Moving beyond the engraving, we now consider the title and imprint themselves:

\begin{quote}
\textbf{The FIRST BOOKE of Songes or Ayres of fowre partes with Ta-}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{53} STC 11222 and 11225, respectively. The John Foxe engraving depicts “at top the Last Judgement [sic], and in the lower half the burning of martyrs, the celebration of the Mass, and Protestant and Roman preaching” (McKerrow and Ferguson, \textit{Title-page Borders Used in England & Scotland}, 1485-1640, 105).

\textsuperscript{54} Ibid., 93.
bleture for the Lute:
So made that all the partes
together, or either of them seue-
rally may be song to the Lute,
Orpherian, or Viol de gambo.
Composed by John Dowland Lute-
nist and Batcheler of musicke in
both the Vniuersities.
Also an inuention by the sayd
Author for two to play vp-
on one Lute.

Nec prosunt domino, quæ prosunt omnibus, artes.

Printed by Peter Short, dwelling on
Bredstreet hill at the sign of the Starre, 1597.

There are several things to note with the title, beginning with how Short highlights the book’s adaptability. Despite the very limited space within this title page border, he makes room for four lines (plus an additional three below the composer’s name) detailing the book’s contents. The four-part songs can be performed by four or fewer voices with (or presumably without) lute, orpharion, or viol, and the additional curiosity of the unusual lute duet at the end of the book. With both tablature and staff notation, cantus lines that work both as solo melodies and as part of an ensemble, and bass lines that can be either sung or played on viol (or both), Dowland created a book designed to appeal to as wide an audience as possible. Presumably, anyone who sang or played any of the instruments mentioned might buy this book.

Secondly, the composer’s name, while highlighted by italics, is somewhat buried in small type beneath the main title and additional title information. Other of Short’s prints in 1597, including two books of canzonets and the Plaine and Easie Introduction, all by

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55 The transcription follows the title page from STC 7091.
Thomas Morley, place more emphasis on the author than does Dowland’s book.\textsuperscript{56} With the limited space available in this engraving for setting title information, Short was forced to choose what setting might entice more buyers: the composer’s name prominently set or an extended title that emphasizes the multitude of ways in which the songs can be performed. Short’s later Dowland print, the \textit{Third and Last Booke} from 1601, places the emphasis quite differently: inside the same amount of space on the title page, Short devoted a full third to Dowland’s name and position at the King of Denmark’s court, perhaps because he now had a position worthy of mention.\textsuperscript{57}

In the box below the title are a Latin quote and the imprint information. Peter Short identifies himself and his location along with the year of publication. Noticeably absent is any information about an assignor, 1597 being one of the years in which the music patent lapsed. The Latin quote is from Ovid’s \textit{Metamorphoses} 1.524, Daphne and Phoebus, and translates as “the arts, peculiar features of knowledge, which are profitable, beneficial, to all, are [too frequently] of little benefit to their possessor.”\textsuperscript{58} Short uses this quotation only in Dowland’s \textit{First Booke}, so the decision to include it could have been either Short’s or Dowland’s, although based on the quote itself it seems more likely to have been Dowland’s choice. Phoebus Apollo, the God of music, is the quote’s speaker who is unable to benefit (cure himself of his love of Daphne) by his own “skill” (the invention of medicine) by which

\textsuperscript{56} \textit{STC} 18125, 18126, and 18133, respectively. As mentioned above, the \textit{Plaine and Easie Introduction} uses the same astronomers engraving, but Morley is identified as the author in the imprint box under the title, in italics and larger type. The books of canzonets, which use different borders, have a much larger area in which to print the title information, and Morley’s name is much more prominent (larger type and all capital letters) as a result.

\textsuperscript{57} The \textit{Second Booke}, printed by East, also makes mention of Dowland’s position at the King of Denmark’s court.

\textsuperscript{58} Madeline Leslie, \textit{A New Dictionary of Quotations from the Greek, Latin, and Modern Languages} (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co., 1869), 25-6.
“all others” benefit. In musical terms, the *artes* could refer to the four liberal arts of the quadrivium represented in the title page border, of which music is one, and the consumer (again, “all others”) will be enriched through the purchase of this book of music (of course the buyer would have to understand the quote to appreciate its significance). Short paraphrases another Ovidian quote on the title page of Robert Jones’ first book from 1600 (a quote that followed Jones through three different printers): *Quæ prosunt singula multa iuvant* (those which taken singly benefit are potent when combined). This quote is paraphrased from *Remedia amoris*, where the exact line is *Sed, quæ non prosunt singula, multa iuvant* (But means which, taken singly, are of no avail are potent when conjoined).

Taken as a whole, Short went to considerable effort to produce an appealing title page for his prospective customers. He used a beautifully complex engraving, one that had not been used for almost 30 years, but which was relevant to a music publication (music being one of the four mathematical arts represented on the title page, its personification in the engraving holding a lute). His title page setting focused on the book’s wide appeal, but still mentioned the composer and his credentials, all within a very limited amount of space due to the extended size of the engraving. Besides the standard imprint, the use of a quote from Ovid suggests two things: first, it gives us a clue as to the type of audience Short expected to

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59 Another interpretation might be that Dowland is the master. With his notoriously melancholic demeanor, the musical arts, of which he is a master, might not dispel his melancholy even while they assist others. It may be a stretch, but as he notoriously desired an appointment to Elizabeth’s court (in vain), he could mean that despite his mastery of the musical arts, he is unable to succeed in England.

60 In the context of Jones’ book, we might take this to mean, “If one song is good for us, many songs will be even better.”

61 Translation from Ovid, *The Love Books of Ovid; An English translation of the Amores, Ars Amatoria, Remedia Amoris and Medicamina Faciei Femineae*, trans. J. Lewis May, Internet Sacred Text Archive (London: J. Lane, the Bodley Head, 1925), http://www.sacred-texts.com/cla/ovid/lboo/lboo61.htm. One wonders whether the missing negative was simply an editorial oversight or whether this was an intentional omission. We will investigate this further below in our discussion of Jones’ third book of songs.
reach (an audience that might be educated enough to read Latin and perhaps recognize its origin) and second, it suggests Short was attempting to remind his audience of the usefulness of music in their daily lives.

**Francis Pilkington’s The First Booke of Songs or Ayres of 4. parts (1605, Thomas East)**

In comparison to Peter Short’s rather complex title page stand Thomas East’s offerings to the lute song genre, including Francis Pilkington’s 1605 *The First Booke of Songs or Ayres*. Pilkington’s book and the other two lute song books printed by East use the same title page engraving. Listed as #132a in *Title Page Borders* and used in at least 19 books (all but six of which are music books), it is an architectural title page, a style common in the early modern period, with a three-dimensional representation that suggests a stage.
THE FIRST BOOKE OF Songs or Ayres of 4 parts: with Tablature for the Lute or Orpharian, with the Violl de Gamba.

Newly composed by Francis Pilkington, Batchelor of Musick, and Lutenist; and one of the Cathedrall Church of Christ, in the Citie of Chester.

LONDON: Printed by T. Biss, dwelling in Alderigate-Little, and are thereto be found. 1595.

Figure 3: Title page to Francis Pilkington’s The First Booke of Songs or Ayres (1605)
Certainly East’s title page follows this standard with hints of three dimensions - note the etched lines on the base of and between the two columns that suggest the play of light and shadow on a three-dimensional space. It was likely an imitation of a mid-century border used by Christopher Plantin in Antwerp, with some small modifications to the figures in the bottom panels and the removal of one horizontal panel above the columns. In the English version of the engraving, David with a lyre and Samson are in the bottom panels (with the imprint in a compartment between them) above which are two termini (a man on one side and a woman on the other) between which are set the title and author’s name. Above all is a compartment with a cherub on either side holding cornucopias and banners to an oval in the middle. A clever little design, this oval could hold anything from text (found in the initial use of the engraving in England, a 1570 edition of the *Flores Historiarum*) to another small engraving (as is found in John Danyel’s 1606 lute song book which contains a small printer’s ornament), to music, as we see in the Pilkington book. The music itself is a tune in bass clef with a cut time signature, and the text accompanying the music inside the oval reads “4. parts in 1. rest 2.” below the first stave and “I. M.” below the second. This means that the second voice comes in two measures after the first (and so on for the other voices). In addition to text instructions there is a *signum concordantiae* below the third note (in the middle of which the third measure would begin) to indicate where the parts should begin, and a *corona* to tell where they end. The music is set from type rather than engraved specially for the title page; this is easily determined from the spaces and misalignments evident between the pieces of type.

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63 The *Flores historiarum* is STC 17653a.3; Danyel’s book is STC 6268.
The title again makes clear the options the reader has in performing the pieces:

THE FIRST BOOKE OF
Songs or Ayres of 4.parts:
with Tableture for the
Lute or Orpherian, with
the Violl de
Gamba.

Newly composed by Francis Pilkington,
Batcheler of Musicke, and Lutenist: and one
of the Cathedrall Church of Christ,
in the Citie of Chester.

LONDON:
Printed by T. Este, dwelling in
Algersgate-streete, and are
ther to be sould. 1605. 64

Unlike Dowland’s First Booke, the title of Pilkington’s book is set in nearly all roman characters and rather large type. In fact, the only italics on the page are used to set “Newly composed by Francis Pilkington,” (my emphasis) which clearly sets apart from the rest of the text on the page the composer’s name apart and highlights the newness of the compositions. Several examples of this emphasis on the newness of content exist in late sixteenth and early seventeenth century books; notably in music prints, the later editions of Dowland’s First Booke featured a statement such as “Newly corrected and amended.” “Buy some new book sir” was the sales pitch of the day since “the first question at every Stationers shoppe is what new thing?” and Pilkington’s and East’s use of the words “newly composed” served to highlight the book’s originality. 65 The author’s bona fides follow in smaller roman type.

East followed some definite patterns in his lute song books. All three have a main title in quite large roman type followed by a colon and then remaining title information and use very

64 Transcription follows title page from STC 19922.

65 Quoted from Bennett, English Books & Readers, 1558-1603, Being a Study in the History of the Book Trade in the Reign of Elizabeth I, 267-69.
little italic type. Italic type therefore becomes more eye-catching than it might otherwise be when regularly interspersed with Roman, as it is in Short’s and others’ prints.

The use of the phrase “with the Violl de Gamba” contrasts with Dowland’s clear use of the word “or” on the title page of his first and third books. The word “with” was quite common though, implying a performance more akin to a continuo part. The viol was becoming increasingly popular at court; Alfonso Ferrabosco, well-known musician, composer, and champion of the viol, was by 1605 teaching Prince Henry music and had a lucrative court appointment. In truth, though, there are nearly as many title page descriptions on how the songs should be performed as to be almost meaningless.

The imprint indicates that Pilkington’s book was printed and sold by Thomas East (referred to in the imprint as T. Este), as opposed to Danyel’s book, which was published and sold by Thomas Adams and merely printed by East. East mentions no assignor and indeed, none of the lute song books from 1605 do, since it was during the period in which he was in a legal battle with Barley over the right to print certain music books East had registered with the Stationers’ Company. Barley eventually settled his dispute with East (who was forced to pay reparations to the now-recognized music patent holder) and many music prints after 1605 included the phrase “the assigne of William Barley” in their imprints.66

**Robert Jones, Ultimum Vale (1605, John Windet)**

Windet’s printing of Robert Jones’ *Ultimum Vale*, his third book of songs, presents us with another interesting case of political and economic connections between printers, patrons, and composers. The title page is, with the exception of an additional ornament at the

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bottom of the page, the same one used in the 1593 edition of The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia by Sir Philip Sidney (the 1590 edition did not use this engraving since it was a quarto) also printed by Windet, making the connections between the Sidney family and this book twofold, though second-hand. Not only did Windet have a professional connection to the Sidneys, but Robert Jones had dedicated his first book of songs (1600) to Robert Sidney, Earl of Leicester and Philip’s brother.

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67 STC 22540. Interestingly enough, several printers printed editions of Arcadia. A 1598 edition printed by Richard Field (STC 22541) uses the same engraving under discussion here. Editions from 1605 (STC 22543 and 22543a) printed by Humphrey Lownes use the “astronomer’s engraving” used by Peter Short, and a 1613 edition by Lownes reuses the 1593 title page engraving.
ULTIMUM VALE,
with a triplicity of Musicke,
WHEREOF
The first part is for the Lute, the
Voyce, and the Viole Degambo. The
2. part is for the Lute, the Viole, and four
 partes to sing, The third part is for
two Trebles, to sing either to
the Lute, or the Viole or to
both, if any please.
Composed by ROBERT JONES.
Sae prosum singula, multa imnunt.
Printed at London by John Windet, and
are to be sold by Simon Waterfles, in
Powles Churchyard, at the Signe
of the Cowane 1603.
There are descriptions of the Sidney engraving in both McKerrow’s *Title Page Borders* and Corbett and Lightbown’s *The Comely Frontispiece*, but I will summarize here for the reader.68 There are clearly two separate engravings on the title page, the first is the *Arcadia* engraving and the second is an elaborate engraving (one I am calling the “winged half-man”) that Windet used in several of his other prints (see Appendix Two for a reproduction).69 The *Arcadia* engraving consists of a border in scrollwork and grotesqueries, the left-hand side with a shepherd standing on a column holding a crook in one hand and the top scrollwork in the other. The right-hand side has an Amazon wearing a breastplate and carrying a sword and she holds the top scrollwork with her right hand. The top scrollwork features a bear on the left and a lion on the right, both flanking Sir Philip Sidney’s crest (‘a porcupine passant . . . quilled collared and chained’).70 The bottom half of the engraving consists of scrollwork below the right and left-hand side columns, in the middle of which is a fairly large oval frame surrounded with pearl and diamond shaped designs. Inside this frame a boar backs away from a marjoram bush, around which a scroll proclaiming *spiro non tibi* (“I breathe out [sweet scents] but not for thee”).71 In essence, the combination of boar and motto signifies that those of evil or lacking in virtue will not reap any benefit from worthy or virtuous teachings.72 The “To the Reader” preface in the 1593 edition makes obvious

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69 In the middle of the scrollwork is a man’s torso facing forward with his arms entwined in the scrolls, flanked on both sides by the profiles of two women’s upper bodies.


71 Ibid., 60.

72 Ibid., 62-3.
references to this motto; for example, the editor, Sanford, refers to those who disagree with decision to publish a new edition as “Cattell.” In the mountainous background, behind the boar, stands a church surrounded by trees. As Corbett and Lightbown point out, the design refers most specifically to *Arcadia*; the two figures represent *Arcadia*’s heroes, Musidorus and Pyrocles, and the bear and lion at the top are present in *Arcadia* as well.

Though we can infer a relation between the title page engraving, *Arcadia*, and certain comments in the prefatory material in the 1593 edition of *Arcadia*, it is much less likely that any blatant connections exist between the symbolism in the title page engraving and Jones’ *Ultimum vale*. First, the relationship between Sidney and Jones or Windet is second-hand: both Jones and Windet had business or patronal relationships with Sidney’s brother, not Sir Philip himself. Secondly, the prefatory material in *Ultimum vale* is dedicated to Prince Henry, and the “To the Reader” is a humble abasement in which Jones describes himself as a “father” to his “issue” (his ayres), who would rather praise his “children” than criticize them.73 Thirdly, I have found no relationship between the texts of the songs in *Ultimum vale* and any of Philip or Robert Sidney’s works. Perhaps no explicit relationship between the songs and the title page exists, but we can still see why Windet would choose to use this engraving for Jones’ book. Not only is it a striking image, but an educated consumer, one familiar with noble crests and Sidney’s *Arcadia*, might find his eye drawn to a book with the same title page engraving as a well-known publication.

The title page’s text and imprint follow the pattern set forth by Dowland and Short in 1597.

*VLTIMVM VALE*,

with a triplicity of Musicke,

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73 Jones, *Ultimam Vale*. 
WHEREOF

The first part is for the Lute, the Voyager, and the Viole Degambo, The
2. part is for the Lute, the Viole, and foure partes to sing. The third part is for
two Trebles, to sing either to the Lute, or the Viole or to both, if any please.
Composed by ROBERT IONES.
Quæ prosunt singula, multa iuuant.
Printed at London by John Windet, and
are to be sold by Simon Waterson, in
Powles Churchyeard, at the Signe of the Crowne 1605.

The first part of the title, Ultimum vale (“final farewell”), is in all large capitals and
italicized, emphasizing its significance. And significant it is, for in its title it bears a direct
imitation of John Dowland’s The Third and Last Booke of Songs, published two years earlier.
This third book was not the first time in which Jones had styled himself after John Dowland.
Compare for example the titles of both composer’s first books: they are nearly identical right
up to the composer’s names (I would say identical but for the change of an “or” to an “and”
in Jones’ book). Both have a Latin quote on the front. Both were printed by Peter Short.
Both contain twenty-one songs. A year after Dowland’s second book was printed, Jones’
second book was released. And while Jones did dare to strike out a bit on his own in his
second book with the inclusion of lyra viol parts, Ultimum vale finds him returning to his
imitative ways. The contents too are again quite similar: Dowland’s third book contains
several songs for one voice with lute and/or viol, a series of songs with four voice parts, and
concludes with a dialogue song. Though the numbers of the types of songs vary in Ultimum
vale, the types themselves follow exactly, even in the same order.74

74 The next chapter will compare some of the textual elements of Dowland’s and Jones’ books with an eye
towards imitation.
Moving on to consider the layout of the title page, we find that although the composer’s name is not nearly as large as the title, it is set off with extra line spacing, initial capitals and small capitals for the remaining letters with extra space between each letter. This way of setting the composer’s name was used in all of Windet’s lute song books.\(^75\)

Jones’ name is also set off by the subtitle seemingly dwindling down to nothing as the font decreases in size and significance with fewer and fewer words to a line. The effect created is like a typeset bow, and it is one we shall see again when looking at the dedicatory epistles.

Windet identifies himself as the printer, but like many of the books he printed, it was sold not at his own shop, but rather at the shop of Simon Waterson, a bookseller.\(^76\) Notably, Waterson’s shop was listed also as the place to buy the 1605 edition of Sidney’s *Arcadia*, printed by Humphrey Lownes.\(^77\)

We come across once again the quote from Ovid’s *Remedia amoris* – *qua prosunt singula, multa iuuant* – and again it is missing the negative *non* found in the original text, an 814-line poem in which Ovid offers advice on how to cure oneself of love. The “means” referred to in the original text are Ovid’s various cures; which, used one at a time might be considered vain, but when combined together, will cure the reader.\(^78\) Used without the

\(^75\) Windet set the author’s name this way in many of his prints, not just music ones.

\(^76\) Of the Windet’s lute song book prints, two make no mention of a bookseller other than Windet (Hume and Greaves), three were to be sold at John Browne’s shop (Ford, Bartlet, and Coprario1), and two were to be sold at Waterson’s shop (Jones3 and 4).

\(^77\) *STC* 22543. How convenient it would be if the 1605 *Arcadia* had used the 1593 title page engraving, and we could imagine the Jones book sold side by side with *Arcadia*, both with the same striking title page. Instead, the engraving used was the “astronomers” engraving Lownes had obtained on marriage to Peter Short’s widow. However, even later editions of *Arcadia* did use the 1593 engraving.

\(^78\) The lines following the quote in Jones’ book are:

*Parva necat morsu spatiosum vipera taurum:*
*A cane non magno saepe tenetur aper.*
*Tu tantum numero pugna, praeceptaque in unum*
*Contrahe: de multis grandis acervus erit.*
negative and in the context of the lute song books, one is led to believe that Jones (equated with Ovid) intends the reader, the musician, to find a cure (for bad music?) therein, perhaps something along the lines of “One song will provide some benefit (you’ll become a better musician), but play them all and you’ll really be good.” All Jones’ books except the second book of ayres use this motto. Given the pattern, I suspect that the missing “non” is intentional and that it was Robert Jones himself who wanted the quote included, as a kind of personal motto. The only other lute song books with Latin mottos on the front are Dowland’s first and third books, while Dowland’s Lachrimae or Seven Teares bears a Latin motto on its title page as well. Certainly all the quotes in the Dowland books hold some significance to either his personal or professional life; we may then suppose that he was at least in part involved in the publication process, and by extension, so may Jones have been.

**Morley’s First Booke of Ayres (1600, William Barley/Henry Ballard)**

The least flashy of the lute songbooks from the first generation of lute song printers, Morley’s *First Booke* (1600) has a simple title page design of an engraved arabesque border containing title, author, and imprint along with a coat of arms. The title page’s style is

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(The bite of a tiny adder will lay low a bull. Often a hound of modest size will hold a boar at bay. Gather all these remedies together; numbers will win)


79 The typesetting on the second book’s title page is rather sloppy, and there was barely room for the publication date, so perhaps the quotation was supposed to be included in this book as well and could not be fit. “All of Jones’ books” in this case includes his *First set of madrigals* (London: John Windet, 1607, STC 14737). I should mention that Dowland’s *Second Booke* as well is lacking a Latin motto.

80 The Latin quote on Dowland’s *Third Booke* (London: Peter Short, 1603) has some illegible characters, but it appears to be “Bona quo communoria eo meliora (Good becomes better by sharing). The quote in Lachrimae or Seven Teares is Aut furit, aut Lachrimat, quem non Fortuna beavit (Whom Fortune has not blessed, he either rages or weeps). Translation from Peter Holman, *Dowland--Lachrimae (1604)* (Cambridge, U.K: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 12.
essentially that of the madrigal books of the period. As J.A. Lavin points out in his 1969 article on Barley

Of these eight items [which bear no other printer’s name], two printed in 1599 (13563 and 18131) share an ornamental initial / and clearly came from the same press. Moreover, 13563 displays the McKerrow device 322, which in 1597 was in the possession of the obscure London printer Henry Ballard. McKerrow does not record the fact that 322 had earlier belonged to Richard Tottel (who used it in 1572 in STC 3393), to whom Ballard was apprenticed. It therefore seems significant that the title-page border used in the other book, 18131, is last recorded in the hands of Tottel. We may conclude that 13563 and 18131 were printed for Barley by Henry Ballard.81

McKerrow device 322 is the same device on the front of Morley’s Ayres, which also contains the initial / of which Lavin is speaking, so we may assume that it was Ballard who actually printed Morley’s Ayres rather than Barley.

THE FIRST BOOKE OF AYRES.
OR LITTLE SHORT SONGS, TO SING AND PLAY TO THE LVTE, WITH THE BASE VIOLE.
NEWLY PUBLISHED BY THOMAS MORLEY BACHELOR OF MUSICK, AND ONE OF THE GENIUS OF HER MAJESTIES ROYAL CHAPEL.

Imprinted at London in the hey S. Helen's by William Barley, the assigne of Thomas Morley, and are to be sold at his house in Gracious street. 1600.
Cum Privilegio.

Figure 5: Title page to Morley’s First Booke of Ayres (1600)
The border to Morley’s book is based on an arabesque design of French origin, from Christopher Plantin’s 1567 work, *Index Characterum*. The arabesque design was one that had gained a certain amount of popularity on the continent by the mid-sixteenth century, and was originally based on Moorish and Arabic designs made known through patterns of commerce from Constantinople to Venice and Navarre. Though the designs were initially used in embroidery and book bindings in the late fifteenth century, by the early 1500s the invention of a tool that created arabesque patterns (called a *petit-fers*) had made their use possible in typographical design. The design Ballard used had been used previously in England, specifically in a book printed in 1578 by Ralph Newberie and Henry Bynnyman. Ballard’s border design is very similar to Newberie and Bynnyman’s (though clearly not the same); note the four flowers in the middle meet together to form a circle and each flower has a leaf on both sides. The right and left flowers have vine-like lines extending outwards towards top and bottom flourishes and two smaller middle flourishes, while the upper and lower flowers have lines that close out the figure and overlap the right and left’s lines. On the whole, Ballard’s design is just not as refined – whether this is a result of a less-skilled engraver or simply an overuse of printer’s ink is difficult to say from facsimile copies.

Figure 6: Enlarged border arabesque used by Newberie and Newberie and Bynnyman (left) juxtaposed with border arabesque used by Ballard in Morley’s Booke of Ayres (right)

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The coat of arms is identified in McKerrow’s *Printers’ and Publishers’ Devices* as number 322, “a frame enclosing a shield . . . [with] the motto, *Deus in aeternum,*” and McKerrow suggests the arms might be those of J. Bossewell, who wrote the book *Works of Armory* (1572, printed by Richard Tottel, and 1597, printed by Ballard), in which the device first appeared. Ballard used the device in another music book, Anthony Holborne’s 1599 *Pavans, Galliards, etc.*

The title, author, and imprint of Morley’s book show marked differences to other books from this first generation, just as the lack of a complex engraving did. Following the pattern of his books of canzonets, Morley downplays the significance of his songs, calling them “little short songs” (a literal translation of “canzonet” perhaps, but not of ayre). Other authors from the time highlighted their books’ length, level of difficulty, etc., and it seems likely that this was a potential selling point for the books. *A very short and pithie catechisme (STC 586), Ane shorte and generall confession of the trewe Christiane faith (STC 22019), A Godly and short treatise vpon the Lordes prayer (STC 16814.5), and The Psalmes of David*

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83 Note how much more complex Plantin’s design is, with more elaborate scrolling on each side of the flower, and closed rather than open onion dome shapes on the left and right sides, but the essential characteristics are the same.

in meter the plaine song . . . with tenne short tunnes in the end (STC 2497) are all examples of this pattern.

Unlike Dowland’s and Jones’ books, Morley’s songs are all for one voice, with lute and/or viol accompaniment, but the title suggests no adaptability in performance: like Pilkington’s songs, they are (in the composer’s eye) meant to be played to the lute and viol. Ballard and Morley instead chose to emphasize Morley’s name and his status at court. Notice how large Morley’s name is with the second-largest font on the page, further emphasized with well-spaced italics. The bottom of the title page holds the imprint and includes Morley’s name once again as assignor of Barley’s rights to print the book, with the phrase “cum privilegio” below.85

On the whole, Ballard’s title page design is significantly less inspired than those of East, Short, and Windet. The emphasis in Morley’s book is on the author and his credentials, with little other attempt to draw the buyer’s eye to the book through use of ornament or engraving. Of the composers discussed above, Morley was likely the most widely known and most published, so it is possible they thought to sell based on the composer’s name alone. The basic repeated arabesque border has no special significance and neither does it appear that the coat of arms conveys any particular meaning.

**William Corkine’s Ayres (1610, William Stansby)**

William Stansby printed William Corkine’s *Ayres* in the same year he succeeded to John Windet’s business. He made a name for himself during his career and is somewhat of a

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85 Though perhaps not as common in England as on the Continent, a quick search of EEBO finds nearly 700 titles that include the *cum privilegio* in their imprints.
study in contradiction; he was fined several times by the Stationers’ Company, but was also the printer of the very grand folio *The Workes of Benjamin Jonson* of 1616.\(^{86}\)

This appears to be three different engravings put together to form a title-page border. The horizontal image must have been inherited from Windet, since it appears in many of Windet’s lute song book publications. A copy from a Windet print shows a center man/child sitting on a pedestal holding a peacock in each hand while archers shoot suspiciously long arrows toward the center; the edges show a rabbit crouching on a branch above a long-horned bull. Stansby cropped the sides of the engraving on Corkine’s title page, cutting off the image before the rabbit and bull figures. The sides consist of two repeating figures on the left- and right-hand sides of the page: the top figure is an older man wearing military garb and holding a pike and the bottom figure is a woman with a drooping headdress holding what appears to be an arrow with a child kneeling at the woman’s feet with an arm wrapped around her legs looking up at her. I have not been able to find the side engravings in any other book from the time nor have I been able to find a reference to either the side or top engravings in McKerrow or Johnson’s catalogues.\(^{87}\) The last engraving on the title page is a printer’s device located in between the author’s name and the imprint and also first used by Windet, in 1592. McKerrow identifies it as a “framed device of a man standing with hands upraised and receiving an indistinguishable object ([William] Herbert, p. 1229, calls it a

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\(^{86}\) STC 14751.

book) and a wheatsheaf from the clouds. At his feet two birds labelled[sic] Peace, Plentie.

Motto, *Thou shalt labor for*, or, *For thou shalt labor.*”

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88 McKerrow, *Printers' & Publishers' Devices in England & Scotland, 1485-1640*, 113. McKerrow’s reference to Herbert is actually Ames, Joseph, *Typographical antiquities: or an historical account of the origin and progress of printing in Great Britain and Ireland*, William Herbert, ed., 3 vols. (London, 1785-90). Herbert suggested that the full motto was *Thou shalt labor for Peace and Plentie* (in other words, that the motto was completed in the banners held by the doves).
AYRES,
TO
SING AND PLAY
TO THE LYTE AND
BASSE VIOLL.
With Pavins, Galliards, Almaines, and
Corantos for the Lyra
VIOLL.
By William Corkine.

LONDON,
Printed by W. Stansby for John Browne, and are to be sold at his
Shop in Saint Dunstan's Church-yard in Fleet-Street.
1650.

Figure 8: Title page to William Corkine's Ayres
The reader’s first impression on seeing Stansby’s print is very poor: the title page is quite sloppily designed and put together. The engravings are poorly set on the page; the edges of several are noticeable, the are not aligned on the page properly, and their edges are cut off at various points. In addition, the images are in completely different styles: the middle engraving is a more whimsical engraving with plants and thin vines while the side engravings are figure-based. Due to these vastly differing images, Stansby has created a jarring and incongruous frame for the title page.

Moving to the title and imprint, we find a presentation even simpler than that of Morley’s book of ayres. The main title, far from offering the buyer a multitude of performance options, presents the pieces simply as three-part songs, along with various dance tunes for the lyra viol. No mention is made of the orpharion; the word “or” is conspicuously absent from the performance description.

AYRES
TO
SING AND PLAY
TO THE LUTE AND
Basse Violl.
With Pauins, Galliards, Almaines, and
Corantos for the Lyra
VIOLL.
By William Corkine.
LONDON
Printed by W. Stansby for John Browne, and are to be sold at his
Shop in Saint Dunstans Church-yard in Fleet-streete.
1610.

Like Barley’s print, Stansby makes extensive use of roman capitals; not until the sixth line does he use lowercase letters. Italics are used sparingly, and with the exception of the words “to” and “violl,” specifically for names. By their sparing use, the italics stand out, and highlight the composer’s name, the printer and publisher, the publisher’s address and the
word “violl.” As the only noun in italic type is not a proper name, some significance ought to be placed on it: Stansby is placing secondary importance on the lyra viol pieces in the book by setting “violl” with a combination of italics and capitals. Corkine’s *Second Booke of Ayres* from 1612, although printed by Thomas Snodham rather than Stansby, also highlights the lyra viol pieces with the text “set to the Lyra-Violl” in italics.

Corkine’s name is set apart to a limited extent by the use of italics, but no honors or titles are attached to his name and it is set in the smallest font used on the page, obscuring the composer’s importance in relation to the book’s contents. Whether he had any honors worth citing is questionable: there are few mentions of him outside his two books of ayres, but even a similarly unknown composer such as John Attey managed to have the phrase “Gentleman and Practitioner in Musicke” included after his name on the title page of his book of ayres.89

**John Maynard’s The XII Wonders of the World (1611, Thomas Snodham)**

The title page of John Maynard’s *The XII Wonders of the World* represents somewhat of an oddity where the lute song books are concerned, largely because any kind of border is absent.90 Snodham used only a small arabesque engraving at the top of the page to set off the title and a small engraved catch or round for up to eight voices to a drone accompaniment placed between the composer’s name and the publication data. Between the size and amount of the title’s text and the round’s explanation, there is not much room for an elaborate border as Snodham used as much of the page’s width as possible.

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90 Three other lute song books lack borders on their title pages: Cavendish’s book (*STC 4878*, printed in 1598) and Jones’ fourth (*STC 14735*, printed in 1609) and fifth (*STC 14736*, printed in 1610) books.
Figure 9: Title page to John Maynard's *The XII Wonders of the World*

The arabesque at the top of the page consists of two repeating images. The first image is an onion dome shape with a vine curving out from either side. The second image
has a flatter curve than the first, and is also a series of vines. This second image is rotated 180° to form the complete figure at the top of the page.

Figure 10: Enlarged first image from border of Maynard’s XII Wonders

Figure 11: Enlarged second image from Maynard’s XII Wonders (original and rotated versions)

Snodham used these figures together and separately in this and others of his prints, including Corkine’s Second Booke of Ayres, where the first image borders various initials and the two images together form a top border to one of the dedicatory letters.

The other engraving on the page is a music staff in the shape of a circle with another staff inside the circle. The staff inside the circle has a C slash (cut) time signature and a C1 clef and a B flat in the key signature, with two d1 longas and a custos. The circular staff has no clef or time signature but a B flat indicates the clef and the tune starts on a d1. The round’s lyrics, printed on the outside of the circle say “Oh followe me Tom Iohn and Wilcok three knaves in A knott followe mee hooe then.” Around the inside of the circle are the numerals 1-8, indicating where each voice should enter. To the left side of the staff is a short explication on how to sing the round: “Eight parts in one up-on one Plaine-song, begin and end where you will, so as you do come in a Semibriefe one after another.” Due to the long notes and rests towards the end of the tune, anything less than four voices makes the round
sound quite sparse (see Figure 11).

Example 1: Round from title page of Maynard’s *XII Wonders of the World*

THE

XII. WONDERS

OF THE WORLD.

Set and composed for the Violl de Gambo, the Lute, and the Voyce to Sing the Verse, all three joyntly, and none seuerall: also Lessons for the Lute and Base Violl to play alone: with some Lessons to play *Lyra-wayes alone, or if you will, to fill vp the parts,* with another Violl set Lute-way.

Newly composed by *John Maynard*, Lutenist at the most famous Schoole of S’. Julians in Hartfordshire.

LONDON:

Printed by *Thomas Snodham* for *John Browne*, and are to be solde at his Shop in Saint *Dunstones* Church-yard in Fleetstreete. 1611.

As with many previous books, the title is extended and presents the potential buyer with several different performance options (and, naturally, reasons to purchase the book), although it must be mentioned that unlike previous books, Maynard specifically states the songs are to be accompanied by lute and viol together. The title announces the presence of instrumental pieces for the lute and bass viol and lyra viol (again, offering performance choices for the latter). Like Stansby’s print discussed above, italics are used sparingly and
effectively highlight important details including the presence of lyra viol pieces and the composer’s, printer’s, and publisher’s names.

Other engraved material

There were many more engravings in sixteenth and seventeenth-century songbooks besides title pages, including printers’ marks, borders, initials, and other ornaments. While it is not the goal of this study to detail every engraving, I will attempt to make some comparisons and explain patterns of use, both within one printer’s output and between several printers.

Though the title page border is certainly the most noticeable engraving, initials, borders, and other engravings provide an ornamental and finished appeal to the final printed book. Plenty of books were printed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries without these ornamental flourishes, so why were they included in the lute songbooks? For one, folios were relatively deluxe prints: they cost more to produce not only because of the cost of paper, but for their elaborate ornaments and designs. Another reason might simply be tradition: manuscripts often had either elaborately designed initials at the beginning of each part, or empty spaces where initials were planned. Ottaviano Petrucci continued this tradition in the Odhecaton, as did other Continental music printers, and so English printers likely followed the traditions of their predecessors. Of course, manuscripts could have individualized illuminations: scholars have written extensively on the relationship between manuscript’s illuminations and the text, between initials and borders, and provenance of manuscripts based on illuminations.91 Unfortunately, however, owing to the lack of

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91 See for example the following, a mere smattering of the many studies on manuscript illumination: Kathleen Wilson Ruffo, “The Illustration of Notated Compendia of Courtly Poetry in Late Thirteenth-century Northern France” (Ph.D. Art history, University of Toronto, 2000); George D. Greenia, “The politics of piety: Manuscript
customization available due to mass-production, book engravings were not individualized at all (excepting perhaps the occasional title page border) and, due to monetary and time constraints, printers used engravings numerous times, passing them down to their business partners through the decades. So while we can not expect to draw any conclusions about firm relationships between engravings and the lute song books, we can determine what choices the printer made when choosing engravings and we can judge how well the printer’s stock was used in those books.

**Engraved Headers and Footers**

Engravings were found in few places other than the title page and initials, and not many of these places were standardized in the early seventeenth century. Of the places where engravings could be found, the most common were above the dedicatory epistle and letter to the reader (when present). About half the time a border was printed around the table of contents, and occasionally there was an additional engraving, usually a coat of arms, on the reverse of the title page. In examining many folios from this era, one finds that this pattern is fairly consistent, if not exactly standard practice. Since these engravings were relatively commonplace and little variation in practice exists within the lute song books, the prints do not show much ingenuity or individualization. However, they do contribute to the overall design and appeal of the prints.

The engravings that often graced the tops of dedicatory pages were either scrollworks or arabesques created with repeating pieces of type or larger images that contained illumination and narration in the "Cantigas de Santa María"," Hispanic review 61, no. 3 (1993): 325-344; Pilar Falcón, “El manuscrito ilustrado: Su antigüedad, su valor como signo de prestigio social y sus funciones,” in El manuscrito ilustrado: Su antigüedad y su valor como signo de prestigio social y sus funciones (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1999).
grotesqueries, scrolls, vine work, or mythological figures, but the number of different images used was quite limited. Throughout all 29 lute song books, only thirteen different ornaments (not counting repeating arabesques and coats of arms) were used (see Appendix Two for images).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ornament name</th>
<th>Printer</th>
<th>Book Sigla</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Winged half man (Eros?)</td>
<td>Windet</td>
<td>Greaves, Hume, Jones3, Bartlet, Coprario1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Jones5, Corkine1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two archers</td>
<td>Windet</td>
<td>Greaves, Coprario1, Ford</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Snodham</td>
<td>Corkine2, RDowland, Coprario2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bear and hunters</td>
<td>Short</td>
<td>Cavendish, Dowland3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Windet</td>
<td>Hume, Jones3, Bartlet, Jones4, Ford</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two letter As</td>
<td>Windet</td>
<td>Coprario1, Ford</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mask within vines</td>
<td>Windet</td>
<td>Jones3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grotesque mask with scrollwork</td>
<td>Snodham</td>
<td>Coprario2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grotesquerie with horses</td>
<td>Short</td>
<td>Cavendish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lion and dragon with crown</td>
<td>Short</td>
<td>Jones2, Rosseter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IHS compartment similar to McKerrow 182-187</td>
<td>Short</td>
<td>Jones2, Rosseter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lion &amp; unicorn on sides of flowers &amp; vines (thistle &amp; rose)</td>
<td>Snodham</td>
<td>Campion1&amp;2, Attey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crown and ich dien symbol (Prince of Wales’ badge)</td>
<td>Snodham</td>
<td>Coprario2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Device 92 from McKerrow (printer, Richard Grafton’s mark)</td>
<td>Ballard</td>
<td>Morley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scottish Thistle, Tudor Rose, Fleur-de-lis alternating</td>
<td>Snodham</td>
<td>Dowland4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Ornamental engravings used in Lute Song Books

The first three devices were used in multiple publications by more than one printer, and twice were used by two or more different printers with no apparent professional connections.
(Barley’s use of an ornament used by Windet and Stansby, and Snodham’s repeated use of a Windet ornament).

Although most of these have little relation to their texts, four at least can be placed in the context of the time at which they were published. For example, the lion and dragon ornament used in two books printed in 1601 symbolized the English monarchy: the supporters to Elizabeth I’s Royal Arms were the English Royal lion and the Welsh dragon. Two later prints, published ca. 1613 and 1622, included ornaments flanked by a lion and a unicorn (when James I became King of England, he removed the Welsh dragon and replaced it with the Scottish unicorn). Of the four composers whose books bear these ornaments, only Rosseter and Campion had any significant relation to the Royal Court: Rosseter’s though, came after his book was published in 1601, and Campion’s relationship was largely based on his association with various court masques written and performed in James I’s reign. The third ornament that holds some significance in relation to its text is the Prince of Wales’ Badge in John Coprario’s Songs of Mourning: Bewailing the untimely death of Prince Henry (1613). The badge features three feathers and a coronet over the motto “Ich Dien” (I serve), with the letters H and P (Henry Prince) on either side of the coronet. The last, present as a header to the dedication and letter to the reader in Dowland’s A Pilgrimes Solace, is a repeating pattern of the Scottish thistle, the Tudor rose, and the Fleur-de-lis. It appears to be one complete engraving rather than several pieces of type.

Besides these engraved ornaments, printers used pieces of type with arabesques or other repeating designs on them as borders, separators, and ornaments in their books. All lute song printers except for Windet occasionally used them as headers to the dedications and

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letters to the reader, and they were often used as borders for tables of contents (all but one
had tables of contents, and about half had borders around the tables). Like the borders on the
covers of Morley’s *Book of Ayres* and Maynard’s *XII Wonders of the World*, they were made
of repeating individual blocks of type, sometimes two or three high or with the image
alternately rotated to create a different pattern.

Coats of arms were occasional additions to lute song books as well, and usually
appeared on the reverse of the title page. The addition of an arms engraving to a book was
another reminder to the dedicatee that he was the patron; it linked the patron and the
composers visually, reminding the potential buyer of the composer’s genteel connections (if
the patron’s name in large type on the facing page were not enough). Five books contain
clothes of arms: Dowland’s first and third, Jones’ second, and Rosseter’s and Cavendish’s
books. Both the coats of arms in Dowland’s books were those of the books’ dedicatees: in
the first book, Sir George Carey, and in the third, Sir John Souch (although his knighthood
status was not mentioned in Dowland’s dedication).93 The coat of arms in Rosseter’s book is
that of Sir Thomas Monson, and the one at the beginning of Jones’ second book belonged to
Sir Henry Lennard (referred to as Leonard in the dedication).

Arms engravings were among the most well-crafted engravings in these books,
second only at times to the title pages. All but one of the coats of arms used in lute song
books included the majority of arms elements: they contained the shield (with charge and
field), helm, crest, wreath, and mantling, and Sir George Carey’s arms in Dowland’s first
book is complete with motto and supporters. The coat of arms at the end of Cavendish’s *14
Ayres in Tabletorie*, however, presents us with an unusual case. Firstly, it is at the end of the

93 Poulton, *John Dowland*, 218, 274.
book, printed next to the table of contents, secondly, it is much plainer. It consists only of
the shield, charged with three stags’ heads, it is simply not as well engraved as the other
coats of arms, and it is not as well laid out. As a result, its placement at the end of the book
inside an uneven border seems merely an afterthought. However, Cavendish is the family
name of the current Dukes (and formerly Earls) of Devonshire, and their coat of arms
includes three stags’ heads inside the shield.94 Michael Cavendish was related to William
Cavendish, the future First Earl of Devonshire (Michael’s father was William Cavendish’s
cousin), and Michael Cavendish’s lute song book was dedicated to Lady Arabella Stuart, a
niece of William Cavendish.

**Initials**95

Decorative letters, initials, as separate from the main body of a text have a long and
distinguished history in manuscript and in print. Manuscript initials could be highly
individualized, highly detailed and colorful drawings with or without textual significance.
Considering only music manuscripts, we have such delightful examples as the Squarcialupi
Codex (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Med.Pal.87) and the Paris, Bibliothèque
Nationale de France fr. 146 manuscript of the *Roman de Fauvel*, but of course many more
exist. Functionally, initials might call attention to a new section of text, to set it apart from
what came before and what followed, and aesthetically they serve to beautify and highlight

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94 Charles Catton, *The English Peerage or, a View Of the Ancient and Present State of the English Nobility: To
Which Is Subjoined, a Chronological Account of Such Titles as Have Become Extinct, ... In Three Volumes*

95 Though technically not a part of the paratext, situated largely within the body proper of lute songs books, I
have chosen to discuss initials in this chapter rather than a later chapter for two reasons. First, there are initials,
often quite attractive ones, used in the dedicatory epistles and the letters to the reader, and second, as a non-
musical and image-based element, they seemed to fit properly within an analysis of other engraved images
rather than with a discussion of texts or music.
the texts they accompany. As handwritten texts gave way to printed books, the initial fell to the vagaries of economics and time constraints, and lost their color as well as their connection to the text. This is not the place for a historical overview of the use of initials throughout history; suffice it to say that by the late sixteenth century, use of woodblock initials was commonplace in printed books in England and the Continent.

Lute song books do present an interesting case for the study of initials due to printers’ unusually high use of them, especially larger ones, in comparison to other printed works of the time. In my perusal of various late sixteenth and early seventeenth century folio texts I have found that use of initials was relatively sparing, even in such notable works as Ben Jonson’s works, the Shakespeare Folio, and the folio (1593 and others) editions of The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia. For example, in the Arcadia, which was about 240 pages in length, initials were used at the beginnings of the dedication, the address to the reader, and the beginnings of each book (book in the literary sense, rather than the physical one). In comparison, the lute song book usually had large initials (initials taking up more than two lines of text or one musical line) at the beginning of the dedication, the letter to the reader, and the beginning of each cantus line of music. Smaller initials were used to start each additional voice part and often the first letter of the title of instrumental pieces in the books as well. Given the average length of a lute song book, that could add up to over eighty


97 I chose to look at other folios because they are comparative to the lute song books in size, cost (to the printer and the consumer), and cache. Other folios examined include **Acts and monuments of matters most speciall and memorabe (STC 11226)**, printed by Short in 1596, and a folio edition of **The whole booke of Psalmes (STC 2491)** printed by Windet in 1597.
initials used in an entire book of perhaps fifty pages. Compared to Sidney’s *Arcadia*, in which seven were used over the course of nearly 240 pages, we see that the lute song book could prove to be very burdensome on the printer’s resources.

Despite this burden, all of the printers followed the traditional practice of using an initial at the beginning of every voice part, although some used smaller initials than others, and individual initial engravings were used multiple times throughout a print. Two main types of initials were used: ones in which the letters were already engraved and ones in which a small space was hollowed out in the middle for a piece of type. Most smaller initials (those used for voice parts other than the melody) were of the latter type, whereas most initials used for the cantus part and for the dedications were of the former. Some exceptions, of course, did exist (Windet used a fair number of the latter type in his books), but an examination of the initials used in cantus parts bears this out. Appendices Two, Three, Four, and Five are examples of the lute song printers’ large initials grouped by style.

A word about styles before we move forward: Stephen Harvard classified Plantin’s initials using the following system, which I too shall use in describing initials.

**Descriptive of Lettering:** Roman, *Tourné* (‘unical’ or ‘lombardic’ letters), *Cadeau* (“fanciful letters of calligraphic origin”), and Exotic (foreign letters).

**Descriptive of Decoration:** *Fleurie* (“floral or stylized botanical decoration”), *Criblé* (“letter appears negative on a solid ground scattered with dots or minute figures”), Arabesque, Grotesque (“involving strapwork, rollwork, cartouches, and volutes as a setting for fantastic caryatids, cars, animals, trophies, and the like”), and Historiated (“literal illustration as means of embellishment”).

Examining the initials in Appendix Three, pulled from Peter Short’s lute song books, we find two obvious sets of initials along with several other random initials that do not fit into a set (at least, they do not fit into a set based on lute song prints alone). Almost all of the

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large initials Short uses are large enough to span the height of the voice part and lute parts combined, making for an even and complete start to each piece. The only significant exceptions to this practice are the capital M in both the 1597 and 1600 printings of Dowland’s *First Booke*, which are just tall enough for the voice part (see for example “My thoughts are winged with hopes”), and Jones’ *Second Booke* of 1601, in which thirteen of the 21 cantus parts use smaller initials. In these instances, Short compensates for the small initial by printing the tablature staff all the way out to the margin. All the initials have roman lettering, but it is the style of decoration around them that makes them distinct. The two sets of very similar-looking initials that Short uses the most are set 1) a roman *fleurie* and grotesque with faces and set 2) a roman *fleurie* and grotesque with larger figures.

Set 1 uses stylized vines and flowers that are usually punctuated by small faces in the middle (placement of the faces varies from top to center to bottom). The faces are grotesqueries (see for example the figure inside the G, which resembles a bat) and are set apart from the flow of the vines. Compare these with set 2, where the half-human creatures flow out into and out of the vines and the three initials in set 3, which are grouped together for their denser texture with half-human creatures. Among the initials that do not belong to an obvious set, the last four stand out for their historiated designs, as does the initial A with Elizabeth I’s initials and motto.  

99 The smaller initial Ms are a curiosity. I have checked some of Short’s prints before and after Dowland’s *First Booke* in 1597, and Short did own more than one large initial M at the time of the Dowland prints. And to repeat the smaller initial in the second printing strikes me just as odd since some initials did change between the two editions.

100 This last initial I found used only once in Short’s lute song books, with Rosseter’s song “And Would You Faine the Reason Know.” According to Robin Wells, this song has some connection to Elizabeth. get the book to quote
Short was quite consistent in his use of smaller initials in the lower parts. Whenever a part included song text, a small engraved initial was used, and where a part was intended to be played rather than sung, he used no initial letter at all, creating an obvious and easy-to-follow pattern to distinguish between voice and instrumental parts. I have found no instances where an initial was mistakenly left out or inserted where it did not belong: unlike some other printers, Short seems to have taken some care to ensure this level of consistency. All the initials were of a size to fit directly to the left of the staff without causing a gap between the first and second staves. The initials’ styles varied wildly, possibly due to the fact that three different initials of the same letter had to be used on the same page: the printer used whatever stock he had to fill the page. However, this taxing on the printer’s resources was alleviated by the ability to use engraved blocks inside of which a piece of type was placed: having just three of these blocks allowed the printer to use multiple initials on the same page without extensive stock. I would estimate that Short used these blocks about half the time, and have found five of these blocks of different styles in Short’s prints, the two smallest of which (one with a clover shaped cut out and the other a design with four tassel-like objects radiating out from the center) were used exclusively in the bassus parts.

Unlike Short, Thomas East seems to have had fewer large initials with which to work. East used only two initials of the same size as Short’s largest: an A and a W, both roman historiated initials (see Appendix Four). Only one dedicatory epistle among his three printed books uses one of these large initials: that of Pilkington’s First Booke. In comparing East’s relatively small lute song book output with his other prints, I have found that he consistently uses medium-sized initials and find only sparing use of large initials. These medium-sized initials were just the right height to match two regular staves with adequate space in between.
for lyrics; a glance at one of his prints for William Byrd confirms this. To accommodate the larger span of the combination of voice and lute staves, East usually bordered his initials with arabesques, effectively filling in what would otherwise be blank space, as in Figure 12.

![Figure 12: Initial (enlarged) for the cantus part of Dowland’s “Fine knacks for ladies” from The Second Booke of Songs or Ayres](image)

When East did use the occasional large initial, it usually ended up affecting the page’s spacing, nearly cutting off the top of the staff below it on the page, as seen in Figure 13.

![Figure 13: The initial letter of Pilkington’s “Alas faire face”](image)

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101 See for example *STC 4250.5 (Mass for four voices)* or *STC 4254 (Psalmes, sonets, & songs of sadnes and pietie)*.
The most complete set of medium-sized initials East used was a roman, grotesque historiation with images of apostles inside them. These were used quite frequently in his lute song prints, and he had at least fifteen letters of the alphabet in this style (judging solely from the lute song books). His largest initials were historiations, and his other medium-sized initials were a mix of *lettres fleurie* and grotesques in the roman style.

East’s use of smaller initials for other parts was quite different from Short’s. Firstly, he used initials for purely instrumental parts in addition to voice parts, thus breaking the visual separation between voice and instrumental parts that Short had instituted. In addition, there was very little consistency in his small initial use, for sometimes he used blocks or ornamented initials, and other times he used initials in both plain roman and kind of half roman/half *lettre cadeau* style, both lacking any border or design (this latter type was used more frequently).

Thomas Snodham, as East’s successor, generally followed East’s printing patterns in his numerous lute song books. He used the same initials East had used in his lute song book prints, with some additional stock (see Appendix Four for examples). Unfortunately for the quality and beauty of the books, Snodham was even less consistent in his use of initials than East was. For example, for the top voice part he used at least three different sizes of initial, and did not always put a top and bottom border on the smaller ones to fill up the empty space. He too lacked a standard when it came to adding initials to instrumental parts: in Corkine’s *Second Book* and Maynard’s *XII Wonders of the World*, he used initials on the instrumental parts; in Coprario’s *Songs of Mourning* and Ferrabosco’s *Ayres* he did not. In the Coprario book the bass viol parts are indented just enough to hold a small initial and there
is enough space between the staves for a text incipit, leading the reader to believe that the book was perhaps rushed through printing to meet demand for materials mourning Prince Henry’s passing while that demand was at its height. In Ferrabosco’s book, on the other hand, the bass lines are often crammed in at the top of the page, and nowhere is the part indented as if it was intended to hold an initial.

John Windet’s use of initials might be called “consistently inconsistent.” Occasionally within a single print one might find a pattern, but with each print a different pattern emerges, suggesting that Windet approached the use of initials in a haphazard way, at least as regards his lute song books. He had at least two sets of large initials in addition to at least two large blocks that could hold pieces of type (see Appendix Five). The first set, a roman *lettre fleurie*, was used solely in Jones’ *A Musicall Dreame*, the remaining prints by Windet varied between sets two, three, and four. Set two consists of roman historiated initials, and sets three and four are both blocks, three being another roman historiated set, while four is roman *lettre fleurie* (sets three and four are used most frequently among Windet’s other lute song books).

Windet’s use of both large and medium (and on the rare occasion, even small) initials in the top voice parts serves to further the opinion that he chose initials without care. Sometimes, as in Bartlet’s *A Booke of Ayres*, he would use a quite small initial in a space that had been laid out to take a much larger one, creating an unfinished look to the page, as in Figure 14.

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102 Though perhaps a bit morbid to modern sensibilities, many texts were printed in late 1612 and 1613 that either mention or are dedicated to the memory of Prince Henry, including *STC* 25915, 25023, 23760.5, 19513.5, 18525, 4974, 5128, 6339, and 13323.
Other times he set the music on the page so tightly that there was simply no room for an initial, as in Coprario’s setting of “In Darknesse Let me Dwell,” where the music and text take up significantly more room on the page than the average lute song did. In cases such as this, he was forced to use quite unnoticeable initials to fit on the page, as in Figure 15, where the letter I fades so far into the background that it almost looks like a misplaced C clef.
Windet’s use of smaller initials in additional voice and instrumental parts is just as inconsistent. Sometimes in the bass viol parts he used them, as in Jones’ *A Musicall Dreame*, and other times he didn’t, as in Jones’ *Ultimum Vale*, where even with the presence of text incipits, initials are lacking. His one area of consistency was in the use of initials at the start of purely instrumental pieces such as can be found in Hume’s *The First Part of Ayres* or Ford’s *Musicke of Sundrie Kindes*. Initials here serve much more of a functional purpose than they do in the lute songs, since the instrumental pieces were printed one after another, often multiple works on one page and with no added space in between them. Without initials, it would be nearly impossible for the reader to determine where one piece ended and the next began.

William Stansby, successor to Windet’s business, showed more consistency in his two lute song prints, regularly using a larger initial for the top voice, and a small initial for the bass viol parts in Jones’ *The Muses Gardin for Delights* and Corkines’ *Ayres*, both printed in 1610. Despite the lack of a printer’s name on the title page of *The Muses Gardin for Delights* (instead only the assignor’s name, William Barley appears), an attribution may be made to Stansby based on the inclusion of the winged half man engraving above the dedication, the fonts, and on some of the smaller initials used.\(^{103}\)

The last of our printers, Henry Ballard, printed only one book of lute songs, and as such it is hard to determine any kind of definite pattern in his work, especially since the only surviving copy is incomplete. However, we can say that Ballard consistently used one set of medium-sized engraved initials in this and his other assumed musical print, *Madrigalls to

\(^{103}\) The larger initials are a completely different set than what Stansby used in his other lute song print and what Windet used in his. However, I have found large initials that appear to be from the same set in some of Windet’s non-music prints.
foure voyces by John Bennet (STC 1882) of a roman, lettre fleurie style. He made no attempt to adjust or embellish the initials to fill up the empty space caused by the taller combination of voice and lute staves, and all initials were aligned with the tops of the voice parts; the bass viol parts all have text incipits begun with plain roman initials (see Appendix Six for examples).

**Conclusion**

The image-based paratexts examined over the course of this chapter speak to a genre that was both conforming to and subverting the printing norms of its day. First, they were printed in folio, a more expensive and usually more luxurious book format unusual for music prints of the time normally released in quarto or smaller (particularly for the *Psalms of David in Meter*). Following the pattern of finer folio prints of the day, the lute song books regularly used quite elegant and eye-catching title page engravings designed to exude a sense of fineness and quality and attract the potential buyer. These engravings, though used in many different prints, sometimes over the course of several decades, could serve as a signal to the potential buyer that music was contained therein. This we have seen with East/Snodham’s well-used title page border, which after 1605 was used for nothing except music prints, and Short’s Astronomers engraving, used for music books after 1597 (with one exception).

Title pages, of which extra copies were printed to post as advertisements, could be carefully designed and worded to boost sales. Some printers used careful application of italics and font sizes to emphasize those elements they thought most likely to attract an audience. For some books, that might have been the composer himself: Short and East both set the composers’ names in italic, Windet set his composer’s names in large and small
capitals with extra spacing between the letters. For other books, the phrase “newly composed” or “newly corrected” was a way to grab the buyer’s attention. And lastly, the inclusion of the printer’s or bookseller’s address in the imprint served to inform and advise the would-be buyer so they could acquire the book.

Additional decorations served to highlight parts of the book, to attract attention, say, to a patron, or simply to beautify the text they accompanied, as they had for centuries in the manuscript tradition. Some decorations might have textual connections, such as the Ich Dien symbol in Coprario’s *Songs of Mourning*, others related to the book’s patron, as did the coats of arms in a few of the lute song books. Some help the bibliographer trace the printer, as is the case with Stansby’s print of *The Muses Gardin of Delights*.

The use of initials in lute song books tested the flexibility and depth of a printer’s stock, with several being needed at a time to print a full sheet. Printers found different ways to deal with the problem: Short seems to have had a fair stock of large initials; East and his successor Snodham tended to use more ornamental blocks that could hold pieces of type; Windet, who appears to have had a relatively small stock of initials, apparently used whatever was at hand. Some printers took care to enhance their initials, perfectly sized for two regular staves, to fit the unusually large space left by the indenting of lute and voice staves: East consistently added small pieces of border type to his initials. This created a finished look to the page that was lacking in, say, Windet’s prints.

The next chapter examines textual paratexts, elements over which the composer had more control. We will pay particular attention to the use of dedicatory epistles and letters to the reader to determine to what extent these elements were simply *pro forma* or whether composers and printers put serious effort into developing a layout and language to bring the
reader into the composer’s (or the patron’s) world, to identify with the text, and to, of course, buy the book. We will also consider the tables of contents as distinct elements of the paratext, looking closely at what role the tables played and what significance, if any, song titles had in the creation of lute song books.
Chapter Three: Verbal Paratexts

The paratext, and the publisher’s and author’s corresponding chances to market their books extend well beyond the title page, and this is where we shall now turn our attention. Verbal front matter could include epistles, laudatory poems, and tables of contents. Unlike the more ostentatious presentation of the title pages, these inner paratexts were largely text-based and required more of the reader’s attention to appreciate fully, although certainly a quick glance could offer some striking details.

We will begin with a study of the epistles, a genre that has lately received more critical attention from scholars than in years past.104 There were two types commonly used in lute song books: the first was usually a dedication to a particular patron, usually noble or from the gentry, and the second was generally addressed “to the reader.” Both serve at least in part as advertisement in the guise of private communication, but after that the two diverge in style and purpose. We will examine the styles common to these paratexts and then analyze the epistles in John Dowland’s and Robert Jones’ First Bookes with an eye to comparing their techniques. Following an analysis of the epistles, we will look at the purpose and use of tables of contents in the lute song books.

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Dedicatory Epistles and Letters to the Reader

Of the 29 unique lute song books published between 1597 and 1608, all but one contain dedicatory epistles in some form or another, while nearly half include letters to the reader.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Book Siglum</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Dedicatee</th>
<th>Letter to the Reader</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dowland1</td>
<td>1597</td>
<td>Sir George Carey, Baron Hunsdon</td>
<td>To the courteous Reader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cavendish</td>
<td>1598</td>
<td>Lady Arabella Stuart</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jones1</td>
<td>1600</td>
<td>Sir Robert Sidney</td>
<td>To the Reader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dowland2</td>
<td>1600</td>
<td>Lucy, Countess of Bedford</td>
<td>To the courteous Reader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morley</td>
<td>1600</td>
<td>Ralph Bosvile, esq.</td>
<td>To the Reader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jones2</td>
<td>1601</td>
<td>Sir Henry Leonard</td>
<td>To the Reader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosseter</td>
<td>1601</td>
<td>Sir Thomas Monson</td>
<td>To the Reader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dowland3</td>
<td>1603</td>
<td>Sir John Souch</td>
<td>The Epistle to the Reader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greaves</td>
<td>1604</td>
<td>Sir Henrie Pierrpont</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hume</td>
<td>1605</td>
<td>William, Earl of Pembroke</td>
<td>To the vnderstanding Reader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jones3</td>
<td>1605</td>
<td>Prince Henry Stuart</td>
<td>To the silent Hearer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pilkington</td>
<td>1605</td>
<td>William, Earl of Darby</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bartlet</td>
<td>1606</td>
<td>Sir Edward Seymoore</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coprario1</td>
<td>1606</td>
<td>Earl of Devonshire (in memoriam)</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Danyel</td>
<td>1606</td>
<td>Anne Grene</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ford</td>
<td>1607</td>
<td>Sir Richard Weston; Sir Richard Tichborne</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jones4</td>
<td>1609</td>
<td>Sir John Levinthorpe</td>
<td>To all Musicall Murmerers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ferrabosco</td>
<td>1609</td>
<td>Prince Henry Stuart</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dowland</td>
<td>1610</td>
<td>Sir Robert Sidney</td>
<td>To the Reader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jones5</td>
<td>1610</td>
<td>Lady Mary Wroth</td>
<td>To the friendly Censurers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corkine1</td>
<td>1610</td>
<td>Sir Edward Herbert; Sir William Hardy</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maynard</td>
<td>1611</td>
<td>Lady Joane Thynne</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

105 See Appendix One for a table of Book Sigla and their respective books.
Several composers’ letters are quite distinctive, from Dowland’s thinly veiled egoism to Jones’ obsequiousness and self-effacement, and some include special letters, poems, and tributes to enhance their books’ marketability. Genette defined the dedication as “the proclamation (sincere or not) of a relationship (of one kind or another) between the author and some person, group, or entity.”106 This definition is explanatory, but hardly satisfactory. Yes, dedicatory epistles were usually addressed to well-born and influential patrons, men and women worth flattering for their status at court or their willingness to support artistic endeavors, but the audience for those epistles was not chiefly the patron, usually only one individual, but rather the potential buyer or the reader. The dedication was likely to be read by the thousand (or so) people who might purchase the book, and thus it had to appeal two different constituencies. Consider Saenger’s point on the dedicatory epistle:

> By virtue of the fact that any epistle is printed, it is only *de jure* a letter (an object which by definition is a communication between two people, normally sealed). *De facto*, it is a disguised advertisement which promotes the book and entices the reader into a particular frame of mind most suited to enjoying that particular book.107

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Saenger goes on further to refer to the “paradox” of the epistle: it makes the book “appear as a private gift which is being exposed to common view, even though previous and subsequent pages proclaim the book to be a commodity for sale.” In other words, the very practice of “name-dropping” serves as an advertisement, a way to grab the potential buyer’s attention. The epistle to the dedicatee affords the potential reader an opportunity to peer into the life of the rich and famous, to read a “private” letter, and in doing so, imagine himself a noble patron, in buying the book granting the author “a sort of largesse associated with the nobility.”

The importance of the dedicatee and the dedicatory epistle can be confirmed without even reading the text of the letter: look for example at the first opening of Dowland’s *First Booke*. The title page verso features an enormous coat of arms engraving, that of Baron Hunsdon, George Carey, and on the facing page, on which is printed the dedication itself, Carey’s name stands out in type along with his status as a knight of the Order of the Garter. The use of the patron’s coat of arms, and even the prominent placement of his name above the dedicatory epistle, are signs that the book has been vetted and approved, worth reading. In this way, George Carey’s name and titles stand out as a testament to the author’s clout, his patron’s position, to the worthiness of the book itself. In addition, the use of a logo (a coat of arms) or a patron’s name, works as a method of commodifying the ayres: no longer are these simply a few songs printed up and sold to the random reader. Instead, the songs become a text, a unified work, one surrounded “with commercial trappings” and given the patron’s explicit seal of approval.

Of course, to gain that seal of approval (and presumably, the accompanying monetary award), the lute song book author wrote a dedicatory epistle, usually couched in flattering

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108 Ibid., 56.
terminology and courtly language. The letter to the reader which followed the dedication was usually more direct, less formal, in tone and language. H.S. Bennett, author of an extensive study of English books and readers in the Renaissance, identified three particular ways in which the authors addressed the public in these epistles: first, they expressed a desire to keep their work private, “for the eye of a limited circle;” second, “writers were at pains to emphasize the practical, didactic and moral nature of their writings;” and third, they issued appeals to their readers “as men of some education and gentlemen.” Combined, the two epistles worked to turn browsers into buyers through name-dropping, coaxing, guilt (for rejecting a “child” as we shall see below) and metaphor, all of which formed a basis for reading or performing the text that followed. Saenger makes some further clarifications, pointing out some of the general differences between the dedicatory epistles and the letters to the reader: “In the epistle dedicatory, the writer denounces bad readers, like Momus and Zoilus, whereas in the epistle to the reader the writer denounces bad writers,” noting that the letter to the reader also “may be a forum for invective against competition or against supposed critics.” To these elements common to the epistles I would add two others: the use of an extended metaphor that equates the text with the body and the use of poetic forms as dedications and commendations. We will now investigate each of these elements in turn to see how lute song book authors used them in their books’ paratexts.


High rhetoric for connected patrons

The first thing the reader saw upon turning the title page was the dedicatory epistle, usually set off with the patron’s full name and honors set off in large type, loudly proclaiming the author’s relation to a lofty and well-connected lover of the arts (in the case of music books, that is). Consider the dedication in Dowland’s *First Booke*, for example, wherein Sir George Carey’s name and titles are set boldly in varying roman and italic type, taking up seven lines of ever-decreasing length to the end.

![Figure 16: Dedication to Sir George Carey from Dowland’s *First Booke*](image)

Compare this with, say, an opening to a book dedicated to a woman, such as in Corkine’s *The Second Booke of Ayres*:

![Figure 17: Dedication to two ladies from Corkine’s *The Second Booke of Ayres*](image)
Two significant features are present in these and similar addresses. First, the addresses use courtly language to describe their patrons, often using words such as “honorable,” “virtuous,” (not only used for women) and “noble.” We shall see that these words of esteem carry through the dedicatory epistle, repeatedly used in further direct addresses to the patron. The second is the method of typesetting itself: the manner in which the lines, centered on the page, continuously decrease in size, almost to a point, is reminiscent of a bow or a head nod, both gestures of respect in the Renaissance and today. This style of setting the address is found in almost every lute song book and sets the tone of the epistle which follows.

The epistle itself contains numerous references to the patron’s graciousness and honor, often focusing on the patron’s generous nature or perhaps their musical knowledge and ability, perhaps within one dedication. For example, Corkine’s dedication to Sir Edward Herbert and Sir William Hardy in his Ayres of 1610 refers to his “two Honourable Masters, whose bountie bestowed on [him] that knowledge (whatsoeuer it is) that I haue attain’d in Musicke. . . both the worthinesse of your Names, as also your loues to Musicke, and extraordinary skils therein. . .” is a fairly typical manner of writing in these epistles. The dedicatees are referred to as “honourable,” Corkine credits the men with his musical knowledge and then praises them both as extraordinary musicians. The language, while to modern ears sounds overly florid and perhaps somewhat insincere, was more than simply flattery. It was part of the system of patronage, a “demonstration of the author’s courtliness and familiarity with high speech and high society,” in which the author expresses humility by offering the book as a gift and begging its acceptance.111

111 Ibid., 56.
The high speech and courtliness with which the author flattered the dedicatee was indeed quite florid, and could be filled with run-on sentences replete with multiple asides and addresses to the patron. Take for example Bartlet’s epistle to Sir Edward Seymoore:

IT is a question hardly to be determined (my most honourable Lord) whether Musicke may esteeme herselfe more graced by the singular skil & exquisite knowledge wherewith your Lordship is indued, both in the speculation and practice thereof: or by the many benefites, and infinite fauours your Honourable bountie hath conferred on the professors of that faculty: in both are the muses greatly honoured, and we (their seruants) highly blest; whose vertuous endeouours and studious labours, not in this onely, but in many other kindes of Learning, haue receiued their life; growth, and perfection, chereshed and enabled by the warmth your beames haue cast vpon them.

This first sentence takes up twelve lines in the original, contains two parenthetical asides, two colons, and multiple lists of qualities requiring two semicolons (at least one of which ought to be a comma) and seven commas; it functions like an extended typographical flourish, an obeisance in letters, full of fine praise in repeated adjectives (virtuous, honor, perfection, warmth, etc.) written as an affectation of courtly language. Combined with the parenthetical reference to Seymoore, the “most honourable Lord,” the sentence not only reminds the reader (both the patron him or herself as well as the buyer) of the patron’s distinction but personalizes the text allowing the reader a taste of that courtly life of which the patron and author are a part.

Robert Dowland’s epistle in A Musicall Banquet (1610), dedicated to Sir Robert Sidney, expresses a third point common to the rhetoric of dedicatory epistles: that of gratitude for some past or (potentially) future favors the patron has granted the author.

therefore to accept these few, and my first labours, as a poore pledge of that zeale and dutie which I shall euer owe vnto your Honour, vntill time shall enable me to effect something more worthy of your Lordships view, hauing no other thing saue these few sheetes of Paper to present the same withall.
In Dowland’s case the connection was quite personal, as Sidney was Dowland’s godfather. In other cases the connection was more professional, as in the case of, say, John Attey, whose dedication to the Earl and Countess of Bridgewater indicates Attey had tutored their daughters.

In the epistle’s closing the author generally refers to himself as the patron’s “humble servant,” but quite often the last line of the letter itself led seamlessly into the closing, such as “Beseeching that Sacred power who first made you great, and vertuous, to retaine you so to the end, and that after a long life, crowned with all your worthy desires, you may leaue a sweet memorie behinde you, for Posteritie to emulate; Which is, and euer shall be, the Prayer of YOVR HONOVRs most humble and deuoted Servant, IOHN ATTEY.” The closing was always signed with the author’s full name, either in all capitals or in italics (as if handwritten), whereas the letter to the reader might be initialed or left unsigned.112

Private Texts

The “stigma of print” trope by the late sixteenth century was well-established and even if, by the time our lute song composers were publishing, that stigma was considerably lessened, the tradition of authors’ protestations of amateur status and/or the private nature of their works continued. Certainly earlier in the sixteenth century there was a true stigma attached to gentlemen printing their works, especially among the Court poets. Thomas Wyatt, for example, had very few of his works printed until several years after his death, and most of Philip Sidney’s works were printed posthumously as well.113 Author’s recourses for getting their materials published included publishing anonymously or pseudonymously, they could dismiss the

112 The only dedicatory epistle that is not signed with a complete name is Morley’s, where he signs “Tho. Morley.” Robert Jones frequently signed the letter to the reader with just his initials.

113 A large portion of Wyatt’s works were printed in Tottel’s Miscellany (STC 13862), published in 1557, thirteen years after Wyatt’s death. Sidney’s Arcadia was a posthumous publication as well.
prevailing standards, as George Pettie did in his *A Petite Pallace of Pettie* (*STC* 19819, 1576), or they could express their reluctance, perhaps blaming their printed work on “a reluctant surrender to the insistence of friends.” Most of the dedications in lute song books, when they make protestations of privacy, followed this latter practice, some more devotedly than others and each with their little ways of downplaying the commerciality of their works. Lute songs, like lyric poetry, were by their very nature a private genre anyway, and even after the stigma of print had worn off the authors continued to feel a need for an apologia for printing such private works. For example, Robert Jones apologizes in his letter to the reader by emphasizing not only the songs’ private nature but also by disclaiming their authorship:

> If the Ditties dislike thee, ‘tis my fault that was so bold to publish the priuate contentments of diuers Gentleman without their consents, though (I hope) not against their wils . . . (Jones2, To the Reader)

Both here and in Jones’ *First Booke* he places much more emphasis on the “diverse gentlemen” whose poems he has set. Thus, Jones takes all responsibility for printing upon himself, but in doing so effectively reminds the reader of the “gentlemen” with whom he is acquainted. It is a clever way of accepting the “stigma” while at the same time holding on to his claim of reticence. Rosseter (on Campion’s behalf), on the other hand, excuses his publication by claiming a need to fix errors that had made their way into Campion’s songs already been made public through manuscript transmission. By printing Campion’s songs (at Rosseter’s request, of course), Rosseter can set the record straight, giving credit to Campion where it is due and correcting any mistakes that may have come as a result of their previous manuscript transmission (making the publication an “authorized” work):  

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115 This is similar to Dowland’s claim in the letter to the reader of the *First Booke*. 

... the first ranke of songs are of his owne (Campion’s) composition, made at his vacant houres, and priuately emparted to his friends, whereby they grew both publicke, and (as coine crackt in exchange) corrupted: some of them both words and notes vnrepspectiuely challenged by others. In regards of which wronges, though his selfe neglects these light fruits as superfluous blossomes of his deeper Studies, yet hath it pleased him vpon my entreaty, to grant me the impression of part of them... (Rosseter, dedication)

In contrast to both Jones’ and Rosseter’s dodging (and the standard practice of the day) stands Danyel’s dedication to Mrs. Anne Grene from his book of 1606. It is a fine example of an entire epistle devoted to the topic of private works exposed to public view in which Danyel accepts full responsibility for his book’s publication, leading the reader through his own feelings regarding his decision. The 43-line poem in iambic pentameter is broken into three sections: an introductory septet in ababcdc, a series of quatrains in abab rhyme, and two concluding Venus and Adonis stanzas.116

THat which was onely priuately compos’d,
For your delight, Faire Ornament of Worth;
Is here, come, to bee publikely disclos’d:
And to an vniuersall view put forth.
Which hauing beene but yours and mine before,
(Or but of few besides) is made hereby
To bee the worlds: and yours and mine no more.

So that in this sort giuing it to you,
I giue it from you, and therein doe wrong,
To make that, which in priuate was your due:
Thus to the world in common to belong.

And thereby may debase the estimate,
Of what perhaps did beare some price before:
For oft we see how things of slender rate,
Being vndiuulg’d, are choisely held in store:

And rarer compositions once expos’d,
Are (as vnworthy of the world) condemn’d:
For what, but by their hauing beene disclos’d
To all, hath made all misteries contemn’d.

116 The Venus and Adonis stanza is named after Shakespeare’s poem of the name, published in 1593, and features iambic pentameter sextets in an ababcc rhyme scheme.
And therefore why had it not beene ynow,
That Milton onely heard our melodie?117
Where Baucis and Philoemon onely show,
To Gods and men their hospitalitie:

And thereunto a ioyfull eare afford,
In mid’st of their well welcom’d company:
Where wee (as Birds doe to themselues record)
Might entertaine our priuate harmonie.

But fearing least that time might haue beguild
You of your owne, and me of what was mine,
I did desire to haue it knowne my Child:
And for his right, to others I resigne.

Though I might haue beene warn’d by him, who is
Both neare and deare to mee, that what we giue
Vnto these times, we giue t’vnthankfulnesse,
And so without vnconstant censures, liue.
   But yet these humours will no warning take,
   Wee still must blame the fortune that wee make.

And yet herein wee doe aduenture now,
But Ayre for Ayre, no danger can accrew,
They are but our refusalls wee bestow,
And wee thus cast the old t’haue roome for new:
Which I must still addresse t’your learned hand,
Iohn Danyel. (Danyel, dedication)

The septet introduces the theme of Danyel’s and Anne’s private songs being exposed to the
world, no longer private. The middle quatrains have two themes: for the first, Danyel questions
the wisdom of printing his ayres, fearing that even as he dedicates the book to Anne (“giving it to
you”) he takes it away from her. He recognizes also the possibility that the songs will be
debased by publication since less worthy things “undivulged” are often held in higher esteem
than things of higher value, by giving away their “mysteries” they are scorned. Danyel then
questions why it was not enough that his songs were heard and enjoyed privately, but feeling the

117 Great Milton, near Oxford, was the town in which the Grene family resided.
need to make his “child” (the book) known to the world. In the final stanzas, Danyel acknowledges that he “who is/ Both neare and deare to mee” (probably his brother Samuel Daniel, the poet) would warn Danyel of the dangers of relinquishing his private ayres to public scrutiny but that regardless, Danyel is publishing his ayres anyway. Danyel’s dedicatory poem is by far the most eloquent of all the lute song composers’ apologias and justifications for print. Through it, Danyel gains the reader’s goodwill by sharing his private thoughts, rather than simply apologizing for them, by acknowledging in his dedication that he was giving the work to the public. Where other authors made their audience read over the dedicatee’s shoulder, to imagine that the works were being given to them, Danyel freely announces that the book is now public while managing to maintain a bittersweet air in the gift, so that the reader might sympathize with the difficulty of Danyel’s decision.

Gentle Readers and Worthy Texts

The language of the letters to the reader, in contrast, was usually quite direct with few of the florid turns of phrase or long sentences of the dedicatory epistle. Despite the fact that only about half of the books have letters to the reader, we do find some trends in them, including the practices of referring to their readers as “gentlemen” or something similar and declaring the usefulness (if not practicality) of their texts.

The first trend, that of invoking the reader’s “gentle” nature, is not as obvious as one might think. These books, despite their dedication to a particular patron, were available for all to

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118 Danyel wants his “child” to receive its birthright; in other words, unlike some other books we shall see, Danyel is acknowledging his child, not rejecting it as a bastard or an orphan. The lute song book’s physicality will be discussed further below in the section on embodied texts.

119 By 1606, Samuel Daniel was prolifically published, including his Works (STC 6236, 1601) and his Defence of ryme (STC 6259 & 6260, 1603).
purchase, making them by their very nature democratic objects. Authors had no real control over who purchased their books, and while they and the printers/publishers might assume a certain audience there was no guarantee that only gentlepeople would purchase them. Naturally, a certain amount of discretionary income was required to afford the lute song books, but by the late sixteenth century many people of the middle class had the buying power to afford leisure books (such as literature and poetry), the category into which our lute song books fit. Whether as a sign of the type of person they would like to buy the book or as a means of flattering the potential buyer, printers and authors did sometimes address their letters to the reader as “To the courteous Reader” (Dowland’s First Booke) or perhaps “To the friendly Censurers” (Jones’ Muses Gardin for Delights). Even if the address was simply “To the Reader” the body of the letter often referred to the reader as “courteous,” “gentle,” “worthy gentlemen,” or the like. Closings were either absent, save for perhaps the author’s name, or at times a simple “farewell.” Occasionally we find a letter that suggests the author’s presence, written as if he were chatting with the reader, and the letter’s closing suggests a physical leave-taking, as in Jones’ Muses Gardin for Delights, which begins thusly:

DEare friends, for so I call you, if you please to accept my good meaning, I presented you last with a Dreame, in which I doubt not, but your fantasies haue receiued some reasonable contentment, and now if you please to bee awaked out of that Dreame, I shall for your recreation and refreshing, guide you to the MVSES GARDEN.

Jones introduces himself as if speaking to a room of acquaintances, cleverly reminding them of his last book of ayres (A Musicall Dreame), assuming they are aware of his previously printed books, and asks his readers to follow down an imaginary path with him, almost as if he were

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120 Louis B Wright, Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1935), 417. Wright notes that “The Elizabethan middle class had an eager craving for stories” and “consumed fiction as voraciously and as uncritically as his modern descendant.”

121 Jones’ A Musicall Dreame stands out with its address “To All Musical Murmerers” and we shall address that later in this chapter.
relating a story. His conclusion, “I will prevent your censures, and defie your mailce, if you despise me, I am resolute, if you use me with respect, I bid you most heartily Farewell,” again suggests Jones’ physical presence with the reader and his imminent leave-taking, perhaps as the reader turns the page to play the ayres.¹²²

Another trait some letters to the reader share is the author’s claim that the text is useful in some way. Though perhaps easier to justify (and thus more common) in say, didactic or religious works, lute song composers did occasionally make the claim that their songs were worthwhile at least as entertainment, as Rosseter and Campion did in their *A Booke of Ayres* (1601).

Neuertheles, as in Poesie we giue the preheminence to the Heroicall Poeme, so in Musicke we yeeld the chiefe place to the graue, and well inuented Motet . . . Ayres haue both their Art and pleasure, and I will conclude of them as the Poet did in his censure, of *Catullus* the Lyricke, and *Vergil* the Heroicke writer:

*Tantum magna suo debet Verona Catullo:*

*Quantum parua suo Mantua Vergilio.*¹²³

Rosseter and Campion defend their ayres by comparing their songs to motets as Martial compared Catullus’ lyrics to Virgil’s epic poetry: they may not be as grand as the motet, but that

¹²² Alternately, Jones could be staying put, and it is instead the reader who is leaving, perhaps to stroll through Jones’ “garden” of songs. This style of address, the suggestion of the author’s physical presence, is reminiscent of a play’s prologue or epilogue, where a narrator, or perhaps another character, set the stage or sum up the play, as in the epilogue to Shakespeare’s *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, which ends with Puck’s monologue:

If we shadows have offended,
Think but this, and all is mended,
That you have but slumber’d here
While these visions did appear . . .

So, good night unto you all.
Give me your hands, if we be friends,
And Robin shall restore amends.

¹²³ “Great Verona owes as much to her Catullus, as little Mantua owes to her Virgil.” The quote is from Martial’s *Epigrams*, Book XIV, Ep. 195.
does not mean they are not worth enjoying. Jones as well commends ayres for their entertainment value, offering them to the reader for both their poetic and musical worth.

**Flawed Texts**

Occasionally, authors saw fit to humble not only themselves, but also their works in their books’ paratexts. Michael Saenger suggests that while both the dedication and the letter to the reader might refer to the work as inadequate, the language used to describe the text is what separates the two (the language in the letter to the reader being more colloquial). In the case of lute song books, though, more straightforward language does come through in the dedications, and there are few proclamations of inadequacy in the letters to the reader. Regardless of where the author expresses his work’s faultiness, it should be read it as an effort to attain the reader’s goodwill (*captatio benevolentiae*) through humility and self-deprecation.

> . . .with all hartie affection I offer to your honorable iudgement not as a worke whose merit or worth deserues so iudicious a patron, but a manifestation of my worthlesse affection bound vnto you . . . (Ford, first dedication)

> And though the error of conceite cannot make me so far ouervalew them [the ayres], as to esteem them worthy your Lordships iudicious hearing, yet I will confesse their want of worth (wherewith myselfe as an impartial censurer, haue already iustly taxte them) could not diuert my purpose from publishing to the world the zeale I beare to thankefulness (Bartlet, dedication)

> SYR, AS a poore man, indebted to many, and desirous to pay what he can, deuides that little hee hath among many, to giue contentment, at least, to some: so, I (right Worthy SYR) am constrayned to make the like distribution of this poore Mite of mine; being all I haue, for the present, to content you my Worthiest Creditors. (Corkine2, first dedication)

In each of the above cases, the author offers his book to the patron despite its flaws: Bartlet’s and Ford’s ayres are not worthy of their noble patrons, while Corkine’s work is merely a “poore Mite.” Both Bartlet and Ford do use elevated language to express the low estimation of their

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songs, but Corkine’s language is altogether lower in tone. It is one of only three books that
refers in any way to the book’s monetary worth or economics, and the metaphor extends through
the entire epistle. Corkine refers to himself as a poor man with few resources, one whose only
thing of value is a “poor Mite” that he must divide even further so as to satisfy all his “creditors.”
A mite in Renaissance England was both an extremely small unit of currency, smaller even than
a farthing, and a small contribution to charity, as much as the contributor could afford. Both
definitions are expressions of monetary worth, and combined with the rest of Corkine’s
dedication, suggest he and his book are nearly worthless.

Faulty Readers

 Much more common in the lute song books’ paratexts (and other books of the time) are
references to faulty or unjust readers who unfairly criticize the books’ contents and their authors.
Bennett addresses the practice of referring to Momus and Zoilus, the carping critics of the
Classical tradition, stating that “these enemies of the writer, I suspect, were nothing like so
numerous nor so powerful as has been generally believed.” He continues, suggesting that “in
deference to the presiding deities of literature and learning it was best to make the hallowed
protestations of literary unworthiness . . . Among such devices, the references to Momus and
Zoilus take their place, and should not be taken too seriously. When all is said and done, despite

125 The only other books with any value-based reference are Danyel’s Songs (where the reference is largely
metaphorical) and Dowland’s Second Booke, where George Eastland, not Dowland, mentions the money he
expended in publishing the book.

126 “mite, n.2,” in The Oxford English Dictionary, OED Online (Oxford University Press, 2008),
http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/00312327.

127 Bennett, English Books & Readers, 1558-1603, Being a Study in the History of the Book Trade in the Reign of
Elizabeth I, 9.
all these pleas, men never ceased to write. . .” Bennett is likely correct, we need not take the references seriously, but that does not mean that they should be ignored. The complaints against and pleas for protection from critics and faulty readers were part of the generic standard in epistles, and the lute song book authors followed that custom.

Requests for protection from Momus and Zoilus most often occurred in the dedicatory epistles, as in Pilkington’s First Booke where he notes that “if it [the book] may gaine your gracious acceptation, [it] will feare neither Zoilus nor Momus his reprehension.” Some, such as Corkine, do not mention Zoilus or Momus by name, but rather by reputation: “Next for that I am assured, that both the worthinesse of your Names, as also your loues to Musicke, and extraordinary skils therein, either to expresse, or Masterly to compose, will bee such a protection to my deuoted labours, that I shall not need to feare the blacke breath of any enuious detractor” (emphasis mine). In both cases the author is seeking protection from criticism from his patron, counting on the patron’s good name or high social standing to stave off any negative reactions.

Morley, in contrast to Corkine and Pilkington, affects an air of indifference, commenting that

If Momus does ever carpe, let him doe it with judgement least my booke in silence flout his little judgement. If he would faine scoffe, yet feareth to doe it through his wits defect, let him shew judgement in his tongues restraint, in the allowance of that which I doubt not, but more judiciall eares shall applaude. Too many there are, who are sillily indewde with an humour of reprehension, and those are they that ever want true knowledge of apprehension. I know that Scientia non habet inimicum præter ignorantem: but I shall not feare their barking quests. (Morley, dedication)

He encourages critics to show judgment and remain quiet since it is only silly men (our faulty readers), those incapable of feeling or understanding, who desire to rebuke. In other words, only

128 Ibid., 10.
129 “Knowledge has no enemy but the ignorant.”
the ignorant take pleasure in criticizing, and Morley has no need to fear the ignorant. Jones, in his *Second Booke*, goes even further by suggesting that if he were even to acknowledge his censurers he would be encouraging them: “As for the rest that would faine informe men, they know some thing by their generall dislike of euerie thing; I will not so much as desire them to be silent, least I should hereby teach them at least how they might seeme wise.”

Often when faulty readers are mentioned in letters to the reader, it is more of a warning that the reader not be too harsh or unjust in his criticism. Surely no reader would want to seem “ridiculous” by being one

who to appeare the more deepe, and singular in their judgement, will admit no Musicke but that which is long, intricate, bated with fuge, chaine with sincopation, and where the nature of euerie word is precisely exprest in the Note, like the old exploded action in Comedies, when if they did pronounce *Meneni*, they would point to the hinder part of their heads, if *Video*, put their finger in their eye. But such childish obseruing of words is altogether ridiculous. . . (Rosseter, To the Reader)

Of course, the way to avoid seeming childish or ridiculous is to accept Rosseter’s and Campion’s ways of setting poetry by “gracing no word, but that which is eminent, and emphaticall.” The authors guide the good reader towards a proper appreciation of their ayres by these means.

Most of the above examples are fairly mild in tone and rhetoric, but what are we to make of a letter such as Jones wrote in his *A Musicall Dreame*, addressed “To All Musickal Murmerers?” Is it simply a custom as Bennett suggests, one into which we should not read too carefully, or did he “clearly [suffer] some strong censure, as is revealed by his bitter ‘greeting’ to ‘all musickal murmurers’ at the beginning of his fourth collection of songs?”

Certainly music is one of those genres easy to criticize, and within the lute song books several authors make mention of this. In Jones’ own words, “no arts wincks at fewer errors than

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musicke” (Jones1). But he does go to extremes in his abuse of critics in his fourth book, as shown in this excerpt:

To all Musickall Murmurers, This Greeting.
THou, whose eare itches with the varietie of opinion, hearing thine owne sound, as the Ecchoe reuerberating others substance, and vnprofitable in it selfe, shewes to the World comfortable noyse, though to thy owne vse little pleasure, by reason of vncharitable censure. I speake to thee musickall Momus, thou from whose nicetie, numbers as easily passe, as drops fall in the showre, but with lesse profite. I compare thee to the hie way dust that flies into mens eyes, and will not thence without much trouble, for thou in thy dispersed judgement, not onely art offensiue to seeing knowledge, but most faulty false to deseruing industry, picking moates out of the most pure Bisse, and smoothing the plainest veluet, when onely thine owne opinion is more wrinckled and more vittuous in it selfe, then grosser soyle, so that as a brush infected with filth, thou rather soylest then makest perfect any way. I haue stood at thine elbow, and heard thee prophane euene Musickes best Note, and with thy vntunte rellish Sol Fade most ignobly.

Could Jones really be comparing his readers to highway dust (a mere annoyance), to poor singers (those who “Sol Fade most ignobly”) who when they complain are merely “picking moates out of the most pure Bisse” (Bisse, or byss, is a fine fabric)? We do know, thanks to E.H. Fellowes editorial work, that Jones’ books had numerous errors, but these are largely in the fourth and fifth books and thus it seems unlikely that Jones had received enough complaints by the time he was writing the prefatory material to A Musicall Dreame to justify the invectives against so-called “musicall murmerers.”131 Let us consider instead the context in which Jones’ fourth book was written: his previous book was entitled Ultimum vale (Final farewell) and he took pains to mention to the reader unfamiliar with Latin that it would be his last book (“I will onely commend my purpose, to make this last my best, expecting to reade the truth of my selfe out of thy report”). Several of Ultimum vale’s songs also suggest an end, a departure of sorts, including “Goe to bed sweete Muze, take thy rest,” “Flye from the world,” and “Happy he who to sweete home retirde.” Returning four years later with a new book after such a definitive leave-taking, I

think that Jones felt the need to explain himself and did so using two hooks: first, by the extended allegory of a dream sequence, and second, by inventing a need to refute past insults. The dream allegory allows Jones to suggest that it was his sleeping mind, rather than his waking one, that betrayed his

resoluing in [his] selfe, neuer to publish any workes of the same Nature and Fashion, whereupon I betooke me to the ease of my Pillow, where Somnus hauing taken possession of my eyes, and Morpheus the charge of my senses; it happened mee to fall into a Musical dreame, wherein I chanced to haue many opinions and extrauagant humors of diuers Natures and Conditions, some of modest mirth, some of amorous Loue, and some of most diuine contemplation. (Jones4, dedication)

And of course, no one could blame Jones for his sleeping thoughts, which he claims are not even real ayres, but “airy,” immaterial in the truest sense of the word:

This my aduenture is no deed but a dreame, and what are dreames, but airie possessions, and seuerall ayres, breathing harmonious whisperings, though to thee discord, yet to others indifferent, I will not say excellent, because it is an others office not mine. . . (Jones4, To All Musicall Murmerers)

Jones’ second technique was to write a polemic against his supposed critics so severe that it turned the discussion away completely from his broken promise towards a discussion of bad musicians, faulty readers, who would rather find mistakes in one man’s work than acknowledge or correct their own faults. According to Jessie Lander, the roots of the polemic lie in a “military metaphor” that “never escapes from its metaphoric origins; such writing is consistently conceived as a weapon, wielded by one camp against another in an effort to defend and solidify a collective identity.”132 Furthermore, Jones works to strengthen the bond between the friendly reader and his opposite, the faulty reader, in a manner quite different from the supplication practiced by most authors in their epistles. As Lander explains,

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While the vast majority of print productions strive to forge a unified body of readers (students of English law, lovers of lyric poetry, or readers of a Book of Common Prayer), polemic seeks to divide its readers into friends and enemies. On the one hand, there is the object of polemical attack, the direct addressee. On the other, there is a wider audience of potential friends, those whose consent is sought in the condemnation of the enemy’s opinion.¹³³

In the case of Jones’ book, we can not be sure if the direct addressee truly existed or if he was merely a straw man set up to condemn in a clever polemic. But in reading his address to the reader, we see clearly that he is seeking approval from the wider audience, those who might agree with him (those who recognize “musicall murmerers” among their acquaintance, and frankly, who doesn’t?). By looking at similar epistles, we can see that Jones is not the only author to employ this polemical technique. Compare Jones’ tone to that of Thomas Dekker in The Wonderful Yeare (STC 6535.5, 1603) in his address to the reader:

To the Reader.
AND why to the Reader? Oh good Sir! thereas as sound law to make you giue good words to the Reader, as to a Constable when hee carries his watch about him to tell how the night goes, tho (perhaps) the one (oftentimes) may be sereued in for a Goose, and the other very fitly furnish the same messe: Yet to maintaine the scuruy fashion, and to keepe Custome in reparations, he must be honyed, and come-ouer with Gentle Reader, Courteous Reader, and Learned Reader, though he haue no more Gentilitie in him than Adam had (that was but a gardner) no more Civilitie than a Tartar, and no more Learning than the most errand Stinkard, that (except his owne name) could neuer finde any thing in the Horne-booke.

These exhortations against faulty readers such as Jones and Dekker use, while perhaps not common are not unknown. Where the standard plea for protection from critics promotes pity or sympathy for the author, Jones’ polemic instead promotes identification with the author by creating a community of readers in condemnation of the critic.

¹³³ Ibid., 16.
Embodied Texts

And this two-faced Janus thus in one bodie vnited, I humbly entreate you to entertaine and defend. . . (Rosseter, dedication, emphasis mine)

“In one bodie vnited;” an innocent enough expression at face value. But why not in one book united, in one collection united? With the use of the word “body,” Rosseter gives birth to a child, his “two-faced Janus” of a book (the two faces being the compilation of his and Campion’s songs together). And not only was his book made human, but it came with a ready-made personification in the form of Janus, the god of doors and gates, beginnings and endings. Janus was portrayed in mythology with two heads looking in opposite directions, representing change – the progression from beginning to end, the past and the present in one. So Rosseter, in naming his child Janus leads his patron and the reader into imagining the book a living thing needing protection and defending. As Saenger notes, “it is easy to decline to purchase a mere book; it is more difficult not to accept an offered gift, not to rescue a poor hungry child . . .”

The practice of embodying texts in Renaissance English paratexts was widely used, as Wendy Wall informs us: “Renaissance writers and printers widely used this technique as a means of commodifying their books in the marketplace, because this trope could register the uneasy alliance between the text’s physical autonomy and its placement within the social network.” Saenger, though, suggests that their reasons were more economically-based: “that metaphors, particularly personifications, are powerful means of encouraging the purchase of a book.” Combined with the evidence shown regarding printers’ decisions and title pages, I am more


inclined to agree with Saenger that the metaphor of text as body is an economic-based decision to help the potential reader identify with and therefore buy the book.

Wall’s research into embodied texts still offers several useful clues in reading lute song book paratexts. In her analysis, sonnet sequences printed in Renaissance England (almost universally written by men) were given female titles and “disparate poems are made to coalesce into the figure of a particular woman, who acts as the unifying principle for governing the disparate and seemingly scattered rhymes.”137 These collections, unified under a single woman’s name, could be self-referential: the female title referred to the text as a collection, but parts of that text sometimes referred back to the personified collection. This is demonstrated in William Smith’s Chloris (STC 16662, 1593), a collection of sonnets, where Smith alternately “pleads with Chloris . . . to requite his love” and “interprets her as his book artifact.”138 Similarly, Dowland in “The Epistle to the Reader” of his Third and Last Booke simultaneously embodies his two previous lute song books while allowing them to give birth to the third.

My first two bookes of aires speed so well that they haue produced a third, which they haue fetcht far from home, and brought euen through the most perilous seas, where hauing escapt so many sharpe rocks, I hope they shall not be wrackt on land by curious and biting censures. (Dowland3, “The Epistle to the Reader”)

In Dowland’s previous two books he refers to his songs as his works or his labors, never really suggesting a sense of embodiment the way he does in the third book, in which he gives bodily form to all three. The metaphor he creates of his previous two books flourishing so well that they “fetched” the third from Denmark is really quite charming, leading the reader to imagine his three children wanting to be united back in England, enduring the treacherous sea journey back

137 Wall, The Imprint of Gender, 61-2.
138 Ibid., 64.
home to achieve their aim. Dowland did not want to publish the ayres, rather the ayres
themselves wanted publishing. Like any parent, Dowland wants the best for his children, he
does not want to see the youngest “wrackt on land” by critics. By embodying his books,
Dowland is attempting to create an emotional response in the potential buyer, one of
protectiveness. While Dowland and others often make overt requests for protection in their
dedications, here Dowland uses a more covert method: he “hopes” that his works, his children,
will be well-received (in other words, surely you, the reader, would not be so cruel as to kill this
living thing by criticizing it), but he makes no obvious plea to the reader for protection.

In contrast to Dowland’s covert method of gaining the reader’s sympathy, Jones uses a
more obvious plea for protection of his “children.” In fact, all five of Jones’ books are referred
to as his “children” in either the dedication or his address to the reader, variably called his
“child,” an “orphan,” or a “babe.” Sometimes he refers to himself as a father, but usually in a
derogatory manner as he did in his Second Booke:

WORTHY Sir, and my Honourable friend: I giue you this Child, I praie you bring it vp,
because I am a poore man and cannot maintaine it: it may suffer much aduersitie in my
name: your Fortune maie alter his starres and make him happie.(Jones2, dedication)

Here, as in his First Booke, Jones offers his book up to his patron to raise, asking him to take pity
on the poor child and thereby asking the potential buyer reading over the dedicatee’s shoulder to
do the same. When Jones uses the text-as-body metaphor in his addresses to the reader,
however, he tends to abandon the “poor child” routine in favor of a proud father who asks
forgiveness for his (possibly) misplaced pride: “I know every Father is partiall over the issue of
his body, and having his iudgement corrupted by his affection, is wont to speake his Childrens
prayses” (Jones3, “To the Silent Hearer”).

139 Dowland refers to his songs as his children in the dedication to John Souch, saying “If I gaue life to these, you
gaue spirit to me.”
In Jones’ final book, *The Muses Gardin for Delights*, however, he returns to the poor child metaphor in offering his work to Lady Mary Wroth, daughter of Robert Sidney, who, one will recall, was the dedicatee of Jones’ first book.

_MOst Honoured Lady, my eldest and first issue, having thriu’d so well vnder the protection of your Right Honourable Father, blame not this my yongest and last Babe, if it desirously seeke Sanctuarie with your selfe, as being a most worthy branch from so Noble and renowned a flocke: It is hereditarie to your whole house. . . (Jones5, dedication)_

By stating that his “yongest and last Babe” is “hereditarie to your whole house,” Jones is reminding the reader of his first book’s dedication and creating a family tree of sorts for his books. Thus Jones closed the circle of his “family”: his first book, the child weak and “vntimely brought forth” was given to Sidney to raise and flourish and his last child (who “casts itselfe most humbly in your armes”) was given to Lady Wroth to “countenance it with the faire Liuerie of your noble Name.” In every case, the text embodied functions as a whole, an entity unto itself, sent out into the world either to be accepted or cast out by the public. The author either overtly or through subtle suggestion uses this embodiment to plead with the potential buyer for his child’s acceptance, thus making his book a success and selling more copies.

**Non-standard verbal paratexts**

John Danyel’s epistle to Anne Grene was discussed in detail above, but he was not the only lute song composer who used an atypical approach to engaging the reader with the paratexts. Campion, Dowland (through Eastland), and Coprario all used poetic dedications and Dowland, Ferrabosco, and Greaves had commendatory verses added to the prefatory material of their books. Verse dedications were not unusual in Renaissance English publications in
Campion was, naturally, known for his poetry and his poetics and thus it is not surprising that he should use verse to address his dedicatees. John Danyel, as mentioned above, was the brother of well-known poet Samuel Daniel (the same Daniel who published a response to Campion’s theories of poetics), and so we can count it completely natural that Danyel too would dedicate his book in verse. Coprario, who does not appear to have had any formal position or acknowledgement as a poet, did collaborate with Campion on more than one occasion. His poems, elegies really, were the most extensive of any of the lute song composers.

The short poem by Eastland in Dowland’s Second Booke to Lucie Russell, Countess of Bedford, by comparison to Campion’s and Danyel’s verses, is a trifle, and not very well-written at that. Eastland’s acrostic in two stanzas uses an ababb rhyme scheme for Lucie’s first name and rhyme royal in the second stanza (though it is missing the iambic pentameter common to rhyme royal). It lacks a steady constant number of syllables or metric pattern (generally a mix of iambs, sometimes with initial trochaic substitutions), which makes it somewhat difficult to scan and even harder to read properly.

LVte arise and charme the aire,
Vntill a thousand formes shee beare,
Conjure them all that they repaire,
Into the circles of hir eare,
Euer to dwell in concord there,

By this thy tunes may haue accesse,
Euen to hir spirit whose flowring treasure,
Doth sweetest Harmonie expresse,
Filling all eares and hearts with pleasure
On earth, obseruing heauenly measure,
Right well can shee Judge and defend them,

Doubt not of that for shee can mend them.\footnote{The publishing of Dowland’s \textit{Second Booke} was the center of a notorious lawsuit between Eastland and Thomas East regarding the number of books actually printed as compared with the number Eastland had ordered. Ruff and Wilson argue that Bedford and/or Eastland in late 1600 might have been uncomfortable with the obviously pro-Essex nature of the book (Lillian M. Ruff and D. Arnold Wilson, “The Madrigal, the Lute Song and Elizabethan Politics,” \textit{Past and Present}, no. 44 (August 1969): 35-6).}

Campion’s dedications to the two father-and-son pairs of Francis, Earl of Cumberland and Henry, Lord Clifford (first and second books) and Sir Thomas Monson and John Monson (third and fourth books) are rather more sophisticated and well-written. The second letter to the reader in Campion’s first and second books is in verse as well, and quite clever at that. Though he used different poetic forms for the dedications between the two books, within each book the forms are the same, so that the poems to the Monsons are in closed heroic couplets of 28 and 16 lines, respectively, and those to the Cliffords are Shakespearean sonnets.

Despite the fact that Campion used poetry to address his patrons, his dedications are not exclusionary in any way. Instead, they use simple, common meter and rhyme to express the standards of appreciation that we have seen in the prose examples above. They relate some personal details (the dedication to Sir Monson mentions the baronet’s recent reprieve from political troubles), but address the people reading over patrons’ shoulders as well, as demonstrated in the following lines:

\begin{verbatim}
SVch dayes as weare the badge of holy red,
Are for deuotion marke, and sage delight;
The vulgar Low-dayes vn distinguised,
Are left for labour, games, and sportfull sights.

This seu’rall and so diff’ring vse of Time,
VWithin th’enclosure of one weeke wee finde,
VWhich I resemble in my Notes and Rime,
Expressing both in their peculiar kinde.

Pure Hymnes, such as the seauenth day loues, doe leade,
Graue age did iustly chalenge those of mee:
\end{verbatim}
These weeke-day workes in order that succeede,
Your youth best fits, and yours yong Lord they be:
As hee is, who to them their beeing gaue,
If th’one, the other you of force must haue:

Yours Honors,
THOMAS CAMPION. (Campion1&2, dedication to Henry, Lord Clifford)

While Campion directly praises his patron, Francis, the Earl of Cumberland, and thanks him for his patronage throughout the first dedication, the second dedication to the Earl’s son addresses him directly only once, towards the end of the poem. Instead, it focuses on the thematic material of the book’s second half, thus functioning in part as an illicit address to the reader. This reading is furthered by the fact that Campion’s “to the reader” lies directly below the second dedication rather than on a separate page as is common in all the other lute song books. The theme of the letter to the reader directly follows the dedication: though the “to the reader” is lower in tone and in a different rhyme scheme (closed heroic couplets), it serves as another short apologia for his ordering of the book into “grave” and “light” songs together.142

Commendatory Poems

The last paratextual element before the table of contents was the commendatory poem, or “puff” as Franklin Williams termed it. Grouped together, all of a similar theme, puffs were an invention of Renaissance humanists, a genre “in which friends and well-wishers testify to the merits of favored authors” which grew by leaps and bounds in popularity in sixteenth-century England, to the point that by the last decade 151 books, or about 4%, contained puffs.143 In the

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142 The tone is noticeably lower: the switch to couplets sets it off at first, but what is more significant is the book’s commodification (references to the stationer and his shop). Campion’s Third and Fourth Bookes also address split between grave and light songs, especially in the second dedicatory poem and the letter to the reader, but there are notable changes from his first two books; namely, the poem to Sir Monson’s son addresses him directly throughout and the address to the reader is in prose.

lute song books we find them only in Dowland’s *First Booke*, Ferrabosco’s *Ayres*, and Greaves’ *Songes*, or about 10%, which is a fairly high percentage in comparison to the general industry.\(^{144}\)

A similar percentage, approximately 13%, of other music books from the same era contain commendatory verses.\(^{145}\) They are all fairly straightforward encomiums to the authors, most often in English with three in Latin. Some are simply initialed and the readers are left to guess as to the authorship: this is the case with the five epigrams to Greaves. In the case of Dowland and Ferrabosco, however, the poems were signed, probably so the reader might see who the author’s fine friends were, a known selling-point for books.\(^{146}\) Campion wrote epigrams for both Dowland (in his *First Booke*) and Ferrabosco, whose book features verses from Ben Jonson and an “N. Tomkins” (probably Nicholas Tomkins, one of Thomas’ brothers).\(^{147}\)

**A Case Study of Two First Bookes: Dowland versus Jones**

Now that we have examined the various tropes and techniques present in the epistles, we move on to compare two excellent examples of the genre in Dowland’s and Jones’ *First Bookes*. Dowland was, of course, the standard setter when it came to lute song books, and Jones seems to have at some times modeled his books on Dowland’s style (particularly in the case of titles and title pages) and at other times framed himself as Dowland’s opposite, as we shall see was the case with his dedicatory epistles and letters to the reader.

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\(^{144}\) Ibid., 3-5.

\(^{145}\) Those are: Morley (*STC* 18127, 1594), Morley (*STC* 18116, 18117, 18118, 1595 & 1600), Morley (*STC* 18122, 1597), Giles Farnaby (*STC* 10700, 1598), Henry Lichfield (*STC* 15588, 1613), Thomas Ravenscroft (*STC* 20756, 1614), Thomas Vautor (*STC* 24624, 1619), and Pilkington (*STC* 19924, 1624).

\(^{146}\) There are cases, although not in the lute song books, where the “puffers” made it clear in their poems that they were solicited to write them by the publishers and printers, not the authors (Ibid., 7-8).

Dowland’s *First Booke*

Dowland’s dedication to Baron Hunsdon follows most of the accepted practices of the genre: it is addressed to an influential person with the hope of patronage, it offers words of praise to the dedicatee and it is (fairly) humble.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR GEORGE
CAREY, OF THE MOST HONORABLE ORDER
OF THE GARTER KNIGHT:

*Baron of Hunsdon, Captain of her Majesties gentlemen Pensioners,*
Governor of the Isle of Wight, Lieutenant of the countie of Southt.
*Lord Chamberlaine of her Majesties most Royall house, and of her Highnes most honourable privie Counsell.*

*That harmony (Right honorable) which is skillfullie exprest by Instruments, albeit, by reason of the variety of number & proportion, of itselfe it easilie stires up the minds of the hearers to admiration & delight, yet far higher authoritie and power hath been ever worthily attributed to that kinde of Musicke, which to the sweetness of instrument applies the lively voice of man, expressing some worthy sentence or excellent Poeme. Hence (as al antiquitie can witnesse) first grew the heavenly Art of musicke: for Linus, Orpheus, and the rest, according to the number and time of their Poemes, first framed the numbers and times of musicke: So that Plato defines melody to consist of harmony, number, & wordes; harmony naked of iteselfe, words the ornament of harmony, number the common friend & uniter of them both. This small booke containing the consent of speaking harmony, joined with the most musical instrument, the Lute, being my first labour, I have presumed to dedicate to your Lordship, who for your vertue & nobility are best able to protect it, and for your honourable favors towards me best deserving my duety and service. Besides your noble inclination and love to all good Artes, and namely the divine science of musicke doth challenge the patronage of all learning, then which no greater title can bee added to Nobilitie. Neither in these your honours may I let passe the dutifull remembrance of your vertuous Lady my honourable mistris, whose singular graces towards me have added spirit to my unfortunate labours. What time and diligence I have bestowed in the search of Musicke, what travel in forren countries, what successe and estimation even among strangers I have found, I leave to the report of others. Yet all this in vaine, were it not that your honorable hands have vouchsaft to uphold my poore fortunes, which I now wholly recommend to your gratious protection, with these my first endevors, humbly beseeching you to accept, and cherish these with your continued favours.*

*Your Lordships most humble servant,*

John Dowland.
The use of lofty rhetoric in Dowland’s dedication is obvious in three ways. First, he uses the word “honour” or “honourable” in describing Baron Hunsdon, his wife, music and the Baron’s aid to Dowland eight times in a letter of less than four hundred words. Dowland places much emphasis on his patron’s noble and generous nature, asking for “gratious protection” of the object of his patronage rather than Dowland himself. According to Saenger, this is relatively standard approach in the dedicatory epistle, and as “a demonstration of the author’s courtliness and familiarity with high speech and high society,” Dowland’s language fulfills the expectations nicely. While Saenger further suggests that dedications usually praise the patron at the expense of the author, sometimes going so far as to claim the patron as the real author or conversely, put the author in a position of power in a kind of didactic role, suggesting the patron must earn his place, Dowland’s epistle falls into neither category. Instead, he creates a middle ground, where the patron is clearly worthy of his materials, but the author (Dowland) too is worthy, even if he leaves it “to the report of others.”

Another aspect of Dowland’s high rhetoric is his mention of Linus, Orpheus, and Plato, and his attempt to place the lute song within the realm of high art. Dowland makes clear that while instrumental music (harmony) is “right honorable” and “stires up the minds of the hearers to admiration & delight” in and of itself, it is only by its combination with poetry that it can reach a higher plane, obtaining a “far higher authoritie and power.” In invoking Orpheus and Linus, Dowland is placing the emphasis in his dedication on the poetry, and music only when accompanying that poetry, following an established English Renaissance mythos.

That tradition, as pointed out in Leigh DeNeef’s article on Campion’s Lords Maske, was based in literary theory and rhetorical manuals of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries:

Even more important than the emblem tradition is the development of the Orpheus myth in Renaissance rhetorical and poetic manuals. Virtually all the 16th and 17th-century rhetoricians and literary theorists who trace the origins of poetry refer, either fleetingly or elaborately, to the figure of Orpheus and the Orphic hymn. Among the familiar English critics, Wilson, Webbe, Sidney, Puttenham, Bacon, Jonson, and Reynolds all have something to say about the myth, and most assume, with Webbe, that Orpheus was ‘the first that was first worthelye memorable in the excellent gift of Poetrye.’ The most convenient application of the myth to literary theory occurs in Chapters III and IV of Puttenham’s *Arte of English Poesie*. In these chapters Puttenham surveys the origins of human society and knowledge by recounting the myths of several “first poets” — Amphion, Orpheus, Linus, Musaeus, Hesiodus.¹⁴⁹

Dowland is identifying his art, the lute song, with the tradition of these first poets, placing a now on-the-rise English poetical art clearly in the camp of Orphic hymns, Linus songs (dirges), and the other poetical arts of the muses, culminating in Plato’s definition of melody as “consist[ing] of harmony, number, & wordes; harmony naked of itselfe, words the ornament of harmony, number the common friend & uniter of them both.”¹⁵⁰ Though the harmony may be strictly musical, both number and words are the realm of the poets.¹⁵¹

In addition to the use of high rhetoric, Dowland’s dedicatory epistle makes mention of the time and travel he spent “in the search of Musicke” to emphasize his wide range of experience and learning. However, any specifics of the energy Dowland expended (relatively qualitative) and money earned and spent (quantitative) for his science are downplayed, mentioned only obliquely, with the emphasis more on the perfection of his craft (again, a

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¹⁵⁰ I refer the reader to Martha Feldman, “In Defense of Campion: A New Look at His Ayres and Observations,” *The Journal of Musicology* 5, no. 2 (Spring 1987): 226-256 for a short overview of the rise of English poetry from the “drab” verse of the earlier part of the sixteenth century. By the time Campion and Dowland were writing, poetry was well on the rise and the Orpheus trope was established.

¹⁵¹ The overall “Greekness” of the title page and dedicatory epistle make for a nice combination. While it would be difficult (if not impossible) to prove that one had any bearing on the other, it does suggest a connection.
qualitative measure) rather than a more quantitative, lower-class emphasis on salary and expenses. Dowland traveled widely in “forren countries,” working for and with some of the finer musicians on the Continent, gaining “successe and estimation even among strangers,” whom he is loath to name in his dedication (though he does manage to overcome his reticence in the letter to the reader which follows). The false modesty plays well in the framework of the dedicatory epistle: the naming of other high-born or well-connected individuals would not sit well with the general tone of obeisance to Lord Hunsdon, and would merely add to Dowland’s consequence at the expense of Hunsdon’s. That is not to say, of course, that Dowland did not wish to add to his own consequence, just that the dedication is not the proper place for it. In other words, to maintain the air of courtliness, Dowland defers his ego. In deferring his own ego and maintaining the epistle’s rhetorical tone, Dowland not only pleases his patron but the general reader (as voyeur) as well. Saenger’s paradox of the private gift being exposed to common view only works if the facade of privacy and non-commerciality is sustained.

Dowland’s “To the courteous Reader” stands in contrast to the high language and non-commerciality of the dedicatory epistle, though perhaps not as marked as might be found in other authors’ letters. Though the reader may be a voyeur as regards the dedicatory epistle, to what follows he is expressly the addressee, and the language and manner of these letters follow accordingly.

To the courteous Reader.

How hard an enterprise it is in this skillfull and curious age to commit our private labours to the publike view, mine owne disabilitie, and others hard successse doe too well assure me: and were it not for that love I beare to the true lovers of musicke, I had concealde these my first fruits, which how they will thrive I with your taste I know not, howsoever the greater part of them might have been ripe inough by their age. The Courtly judgement I hope will not be sever against them, being it selfe a party, and those sweet springs of humanity (I meane our two famous Universities) will entertain them for his sake, whome they have already grac’t, and as it were enfranchisd in the ingenuous
prosession of Musicke, which from my chilhood I have ever aymed at, sundry times leaving my native country, the better to attain so excellent a science. About sixtee
yeeres past, I travelled the chiefest parts of France, a nation furnisht with great variety of Musick: But lately, being of a more confirmed judgement, I bent my course toward the famous provinces of Germany, where I found both excellent masters, and most honorable Patrons of Musicke: Namely, those two miracles of this age for vertue and magnificence, Henry Julio Duke of Brunswick, and learned Maritius Lantzgrave of Hessen, of whose princely vertues and favors towards me I can never speake sufficientlie. Neither can I forget the kindness of Alexandro Horologio, a right learned master of Musicke, servant to the royal Prince the Lantzgrave of Hessen, and Gregorio Howet Lutenist to the magnificent Duke of Brunswick, both of whom I name as well for their love to me, as also for their excellency in their faculties. Thus having spent some months in Germany, to my great admiration of that worthy country, I past over the Alpes into Italy, where I founde the Cities furnisht with all good Artes but especiallie Musicke. What favour and estimation I had in Venice, Padua, Genoa, Ferrara, Florence, & divers other places I willingly supresse, least I should any way seeme partiall in mine own indevours. Yet can I not dissemble the great content I found in the proferd amity of the most famous Luca Marenzio, whose sundry letters I received from Rome, and one of them, because it is but short, I have thought good to set downe, not thinking it any disgrace to be proud of the judgement of so excellent an man.

Molto Magnifico Signior mio osservandissimo.
Per una lettera del Signior Alberigo Malvezzi ho inteso quanto con corese affetto si mostr
i desideroso di essermi congiunto d’amicitia, dove infinitamente la ringrato di questo suo buon’ animo, offerendomegli all’ incontro se in alcuna cosa la posso servire, poi che gli meriti delle sue infinite virtù, & qualità meritano che ogni uno & me l’ammirino & osservino, & per fine di questo le bascio le mani. Di Roma a’ 13. di Luglio. 1595.

D.V.S. Affettionatissimo servitore,
Luca Marenzio.152

Not to stand to long upon my travels, I will onely name that worthy maister Giovanni Crochio Vicemaster of the chappel of S. Marks in Venice, with whom I had familiar conference. And thus what experience I could gather abroad, I am now ready to practice at home, if I may but find encouragement in my first assaies. There have bin divers Lute lessons of mine lately printed without my knowledge, falce and unperfect, but I purpose shortly myself to set forth the choisest of all my Lessons in print, and also an introduction

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152 Marenzio’s letter translates as: “Most magnifico and esteemed Sir: From a letter of Signor Alberigo Malvezzi I have learnt that you wish, with courteous affection, to be joined with me in friendship; I therefore thank you infinitely for your kind intention, and in return I would like to offer to serve you in any way you wish, since the merits of your boundless virtù and qualities merit that everyone including myself admire and respect them, and so I pay my respects. From Rome, 13 July 1595. From your affectionate servant, Luca Marenzio.” Translation from footnote 25 of Marco Bizzarini, Luca Marenzio: The Career of a Musician Between the Renaissance and the Counter-Reformation, trans. James Chater (Aldershot, Hants, England: Ashgate, 2003), 204.
for fingering, with other books of Songs, whereof this is the first: and as this findes favour with you, so shal I be affected to labor in the rest. Farewell.

John Dowland.

Whereas Dowland’s dedicatory epistle serves to place his new book of lute songs within a Classical and historical context, at the same time elevating the work and delicately instructing (reminding) his patron of the high art he is patronizing, the letter to the reader instead plainly states Dowland’s travels, his contacts, his efforts. Its address to the “courteous Reader” is a nod to the common flattery of the reader as a gentleman. The text itself begins with the standard “stigma of print” claim that he merely wishes to offer his “first fruits” to the music lover despite their private nature, putting down his own abilities in comparison to others who have printed their works before him (“mine owne disabilitie, and others hard succeesse doe too well assure me”), another standard of the genre. The reader is led to believe that Dowland has overcome his reluctance to print his lute songs for his sake, as a lover of music, a “courteous” man who will surely find favor with Dowland’s songs and thus encourage the printing of even more. Later in the letter, though, Dowland makes the claim that he has resorted to print to correct errors that have been transmitted in his work, in Dowland’s case caused by illicit printing: “There have bin divers Lute lessons of mine lately printed without my knowledge, falce and unperfect . . .” Either justification is in keeping with the generic practice of addressing the stigma of print.

Elsewhere in the letter he abandons humility and reminds the reader of his connections to the Court (“The Courtly judgement I hope will not be sever against them”) and the Universities from which he so proudly obtained degrees (“those sweet springs of humanity (I meane our two famous Universities) will entertain them for his sake, whome they have already grac’t”). These instances of self-flattery are unusual for the genre, particularly when compared with the letters to the reader of the other lute song books. Added to these are Dowland’s extensive list of
connections on the Continent, specifically in Germany in Italy (discounting his time in France essentially as the folly of youth). His willingness to name-drop in the letter to the reader belies his reticence in the dedicatory epistle: whereas before he was willing to “leave to the report of [unnamed] others” his acclaim and expertise, here he blatantly gives the names of those who of high rank for whom he worked and others who held him in esteem in Germany. In his mention of Italy, he returns briefly to a more reticent style, stating that “What favour and estimation I had . . . I willingly supresse, least I should any way seeme partiall in mine own indevours,” but this is quickly followed by not only the mention of Luca Marenzio’s esteem, but the inclusion of a short letter from the famous musician as well. It is as if Dowland simply can not prevent himself from falling into self-flattery, for every time he expresses himself humbly he follows it with a compliment to himself.

Taken together, this constant switch from humility to self-aggrandizing within the letter to the reader is striking and rather out of place, although not at odds with Dowland’s apparent aim in this, his first (authorized) printed work: he is trying to establish a name for himself in his home country with the intention of publishing even more of his own works later on (“I purpose shortly myself to set forth the choisest of all my Lessons in print, and also an introduction for fingering, with other books of Songs”), proving that the “stigma of print” is clearly a polite formality for Dowland.

**Jones’ First Booke**

Following three years on the heels of Dowland’s successful *First Booke*, Robert Jones’ *First Booke* shows similarities of style and design in its epistles, but does differ significantly in

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153 And rightly so, since it was evidently in France where he converted to Catholicism, a circumstance which he claimed affected his ability to obtain a position in Elizabeth I’s court.
tone and language. Where Dowland’s dedicatory epistle was all high art and language, with a fine line drawn between praise of his patron and self-aggrandizement, Jones’ language is much more typical of the genre.

TO THE HONOURABLE AND VERTVOVS GENTLEMAN SIR ROBERT SIDNEY, KNIGHT GOUERNOUR VNDER HER MAIESTIE OF THE TOWNE OF VLUSHING, AND THE CASTLE OF THE Ramekins IN THE LOW COUNTRIES, AND OF the forts of the same appendant, with the garrison therein placed as well of horse as foote.

YOUR great loue and fauour Honorable Syr, euer manifested to all worthy Sciences, hath imboldened me to offer vppe at your Lordships Shryne, these the vnworthie labours of my musicall trauels. And though in respect of their weakenes, they may perhaps seeme vntimely brought forth, and therefore the vnlikelier to prosper; yet doubt I not but if tenderd by you, they shall happelie find gentle cherishing, which may be a meane to make them more stronger, or else miscarrying, to encourage my endeuours to beget a better: for as no arts wincks at fewer errors than musicke: so none greater enimies to their owne profession then musicians; who whilst in their own singularitie, they condemne euery mans workes, as some waie faulty, they are the cause, the art is the lesse esteemed, and they themselues reputed as selfe-commenders, and men most fantastical. Wherefore if this one censuring infirmitie were remoued, these my ayres (free I dare say from grosse errours) would finde euery where more gratious entertainement. But since euen those, who are best seene in this art, cannot vaunt themselues free from such detractours, I the lesse regard it being so well accompanied. Howsoever if herein I may gaine your Honors good allowance, I shall thinke I have attained to the better ende of my labours (which with my self, and the best of my seruice) restes euer more at your Lordships imploiment.

Your Lordships deuoted in all dutifull seruice. ROBERT IONES.

First, in Jones’ dedication it is the reader who is at fault if he finds anything amiss with his book, following the practice of most other dedicatory epistles of the time. Jones recognizes that of all the arts, music is the one least forgiving of errors (“no arts wincks at fewer errors than musicke”). In finding fault with those unforgiving musicians, he takes aim at they who “in their own singularitie, they condemne euery mans workes, as some waie faulty, they are the cause, the art is the lesse esteemed, and they themselues reputed as selfe-commenders, and men most fantastical.” In other words, those musicians (Dowland, perhaps, especially as a “selfe-commender”) who criticize others’ works end up 1) hurting music’s worth among the general
public and 2) only end up making themselves look egotistical (to use a modern term) and foolish anyway. Of course, in the end, Jones says, since even those “who are best seen in this art” can not escape criticism, if he himself is criticized then he will not take offense because he is “so well accompanied.” In his epistle, Jones found quite a clever way of deflecting criticism.

Secondly, the book itself is embodied, given human form, in Jones’ epistle. Jones’ labors (the book) are perhaps “vntimely brought forth,” like a premature baby, and unlikely to survive without the patron’s “gentle cherishing.” If the patron accepts Jones’ book, then it will flourish and grow stronger, but if it is rejected, the “child” will “miscarry” and Jones will have to try again to conceive a child worthy of “life” (Sidney’s patronage). While his direct address is to Sidney, Jones here is also promoting pity and sympathy among those reading the epistle over Sidney’s shoulder. By buying the book, the reader will be saving the child and helping it to flourish.

TO THE READER

GENTLEMEN, since my desire is your eares shoulde be my indifferent iudges, I cannot thinke it necessary to make my trauels, or my bringing vp arguments to perswade you that I haue a good opinion of my selfe, only thus much will I saie: That I may preuent the rash iudgments of such as know me not. Euer since I practised speaking, I haue practised singing; hauing had noe other qualitie to hinder me from the perfect knowledge of this faculty, I haue been incouraged by the warrant of diuers good iudgments, that my paines herein shall at the least procure good liking, if not delight, which yet for mine owne part I must needes feare as much as I desire, especially when I consider the ripenes of this industrious age, wherein all men endeuour to knowe all thinges, I confesse I was not vnwilling to embrace the conceits of such gentlemen as were earnest to haue me apparel these ditties for them; which though they intended for their priuate recreation, neuer meaning they should come into the light, were yet content vpon intreaty to make the incouragements of this my first adventure, whereupon I was almost glad to make my small skill knowne to the world: presuming that if my cunning failed me in the Musicke:

154 The term “singularitie” in this case probably refers to a rather obscure meaning common in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries of “The fact or quality of differing or dissenting from others or from what is generally accepted . . . esp. in order to render one’s self conspicuous or to attract attention or notice” (“singularity,” in The Oxford English Dictionary, 2nd ed., OED Online (Oxford University Press), http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/50225400), furthering the possibility that Jones is indirectly criticizing Dowland here.
yet the words might speake for themselues, howsoever it pleaseth them to account better of that, then of those. Of purpose (as it should seeme) to make me believe I can do something; my only hope is, that seeing neither my cold ayres, not their idle ditties (as they will needes have me call them) have hitherto beene sounded in the eares of manie: they maie chance to finde such entertainment, as commonlie newes doth in the world: which if I may be so happie to beare, I will not saie my next shall be better, but I will promise to take more paines to shew more points of musicke, which now I could not do, because my chiefest care was to fit the Note to the Word, till when, I must be as well content with each mans lawfull censure, as I shall be glad of some mens undeserved favours.

R. J.

The first sentence is a clear reference to Dowland’s epistles from his First Booke. Jones’ comment, “I cannot thinke it necessary to make my travels, or my bringing vp arguments to perswade you that I haue a good opinion of my selfe,” is in response to Dowland’s references to the places he had been and the people for and with whom he had worked. While Dowland feigned humility in one sentence only to contradict himself in the next, Jones’ letter sets a humble tone from the first and manages to maintain the air throughout his letter (whether it is feigned or not is harder to judge). Further along, Jones states, “Euer since I practised speaking, I haue practised singing,” which is in reference to Dowland’s letter to the reader, “. . .the ingenuous prosessiation of Musicke, which from my childhoode I have ever aymed at, sundry times leaving my native countrey, the better to attain so excellent a science.” Both composers mention their childhood inclinations towards music, but unlike Dowland, Jones makes no reference to a serious course of study, to the practice of music as a “science.” And despite the fact that Jones himself had a BMus from Oxford, he makes no mention of it in his epistles or on the title page, though perhaps he feared his degree from Oxford alone would not stand up well against Dowland’s “Batcheler of musicke in both the Universities.” Jones reluctance to mention his travels might be a similar case: there is no evidence that he traveled outside of England and thus his connections could not be as high and varied as Dowland’s, making them pale in comparison.
At any rate, Jones, by telling the reader he was not going to tell the reader of his education and connections, manages to set himself apart and take the moral (or professional) high ground, so to speak. His self-effacement continues as he discusses his songs and makes the standard statement on his music being intended for private consumption. His music is mere “apparel” for certain gentlemen’s poetry; he was encouraged to set them to music and “was not vnwilling” to try. The “gentlemen,” unnamed of course, are the true authors of the work, and are the ones who encouraged Jones’ publication, taking the burden of the stigma of print off of Jones (after all, he was simply following the advice of his gentlemen friends). Making his “small skill knowne to the world” he asks the reader to at least appreciate the “ditties” (the poems) even if his “cold ayres” do not measure up.

Despite the protestations of his ayres’ unworthiness, Jones does eventually come around to the idea that they may serve some small purpose. Towards the end of his epistle, he comments that “they maie chance to finde such entertainment, as commonlie newes doth in the world.” It is hard to make a claim that music might enlighten or improve the reader as a sermon or a historical work might, but at the very least his songs might prove entertaining. In this context, the word “newes” refers to new things, novelties, rather than news in the modern sense, making the songs entertaining for their sheer novelty, if nothing else.

**Tables of Contents**

Genette defines tables of contents as “in theory no more than a device for reminding us of the titular apparatus – or for announcing it . . . These two types of reduplication (back and front) are certainly not equivalent, and the second unquestionably seems more logical.”

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when our lute song books were printed, the choice of front or back was apparently not
 standardized, and we find that though almost always present, their locations vary from front to
 back with no apparent reason. As one can see in the table below, arranged by printer rather than
 chronologically, there was no consistency even within one printer’s output though Short was the
 most consistent – all but one of his prints has the table of contents at the front of the book.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Book Siglum</th>
<th>Printer</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>TOC/TOC border; TOC location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Greaves</td>
<td>John Windet</td>
<td>1604</td>
<td>x/ ; toc at front</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hume</td>
<td>John Windet</td>
<td>1605</td>
<td>x/ ; toc at front w/ scroll down middle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jones3</td>
<td>John Windet</td>
<td>1605</td>
<td>x/ ; toc at front</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bartlet</td>
<td>John Windet</td>
<td>1606</td>
<td>x/x; toc at back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copprario1</td>
<td>John Windet</td>
<td>1606</td>
<td>x/x; toc at back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ford</td>
<td>John Windet</td>
<td>1607</td>
<td>xx/xx; toc at front of each half</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jones4</td>
<td>John Windet</td>
<td>1609</td>
<td>x/x; toc at front</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dowland1</td>
<td>Peter Short</td>
<td>1597</td>
<td>x/ ; toc at front</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cavendish</td>
<td>Peter Short</td>
<td>1598</td>
<td>x/ ; toc at back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jones2</td>
<td>Peter Short</td>
<td>1600</td>
<td>x/x; toc at front</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosseter</td>
<td>Peter Short</td>
<td>1601</td>
<td>xx/xx; toc at front of each half</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dowland3</td>
<td>Peter Short</td>
<td>1603</td>
<td>x/x; toc at front</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dowland2</td>
<td>Thomas East</td>
<td>1600</td>
<td>x/ ; toc at front</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pilkington</td>
<td>Thomas East</td>
<td>1605</td>
<td>x/ ; toc at front w/ top and bottom scrolls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Danyel</td>
<td>Thomas East</td>
<td>1606</td>
<td>x/x; toc at back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ferrabosco</td>
<td>Thomas Snodham</td>
<td>1609</td>
<td>x/x; toc at back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maynard</td>
<td>Thomas Snodham</td>
<td>1611</td>
<td>x/ ; toc at back w/ top and bottom scrolls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campion1&amp;2</td>
<td>Thomas Snodham</td>
<td>1613</td>
<td>xx/xx; toc at front</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campion3&amp;4</td>
<td>Thomas Snodham</td>
<td>1617</td>
<td>xx/ ; toc at front</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mason</td>
<td>Thomas Snodham</td>
<td>1618</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attey</td>
<td>Thomas Snodham</td>
<td>1622</td>
<td>x/x; toc at back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corkine2</td>
<td>Thomas Snodham</td>
<td>1612</td>
<td>x/ ; toc at back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dowland4</td>
<td>Thomas Snodham</td>
<td>1612</td>
<td>x/x; toc at front</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copprario2</td>
<td>Thomas Snodham; John Brown (pub)</td>
<td>1613</td>
<td>x/ ; toc at back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RDowland</td>
<td>Thomas Snodham; Thomas Adams (pub)</td>
<td>1610</td>
<td>x/x; toc at back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morley</td>
<td>Henry Ballard for</td>
<td>1600</td>
<td>x/ ; toc at front</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4: List of books with table of contents details

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>William Barley</th>
<th>Jones5</th>
<th>William Stansby</th>
<th>1610</th>
<th>x/x; toc at front</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Corkine</td>
<td>William Stansby</td>
<td>1610</td>
<td>x/ ; toc at back</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The placement of the table of contents would not seem such a significant detail to modern readers: in a modern book, if the reader opens to the front and finds no table of contents he can simply flip to the back to check there. The situation is somewhat more complex for the early modern book, however, most particularly if the book was sold unbound, in which case the last pages of the book might be rather difficult to reach and read while browsing. The table of contents’ placement at the front, however, assures the potential buyer will have a chance to review the contents before purchase either way.\(^\text{156}\) Perhaps this is why Campion’s books, sold in pairs, had their complete contents printed at the front of the book rather than in their separate sections. The presence of a border around the table of contents was inconsistent as well; taken together, we must be hesitant to place any significance on the location and design of the tables of contents.

Another point of concern with tables of contents is their accuracy. By looking at signatures and placement of the first page of music we might be able to judge whether the front matter, including the table of contents, was printed before or after the main body. The most well-known example of an incorrect title page is from Dowland’s *Second Booke*, where the table of contents reads “Finding in Fields my Siluia all alone: XX” but the twentieth song is actually “Tosse not my Soule.” Next to the initial T in the cantus parts is printed “for Finding in fields: ye shall finde a better dittie.” By looking at the signature of the page (a recto)on which the table of contents is printed, we see that it is B, the previous recto is signed Aii and the following recto

\(^{156}\) If the contents were at the end of the book and the book was sold unbound, one can imagine the difficulty in getting to them, turning pages around, flipping them over to see the reverse side, etc.
is signed Bii. This means that the first song, “I saw my Lady weepe” was printed on the same sheet as the letter to the reader and the table of contents and that the book was given to East in its entirety with epistles to print in order. Likely, at some point after East had received the manuscript and had printed the table of contents he was given the replacement piece “Tosse not my Soule” and, instead of reprinting an entire sheet, chose simply to add an explanatory note to the reader on the page where the original piece would have been.157

Another common table of contents errors was the misnumbering of the songs. For example, in Cavendish’s book, where the table of contents appears at the end, the first two songs are numbered I, putting the remaining songs’ numbering off by one. This is simply a careless mistake: it is clear from the typesetting of the table that the first song is not a late addition, someone simply made an error. The same carelessness is evident in Attey’s book, printed by Thomas Snodham, in which the table of contents (again at the end of the book) indicates the third song should be “What is all this world but vaine,” but the song is completely missing from the book. Instead, song III is “In a Groue of Trees of Mirtle,” which is labeled IIII in the table of contents.158

Despite these problems, the tables of contents provide a useful function to the reader. In the case of Ford’s book, they marked the parts of the book: the first part, consisting of songs, has a separate table of contents from the second part, consisting of lyra viol duets. Tables of contents could also indicate performing forces or even a group of songs meant to be played in

157 In her biography of Dowland, Poulton wrote “As the change was presumably made after the printing of the table, it must have been very much of a last minute decision” (Poulton, John Dowland, 271). I am not convinced that it had to have been an extreme last minute decision: it could presumably have been made at any time between the printing of the table of contents and the printing of the final signatures (“Tosse not my Soule” is printed on signature M., and the last signature is N.).

158 Attey’s book abounds with errors: later in the text the signatures are mislabeled (there are two Fs and E is missing) leading to another numbering error between the table of contents and the text.
order, such as in Ferrabosco’s *Ayres*, where next to song’s titles in the table are instructions such as “Dialogue” or “1. Part,” “2. Part,” and “3. Part.” Robert Dowland’s *A Musicall Banquet* uses the table of contents to give ascriptions to other composers.

**Conclusion**

As we have seen, the use of dedicatory epistles and letters to the reader were used by the lute song book authors to create a sense of connection to their patrons and readers either by sympathy and pity or by identification. Through the use of courtly rhetoric and praise of patron they showcased their own connections and abilities, often downplaying or even belittling their own work in the process. Most authors emphasized the private nature of their music, often creating some excuse as to why they published them, such as encouragement from their friends (as Jones was encouraged by the “gentlemen” who wrote the poems), through some need to set the record straight (as both Rosseter/Campion and Dowland claimed), or perhaps simply their goodwill towards mankind, to give pleasure or entertainment. The dichotomy of the dedicatory epistle, simultaneously private and public, gave buyers the vicarious feeling of the intimacy of a private gift; in purchasing a book they became a part of the courtly tradition, became patrons themselves. By embodying the text in the form of a child, authors could evoke emotions in their patrons or readers: it is easier after all, to throw aside an inanimate object, but to abandon a child is much more difficult. When the text is referred to as a child in the dedicatory epistle, it is to ask the patron for protection, perhaps to care for the child as if it were an orphan. Though addressed to the patron, the reader too is being asked to care for the book (by buying it). When the author in the letter to the reader refers to the book as a child, he does so to beg the reader’s indulgence, thus harming the book’s “biting censures.”
The use of poetry, either as an epistle itself or in commendatory verses to the author, were another technique used to engage the reader. Danyel’s charming verse epistle, while expressing regret at making his ayres public, manages to elicit a sympathetic response in the reader despite his asking “. . .why had it not beene ynow,/ That Milton onely heard our melodie?” Commendatory verses puffed up the author, encouraging the reader to buy based on their praises and the value of their own names (when given). And finally, tables of contents served a functional role, laying out in detail the contents either in advance at the book’s front or as a kind of retrospective to what had gone before at the book’s end. All of these elements, from dedication to letters to the reader, to the tables of contents served to unite the separate ayres from little more than a disparate collection to a unified “body” (if the reader will forgive the metaphor), a collection presented as a whole to the reader for purchase.

In the next chapter, I move away from para texts to examine the texts themselves. Taking a somewhat different approach to the genre, I will consider several books from the perspective of small, medium, and large-scale structure in the songs. By considering structure in the books, I hope to gain an understanding of how and why composers chose certain texts and musical settings and where connections exist between different songs. I will analyze song choices, texts, musical styles, forms, and settings in these books with an eye to judging whether authors took any special approaches to compiling books and whether considerations were made for particular patrons in their choices.
Chapter Four: Organizing Structures in Lute Song Books

The Lute Song Book in Historical Context

Why did composers choose certain texts to set and once they had set them, why include them in any particular book? In regards to the texts themselves, the composer’s choice could be simply whimsy, a preference for certain poetic themes or structures; the texts could perhaps reflect a composer’s desire to address a particular person or event; and at times individual text choices, when taken as part of a larger form, might reflect some greater significance within the book. Regarding that book and the contents and ordering of the songs therein, a couple possibilities spring to mind: first, the ordering could be completely random, perhaps based on the order in which the printer received them; second, the composer might have intended certain groups of songs to be printed in a particular order, or third, the composer could have intended a larger, overarching structure for the book requiring the songs be arranged in a particular way. In the first two instances, the composer’s control over the book-making process is relatively limited, the latter, however, assumes a great deal of control on the composer’s part over the book’s production.

Though little literature exists on poetic choices and structure within English song books, similar studies written on Italian madrigal books offer some clues as to the types of ordering possible within a song book. In “Monteverdi’s Poetic Choices,” for example, Nino
Pirrotta elucidates the historical and poetic significances behind the strong textual connection in his madrigal books.

The way he handled the texts chosen for his compositions often gives proof of his uncommon penetration of their literary values and, what is more, his poetic choices indicate in each instance decided tastes and tend . . . to reflect the phases and moods of current poetic production. But his in an episodic culture, irregular, nourished by an unquestionably keen intelligence, by the contacts he had in every phase of his life with persons of a high intellectual and cultural level, and probably by the constant habit of reading and reflection.\textsuperscript{159}

One can follow Monteverdi’s choices and tastes as they change throughout his life: from early anonymous or less well-known poets, to drawing from Tasso and Guarini, from whose major works almost entire madrigal books were drawn. One might mention as well those texts which Pirrotta calls “nonchoices,” or texts imposed on Monteverdi by others.

Subsequent studies of structure and poetic choices have focused on late sixteenth-century Italian madrigal books from composers such as Luca Marenzio, Monteverdi and Jacquet de Berchem.\textsuperscript{160} For example, in his article on Marenzio’s \textit{Madrigali a quattro, cinque et sei voci} of 1588, Richard Freedman details a pattern of precise poetic and musical choices “so complex . . . that it is nearly impossible to consider any work offered [in it] except in relation to the meticulous narrative that emerges from the assembled settings.”\textsuperscript{161}

In the book, Marenzio’s structure is based on a move from a group \textit{sestinas} and sonnets by


\textsuperscript{161} Freedman, “‘Marenzio's Madrigali a quattro, cinque et sei voci of 1588,” 320.
Petrarch to a collection of texts by Jacopo Sannazaro; within and between these groupings Marenzio employs musical organization through numbers of voices, cleffing and most significantly, textual themes and forms, justifying for Freedman the use of the term “madrigal cycle” in reference to the book.  

Massimo Ossi’s study of Monteverdi’s fifth book of madrigals in comparison to Marenzio’s seventh book of madrigals and the musical and poetic details of each book whose contents both generally follow the structure of Guarini’s Il pastor fido provides yet another exemplar of extended compositional design and composer influence over the books’ printing.  

As Ossi demonstrates, Marenzio’s book follows a rhetorical plan in which the book’s main theme is introduced in the first and second madrigals followed by seven pieces (madrigals 3-8) that draw the reader/performer into “the male lover’s torments,” (Tirsi) which is then followed by a summary of this first section. The second section (madrigals 11-17) features themes of the promise of love and its consequences and introduces the woman’s (Amarilli’s) point of view. Monteverdi’s fifth book follows the same general structural principle but successfully draws in poetic texts from beyond Il pastor fido to highlight or provide commentary on Guarini’s text.

Whether one calls these connected pieces in Italian madrigal books cycles or digests or simply groupings, one can find enough examples of planned structural design within song books to demonstrate at least some composer control over the book’s publishing process. Though one can not find quite as tight a level of connection between songs in the English lute song books, there are apparent instances of structural planning within individual songs,

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162 Ibid., 322-23.

163 Ossi, “Monteverdi, Marenzio, and Battista Guarini’s ‘Cruda Amarilli’,” 330-34.

164 Ibid., 332-33.
between small groups of songs, and within some books as a whole. In this chapter, I will analyze small, medium, and large-scale structure within the song books with an eye toward discovering patterns in poetic choices and musical settings as well as thematic coherence across multiple songs.

**Small-scale Structure**

The choices the composers made in regard to individual songs and their texts are what I would call small-scale structure; that is, decisions that affect one piece within the larger collection of the book.

When it comes to the poetry from which the composers generally selected, their quality was generally denigrated by early scholars of both Elizabethan poetry and the lute song, typified by Edward Doughtie’s comment that

> Poetry for music, then, is capable of some unique effects, but it is limited in that much of its content and appeal must be on the surface; richness and density of image and allusion are denied it. Consequently songs as poems are generally minor poems – but we would be poorer without them.\(^{165}\)

More recent analysis has proven this statement to be short-sighted; the poems which our composers set were highly stylized, rife with rhetorical devices and complex metrical structures. According to Daniel Fischlin, they were lyrics “in small proportions,” and their core characteristics were their “condensed formal structures, concise expression, and ‘small proportions,’” with brevity “opposed by *exergasia*, a rhetorical figure that repeats the same thought in many different ways.”\(^{166}\) Central to Fischlin’s study is his understanding of the ayres’ “inexpressibility topos,” that “Inexpressibility lies at the heart of the thematic concerns

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\(^{166}\) Fischlin, *In Small Proportions*, 50-1.
of the ayre: its two most common themes, love and death, are focused on death despair (the elegy) and love despair (the amorous complaint or lament), both of which are standard and interrelated elements in Petrarchan and late Renaissance thematics.” In other words, the very words of the songs are incapable of expressing the poet’s (or the composer’s) true feeling. This leads the lyric into a realm of “negative assertion,” where paradox and other forms of negation play a key role in the poetics of the ayre. Robin Headlam Wells’ book *Elizabethan Mythologies* also offers nuanced analyses of lute song lyrics, studying both the miniature (that is, the rhetorical devices present in individual song lyrics) and the large-scale. His analysis of Rosseter’s 21 ayres as a unified collection, “a musical *speculum* reflecting every facet of man’s amatory experience,” strongly informs some of my own analyses of the song books discussed below. What is, alas, commonly missing from both Wells’ and Fischlin’s studies is an analysis of the music to accompany their fine readings of the lyrics. As both Fischlin and Wells acknowledge, lute song lyrics are largely informed by Petrarchan poetry. Nearly all the composers either set Petarch’s lyrics (in Italian or translated) or lyrics loosely based on Petrarchan poems or themes. And many of the poems that were not Petrarchan were anti-Petrarchan, relaying sentiments based more in the real than the ideal, often consciously playing off of the standard Petrarchan traditions.

Musically speaking, the lute songs are of widely varying quality and style. As mentioned above (in Chapter One), the standard analysis centers around three main styles: polyphonic, light, and declamatory, with Dowland being emblematic of the first and third and

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167 Ibid., 53-4.


169 This is meant less a criticism of either scholar than it is a comment on the state of lute song analysis.
Campion the second, and Ferrabosco also the third. Of course, there were more than three lute song composers, and the minor figures have been fit into whichever category their songs most resemble. The polyphonic ayre is typified by duple meter, slow melodic lines, and a more complex lute accompaniment, while the light ayres are often in a triple dance-like meter with simple, chordal accompaniment. Declamatory ayres, usually described as being influenced by the contemporaneous Italian trend towards monody, are less melodic (more “declamatory”) and the accompaniment is reduced to “mere chords.”\textsuperscript{170} Though a bit reductive, essentially it explains the styles present in the printed lute songs; my largest complaint is simply that due to its reductive nature, few studies of the “lesser” composers have been published. As I have shown in Chapter Two, the books’ titles suggested several methods of performance, but the basic is either a lute or a bass viol (or both) with a vocal melody. The trend in later books was towards solo songs rather than the four-part songs found in Dowland’s \textit{First Booke}.

In this study of four lute song books, three of which have been little discussed, I will use both the tools of Fischlin and Wells to examine the poetics of the lyrics and to analyze the music of the same songs. The aim of this is to find patterns of design in the author’s choices for songs in the books, whether those choices are based on an awareness of their patron’s gender or musical abilities and interests or based on a thematic structure that spans sections of the book or the book as a whole. To that end, I will begin with Corkine’s \textit{Second Booke} and Jones’ \textit{The Muses Gardin for Delights} (both of which have female dedicatees) in an analysis of the composers’ small-scale decisions.

\textsuperscript{170} Spink, \textit{English Song: Dowland to Purcell}, 45.
Corkine’s *Second Booke*

Corkine’s *Second Booke* is a gathering of songs and lyra viol pieces dedicated to five patrons, Sir Edward Dymmocke (the regularized spelling of the name is Dymoke; the first eight songs), Sirs Robert and Henry Rich (the next seven songs), and the Misses Ursula Stapleton and Elizabeth Cope (the three last songs plus several pieces for lyra viol). Sir Dymmocke, King’s Champion at James I’s coronation, was married three times, his last in 1610, two years before Corkine’s *Second Booke* was printed. The Riches were the sons of Baron Rich (eventually Earl of Warwick) and Penelope Rich (who had had a notorious affair with Charles Blount, Earl of Devonshire and was referred to in Coprario’s *Funeral Teares*). Both were well-known at court; early in his adult life Robert performed in Ben Jonson’s *Masque of Beauty* (1609), and later he succeeded his father to the Earldom of Warwick and had a notable public career. Henry, the younger son, who was a famous courtier of James I, in 1612 married Isabel Cope, daughter of Sir Walter Cope. Doughtie’s notes on Corkine’s *Second Booke* suggest that Isabel Cope and Elizabeth Cope (to whom the book is dedicated) are one and the same; this seems likely since the name Isabel is a variation of Elizabeth and since all records I have found say that Sir Walter had only one daughter and heir, Isabel.171 Henry Rich was eventually made the first Earl of Holland, and inheriting his father-in-laws property through his wife, became owner of the mansion in Kensington now known as Holland House (at the time it was Cope Castle). Ursula Stapleton was the daughter of Robert Stapleton (or Stapilton, according to *The Baronetage of England*) of Kent, who married Sir Robert Baynard of Kent.172

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172 R. Johnson and Edward Kimber, *The Baronetage of England Containing a Genealogical and Historical Account of All the English Baronets Now Existing: With Their Descents, Marriages, ... Illustrated with Their
Of the book’s songs, two have texts that can be identified, although both are unattributed: “T’is true, t’is day” (Song III) by John Donne, and “The fire to see my woes for anger burneth” (Song IX) by Sir Philip Sidney. The Donne poem is the earliest printed version of “Breake of Day,” as Doughtie says, a poem “in the tradition of the aube,” which is a lover’s complaint at the coming break of day. The Sidney poem is found in both “Certayne Sonnets” and Book III of the Arcadia. In Book III, Sidney describes it as being performed by “an excellent consort” of “fiue Violles, and as many voyces,” and in the sonnets it includes a header reading “To the tune of Non credo gia che piu infelice amante,” a villanella found in a sixteenth-century Winchester College manuscript.173 Doughtie, after comparing extant copies of the Arcadia to Corkine’s version determined that Corkine’s text probably came from the 1590 edition (STC 22539). A couple other textual points of interest are worth mentioning here. First, Song I (“Each louely grace”) is an acrostic that spells ELIZABETH, bringing to mind the later dedicatee, Elizabeth Cope (although it is a bit backhanded to honor one of the later dedicatees when Corkine made such a point of dedicating the first portion of the book to Sir Edward alone). The eighth song’s text is found in numerous manuscript sources of the seventeenth century under variations on the title “To young gentlewomen at Court” and is attributed to both Joshua Sylvester and William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke.174

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Musically, the book is a mix of light, frothy tunes and ayres that attempt a more serious, declamatory style. Only five songs (split into two, two, and one between the sections) have lute accompaniments, elsewhere either one or two (in the case of the songs dedicated to the ladies) viols are the sole accompaniment. There is an interesting pattern of cleffing for the cantus parts: in the first section he steadily alternates C3 and G2 clefs, though this does not continue as faithfully in the second section. The clefs for the cantus parts in the ladies’ section are all high clefs (G2 and C1), although the final two songs include F4 clefs for the second voice parts, which might suggest they were written specifically for the soon-to-be wed couples. Scanning through the cantus parts, one can see that Corkine was very fond of octave leaps; at least half the songs contain one if not more, and not always at points where they might enhance the lyrics. The bass viol accompaniments are usually quite nice, Corkine seems to have had a knack for writing for the viol. He regularly takes advantage of the instrument’s full range, ending phrases and pieces on the more resonant open strings much more often than we shall see Jones does later. The lute parts are generally chordal and uncomplicated (Song XV is a bit of an exception to that) and are certainly not Corkine’s compositional focus. I will now move on to individual pieces for more detailed analysis of Corkine’s text choices and musical settings. From his eighteen songs, I have chosen five pieces in particular that represent his compositional style and the poetic choices Corkine made.

**Downe, downe proud minde (Song VII)**

While the first song’s theme is based on a traditional praise of the poet’s lady, the remaining seven songs in the section dedicated to Dymmocke are all set to texts focusing on the lamenting the pain of love and loss though the poems’ rhymes and meters vary wildly...
from one to the next. All the texts are clearly presented from a male perspective, from the first song’s praise to through the Donne’s *aube* in song IIII, through the final song in this first section, “Beware faire Maides,” in which the lyrics suggest a mature, worldly-wise man offering naive young women fatherly advice.

One of the standout songs in this first section is Song VII, an unusual piece both musically and poetically. It consists of four quatrains in two sections of two verses each rhyming a a b b, but metrically it fits into no set pattern, consisting of two iambic hexameters, a third line in iambic pentameter, and a final “fourteener” (an iambic heptameter). This, combined with substitutions and feminine rhymes that extend creates an uneven rhythm that is hard to predict, and I would imagine even harder to set to music.

**DOwne, downe proud minde, thou soarest farre aboue thy might,**
Aspiring heart, wilt thou not cease to breed my woe?
High thoughts, meete with disdaine, Peace and Loue fight,
Peace thou hast wone the field, and Loue shall hence in bondage goe.

This fall from Pride my rising is from griefes great deepe
That bottome wants, vp to the toppe of happy blisse:
In peace and rest I shall securely sleepe,
Where neither scorne, disdaine, Loues torment, griefe, or anguish is.

*Or this:*

**Stoope, stoope, proud heart, and mounting hopes downe, downe descend,**
Rise *Spleene* and burst, hence *Ioyes*; for, *Griefe* must now ascend:
My *Starres* conspire my spoile; which is effected:
I dye, yet liue in death; of *Loue* and *Life* (at once) reiected.

Then, O descend; and from the height of *Hope* come downe:
My *Loue* and *Fates* on mee (aye mee) doe ioyntly frowne,
Then Death (if euer) now come doe thy duty;
And martir him (alas) that martir’d is by *Loue* and *Beauty*.

The poems’ rhetorical devices are numerous, its initial *epizeuxis* with the phrase “Downe, downe” (and the echo of that in the second section, “Stoope, stoope”) are reminiscent of
Dowland’s “Mourn, mourn, day is with darkness fled,” or “Sorrow, sorrow stay.” \(^{175}\) In each case, the emphasis on one word at the very beginning of the song sets the piece’s tone and prepares the listener for the pathos to come. Elements of repetition appear elsewhere in the lyrics as well; for example, in the beginning of the second section (the third and fourth quatrains), the listener is reminded of the first section with the words “mounting hopes downe, downe descend.” The sudden outburst in line 14, “mee (aye mee)” invokes pathos through both repetition and the exclamation itself, and the use of exclamation is used again in the poem’s last line.

Paradox (a significant sign of Fischlin’s inexpressibility topos) to signify that which cannot be expressed is used to great extent in the poem. The most striking paradox is that in lines three and four where “Peace and Loue fight.” Here the listener is struck not only by the image of a personified Peace fighting, but that Peace would win the fight; in line three Peace and Love are connected through combat in the same half line, but after Love’s defeat the two are separated metaphorically and physically on separates halves of the fourth line. In the second stanza, the paradox of the fall of Pride leading “to the toppe of happy blisse” amid the steady stream of opposites (“rising . . . great deepe;” “bottome . . . vp”) is noticeable and surely has some religious overtones (since Pride is one of the mortal sins, one achieves grace through pride’s abandonment). Finally, the alternating of the absence of self (stanza 1) and the personal (stanza two) combined with shifting apostrophes adds another element of pathos to the poem. First the speaker addresses his “proud minde,” then presumably his audience; in the second section the addressee changes line by line, increasing the tension and pushing the poem through to the end.

\(^{175}\) I rely heavily on Gideon Burton’s excellent website of rhetorical terms and their definitions for my analysis (Gideon O. Burton, “Silva Rhetoricae: The Forest of Rhetoric,” http://rhetoric.byu.edu/).
Musically, Corkine’s choice to set the piece for voice and viol alone add to a sparse texture that is meant to enhance the pathos expressed in the lyrics. Both viol and voice move in long and extended notes with almost no ornamentation. The cantus part, in a C3 clef with a range of an eleventh, is filled with large leaps that emphasize particular points in the poem: for example, the opening phrase “Downe, downe” drops at least a sixth from c1 to e, and is followed by an octave leap from g to g1 as the voice (and the speaker’s mind) “soars” in pride.\textsuperscript{176}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{example2.png}
\caption{“Downe, downe proud minde” mm. 1-8}
\end{figure}

Example 2: “Downe, downe proud minde” mm. 1-8

Through the first two and a half lines, the vocal line is characterized by falling figures that approximate tears or sighs where it begins on a relatively high note and then quickly descends. This is particularly noticeable in the second musical line over the text “though soarest far above thy might,” where within the space of seven notes the voice descends a full eleventh (the entire range of the piece). The vocal line’s contour changes, however, towards the end as the speaker’s relief becomes evident; as Peace and Love fight, the lines begin moving upward (generally), ascending from d to g1, and in the last phrase from g to g1 before falling slightly to end on c1.

\textsuperscript{176} I say “at least” because the cantus in the book enters on a D over a sustained C in the viol part, which is probably a mistake. The possibility exists that the vocal line was supposed to have an octave jump from e1 to e, since Corkine used octave leaps frequently in this book.
In addition to the melodic elements mentioned above, Corkine creates for the listener a musical paradox in changing sonorities: where the first half of the song had a C major sonority while the voice lines descended and the lyrics reflected pathos (there are no accidentals in either voice or viol), in the second half the mode changes to minor despite the decreased pathos of the text as the speaker abandons love and embraces peace.

The fire to see my woes for anger burneth (Song IX)

Corkine’s setting of the Sidney sonnet was not the first music used for this poem. As mentioned above, Sidney himself wrote that the poem was to be performed to an Italian villanella called Non credo gia che piu infelice amante. The villanella in the manuscript is in four parts, and typical of the genre with the melody in the top voice, rhythms that highlight the hendecasyllabic lines, and a monophonic texture. Sidney adapted his English text to the Italian model, adjusting the metric patterns where it would least affect the text’s performance to the existing tune. Though Corkine does not use the tune Sidney mentions, his setting is similar in style to the villanella in that it uses repeating rhythmic patterns and, for a large part of the song, a homophonic accompaniment in lute and viol that mimics the texture of the villanella’s lower voice parts.

The Fire to see my woes for anger burneth,
The Aire in raine for my affliction weepeth,
The Sea to Ebbe for griefe his flowing turneth,
The Earth with pitty dull his Center turneth.
Fame is with wonder blased,
Time runnes away for sorrow,
Place standeth still amased,
To see my night of ils which hath no morrow.
Alas, all onely she no pittie taketh
to know my miseries, But Chast and cruell,
My fall her glory maketh,
Yet still her eyes giue to my flames their fuell.

Fire, burne mee quite, till sense of burning leaue mee:
Aire, let me draw thy breath no more in anguish:
Sea, drown’d in thee, of tedious life bereaue me:
Earth, take this earth, wherein my spirits languish.
Fame, say I was not borne,
Time, haste my dying houre,
Place, see my graue vptorne.
Fire, Aire, Sea, Earth, Fame, Time, Place, show your power.
Alas, from all their helps I am exiled:
For hers am I, and death feares her displeasure,
Fye death thou art beguilde.
Though I be hers, she sets by me no treasure.

Sidney called this poem a sonnet, although it is certainly an atypical sonnet since it
has only twelve lines rather than the traditional fourteen. The first section, comprised of the
first four lines are hendecasyllabic; the second section consists of one quatrain of three
seven-syllable lines and a hendecasyllabic line followed by a quatrain of two hendecasyllabic
lines, a seven-syllable line and finally ended with another hendecasyllabic line. The poem
itself is a typical lament for unrequited love, made interesting by the use of personification
and the figures of pathos. The first stanza is an address to an audience: the speaker is telling
the listener of his situation as the four elements and fame, time, and place, all personified,
show their pity for him, but his love does not. Within the personification each element
performs a typical act that is used to represent pity and the speaker sees pity in every natural
thing; the fire burns, the skies rain, the seas ebb, the world continues to turn. Thus his lover,
in not showing any pity, in remaining “Chast and cruell,” is unnatural. The second stanza is
an apostrophe to the elements who are unable to help him and a curse to death, who so
“feares her [the lover’s] displeasure” that he will not take the speaker, making even death
itself act against its nature. The *articulus* in line 20 adds to the pathos the speaker evokes: all
nature, one piling on the next, piling on the next speeds the poem to its climax where the
speaker acknowledges that all his pleas are in vain.

Corkine’s music for this poem includes both lute and viol accompaniment, adding
some inner voices to the song’s texture and hinting of the villanella to which the lyrics had
originally been set. Harmonically the piece shifts between a major and minor feel almost line
by line; despite the fact that the score indicates two flats in the voice and viol parts there are a
significant number of accidentals. Structurally, Corkine’s use of written-out phrase
repetition is somewhat unusual for the lute song genre: the first two lines are repeated note-
for-note in all three parts in the third and fourth lines but since Sidney had written the poem
specifically for an existing piece of music, its basic regularity fits Corkine’s repetition.
Within these first four lines, both voice and accompaniment move in relatively slow note
values and a homophonic texture with the exception of a few passing notes and a cadential
ornament in the lute part. The next section, where the lines are shortened to seven syllables,
features a similar shortening of note values (and a little bit of word-painting on “time runs
away for sorrow”) and the lute part also becomes more active, moving much more freely and
independently than in the first section. The musical line for “To see my night of ils which
hath no morrow” (the same line which in the second verse uses *articulus*), reflects the
climactic moment in the poem:
Example 4: “The fire to see my woes for anger burneth” mm. 34 - 40

A couple instances of text painting make themselves apparent in this piece, for example the “running” of fame and the musical sigh on the word “alas” (most conveniently the word is used in both verses). The most significant is the soaring cantus line on “My fall her glory maketh” where the musical line quite literally falls before rising into “glory.”

As by a fountaine chast Diana sate (Song XIII), Away, away (Song XIII), and When I was borne (Song XV)

The seven songs that make up the second section of Corkine’s book, those dedicated to the Rich brothers, are a little more varied than those in the first section; one has third-person narration (song XIII), two texts are based on classical mythological themes (songs XIII and XV), and song XIII is much lighter in tone than the previous songs. In fact, these three thematically out-of-place songs form the basis of a small nod by Corkine to the upcoming nuptials of the dedicatees. Their texts, presented from a male point of view, create an admonishment to women to abandon their unnatural single state in favor of marriage and
motherhood. Songs XIII and XV are both Venus and Adonis poems in a single stanza (a Venus and Adonis stanza consists of a quatrain and a couplet, both in iambic pentameter with a b a b c c rhyme, named after Shakespeare’s poem of the same name) and while both refer by name to well-known female mythological figures (Diana, of course, the goddess of the hunt and an emblem of chastity; Lucina the goddess of childbirth), the texts hint at well-known male mythological features: Actaeon and Hercules.

As by a fountaine chast Diana sate,
Viewing of Natures pride, her beauteous face,
The waters bold with loue, she boyles with hate,
Chastning their pride with exile from their place;
They murmuring ranne to Sea and being there;
Each liquid drop turn’d to a brinish teare.

In song XIII, as Diana sits in her forest retreat by the fountain where she bathed, she grows angry at the very water in the fountain, which upon seeing her beauty falls in love with her. Diana in her anger banishes the water from the fountain, sending it out to sea, where it is transformed from fresh water to salt water (“each liquid drop turn’d to a brinish teare”). This is very reminiscent of the tale of Diana and Actaeon, in which Actaeon, the hunter trained by Chiron the centaur, happens upon Diana bathing at her fountain retreat. Diana, in a rage at being seen, throws water at Actaeon, transforming him into a stag. In both the poem and the mythical tale, it is Diana, the avowed virgin’s, angry rejection of the unwelcome suitor and any invitation to sexual activity that leads to a transformation of the suitor. In this we find a reversal of traditional roles, in which the virginal woman willingly accepts her new husband’s attentions and whose body is then transformed during intercourse.

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177 Though Song XIII is a third-person narrative, it is decidedly partial to the male point of view, highlighting as it does the sorrowful effect of Diana’s wrath.

“Away, away” is a light ayre in every sense, and standing alone its lyrics, melody, rhythm, and accompaniment all combine into a ribald song fit to be dedicated to two young men making a splash at court. The poem is an address from a man to a woman who has vowed “to liue and dye a Maid,” reminding her of the terrible fate awaiting virgins in the afterlife. The most notable image in the lyric is that of dancing “about with bobtaile Apes in hell,” a clear reference to the English proverb “They that die maids, lead apes in hell.” The proverb’s origins are rather muddy, but probably based in the anti-Catholic sentiments of sixteenth-century England, where lifelong chastity was viewed as leading to sin and lechery and the “usefulness” of marriage was upheld as a high virtue. By the late sixteenth century it had gained so much currency that Shakespeare, Donne, and other writers used it in their works, and it spawned the term “ape-leader,” a synonym for an old maid.

Away, away, call backe what you haue said,
When you did vow to liue and dye a Maid,
O if you knew what shame to them befell,
That dance about with bobtaile Apes in hell,
You’d breake your oath, and for a world of gaine,
From Hymens pleasing sports no more abstaine.
Your selfe, your Virgin girdle would diuide,
And put aside the Maiden vaile that hides
the chiefest Iemme of Nature. And would lye,
Prostrate to eu’ry Peasant that goes by, Rather then undergo such shame, No tongue can tell,
what iniury is done to Maids in hell.

The poem scans largely in closed heroic couplets with the occasional open couplet and metric substitution. The image of the ape, which in Renaissance England signified both lust and

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179 I refer the reader to the following article for a more extensive examination of the proverb’s history: Gwendolyn B. Needham, “New Light on Maids “Leading Apes in Hell”,” The Journal of American Folklore 75, no. 296 (June 1962): 106-119.

180 Fellowes apparently felt the need to bowdlerize the text in his 1926 edition of the Second Booke, though he does not mention it in his preface. His (poorly) emended text reads “and would wed with any peasant rather than when dead to undergo such shame.” In addition, the song’s text is reminiscent of “When Phoebus first did Daphne love” from Dowland’s third book.
foolishness, and the maid resigned to an eternity of leading (i.e. leading on) apes for all eternity is meant to suggest both “as woman’s dupe and as her betrayer,” thus the maid is doubly punished. The man suggests that by knowing the consequences of keeping her vow, she would be happy to give up her virginity to any passing man. The humor and social statement here suggest that losing ones virginity to a man, any man, is better than the perversion of bestiality that awaits virgins in hell. It is an apt subject for two of the book’s dedicatees, Henry Rich and Elizabeth Cope, who must by this time have been affianced (although probably not married or surely Corkine would have referred to Elizabeth as Rich’s wife). One can imagine Henry performing this with or for his soon-to-be wife and the humor of the sexual overtones surrounding their impending marriage. And taken in the context of the previous song with its tragic commentary on “chast Diana,” and the following song with its mention of childbirth, Corkine’s acknowledgement of the couples’ impending married state is clear.

Musically the song is just as light as the poem, arranged for voice (in C3 clef) and viol alone. It is largely in duple with a small triple section in the middle, both the voice and viol have fast, stepwise moving lines with occasional repetition of melodic material. One example of such repetition (in this case synonymia since the repetition happens at different pitch levels) occurs at a point of rhythmic interest in the piece as well.

Example 5: “Away, away” mm. 23-29

181 Ibid., 112.
Here we can see both the sequential pattern in the cantus and the hemiola created by the bass line are working in concert on the words “maiden veil,” creating a stretching effect that perhaps is meant to bring to mind a veil. Though there is no noticeable imitation between the cantus and viol parts, the viol itself has some elements of repetition; in the last line, as the voice repeats the words “no tongue can tell what injury is done” the viol repeatedly descends in steps over an octave and avoids a strong cadence until the last iteration of the phrase.

Example 6: “Away, away” mm. 39-end

“When I was borne,” the last of the songs dedicated to the Rich brothers, is the second of mythological-themed songs. In it, the narrator (presumably Hercules), tells of his difficult birth, during which his mother, in labor for seven days and nights, cried out to Lucina (goddess of childbirth) to help her. Lucina, however, had been sent to kill Alcmene, Hercules mother, by a jealous Juno, and in sitting cross-legged Lucina prevented Alcmene
from giving birth. In fact, it was only through the trickery of one of Alcmené’s servants that Lucina uncrossed her legs and Hercules was born.\(^{182}\)

\[
\text{WHen I was borne, Lucina crosse-legg’d sate,}
\]
\[
The angry starres with omminous aspects,
\]
\[
frownd on my birth, And the foredooming Fate,
\]
\[
ordain’d to brand me with their dire effects,
\]
\[
The Sunne did hide his face, and left the night
to bring me to this worlds accursed light.
\]

Despite the obvious pain involved in Alcmené’s extended delivery and Hercules’ subsequent woes, the point made here is that the professed maiden of the previous song has been won over by the singer’s warning of the fate awaiting “maids in hell,” resulting in her current state of motherhood (and mother to a heroic figure, at that). Finally, the story is complete: the woman the poems’ narrator has been addressing has advanced from virginal outrage in the first song, to being convinced to abandon her vow to “liue and dye a Maid” in the second, to giving birth to a child in the third.

Also not to be dismissed is Corkine’s flattery of Sirs Henry and Robert Rich in characterizing them as heroic figures. Actaeon and Hercules were both strong, virile men with ties to the gods: Hercules was of course the son of Jupiter and Actaeon was the grandson of Apollo through Aristaeus. By including in the section dedicated to these two young men these songs Corkine was comparing the men to the heroes at the same time that he was making references to the upcoming marriages of Henry and Isabel and Ursula.

\textit{Wee yet agree (Song XVII)}

Where the previous three songs served as an admonishment against the single life, the songs dedicated to the two women, Isabel and Ursula, instead offer a more harmonious view; presumably after taking the lesson to heart, the two young women are now happily paired and the final two songs reflect this in both their texts and their musical settings (both are vocal duets). “Wee yet agree” is a lovely vocal and instrumental duet with a cantus (C1 clef) and lute and a bassus (F4 clef) and bass viol. The poem’s sentiments suggest once again the connection between Henry Rich and Elizabeth Cope, and the layout suggests that perhaps Cope played lute and Henry Rich the viol.183

    Wee yet agree, but shall be straight wayes out,
    Thy Passions are so harsh and strange to mee,
    That when the concord’s perfect I may doubt,
    The time is lost which I haue spent for thee,
    Yet one the ground must be, which you shall proue,
    Can beare all parts that descant on my loue.

A Venus and Adonis stanza, the poem could take either woman or man as the speaker since it is gender-neutral, making it perfect for a duet in which the singers sing the same lyrics. It suggests a couple newly in love (or perhaps newly married) working out their relationship in musical terms. The musical terminology includes references to perfect concord (and by comparison, “harsh and strange” could also be considered in musical terms), the ground, and the descant. Though Doughtie’s comment on the musical terminology is “the musical setting does not illustrate them as fully as one might expect,” I think that the level of word-painting is consistent with what we have seen in Corkine’s other songs; that is, he makes occasional use of it but not to the point of overkill or absurdity.184

183 I do not think that is an unreasonable speculation, although I have no hard proof for this; likewise the connection holds for Ursula Stapleton and her fiancé despite the fact that he is not one of the book’s dedicatees.

Corkine’s music is in duple time and D major sonority and features both separate and overlapping voice lines as the bassus and cantus interact musically. The bassus lines are quite ambitious, vocally speaking, extending from A all the way up to e1, but are generally well-balanced; the cantus part, though its range too is large (b to e2) often has lines that are much narrower in focus. For example, the opening phrase for the bassus begins on d and then quickly rises up to d1, whereas the cantus’ first line rises only a sixth in longer note values.

Example 7: “Wee yet agree” mm. 1-8

There are several points of imitation between all the parts. Between the cantus and bassus one finds imitation at the interval of a second towards the end of the piece on the words “that descant on my love.”

Example 8: “Wee yet agree” mm. 24-29

Between the bassus and the instrumental parts the imitation is quite common. An excellent example is that at the beginning of the song, the bassus’ entrance on “Thy passions are so
“harsh” is prefigured in both the lute and the bass viol parts one after the other, creating a cascade effect and providing the main musical interest.

Example 9: “Wee yet agree” mm. 5-10

The word-painting (or lack thereof) of which Doughtie was critical is most noticeable in two places. The first is on the text “harsh and strange” in the cantus, where between cantus and lute is found a most discordant G# diminished chord while on their way to a cadence on A. The chord quickly dissipates into a more normal (for the lute song at least) cadence, but it is present long enough to be both intentional and obvious word-painting. The second place is on “Yet one the ground must be,” where the bassus performs the musical function of the ground, repeating an E while the cantus and accompaniment continue above it.

Example 10: “Wee yet agree” mm. 17-20

185 I suspect that Doughtie was most disappointed by the fact that Corkine did not set the line “that descant on my love” to an actual descant.
Though Corkine has received little scholarly attention for his lute songs, judging from what has been shown above, he was not incapable of both choosing interesting, complex texts and setting them with some delicacy. In addition, the selection of songs that appear to tie in specifically with his dedicatees shows that neither were his choices of patrons nor where his textual choices random or careless. Even texts that on the surface seem trite or silly (such as Song XIXI) had relevancy to at least some of the book’s patrons. My reading is based only on the little we know of the dedicatees; if we could know more about the individuals to whom these songs were dedicated I suspect we would find even more connections between them and the songs.

Poetic and Musical Themes as Structure in Lute Song Books

As I have shown in the book above, Corkine took care to make connections to both readers and patrons (and patrons as readers) not only in the paratexts but within the texts themselves. In the following section I will look at lute songs books for elements of overarching structure, themes or musical elements that bind groups of songs together into a coherent whole, creating a thematic unity within the book that, while perhaps not on the organizational level of one of Monteverdi’s books of madrigals, nonetheless represents an attempt at large-scale book design. Starting with what I call medium-scale structure, I will examine “song cycles” as used by Dowland, Danyel, and Ferrabosco to see how these groups of songs were announced beforehand (i.e., in either the tables of contents or above the songs themselves), how the texts functioned as elements of a larger piece, and how the musical structure aided in creating a larger form. Following this, I will consider three books whose
organization suggests an overarching design plan in Jones’ later books: *Ultimum vale*, *A Musicall Dreame*, and *The Muses Gardin for Delights*.

**Medium-scale Structure in Dowland, Danyel and Ferrabosco**

If small-scale structure consists of textual and musical choices within a single piece, and large-scale structure comes from choices at the level of the book, then the medium-scale structure consists of sections of songs forming units within the larger book.\(^{186}\) These song groups may be defined as such by textual and/or musical similarities, and despite the connotation of the term “song cycle” with 19\(^{th}\) century German *Lieder*, I think song cycle is an appropriate description of these instances of medium-scale structure in lute song books, and will refer to them as such. Most of the time song cycles were indicated as such in the tables of contents and we will see that is the case with Danyel (*Songs*, 1606) and Ferrabosco (*Ayres*, 1609). At other times, however, cycles were not indicated in the table of contents but strong connections between lyrics and music make a case for a connection, as is the case with Dowland’s *Second Booke*.

One way of making a song cycle in the lute song book was to take a multi-verse poem and set each of its verses separately, as is the case with Danyel’s cycle dedicated “To Mrs. M.E. her Funerall teares for her dead husband,” (songs IX, X, XI) or the cycles in Ferrabosco’s book (songs XII, XIII, XIX and XVIII, XIX, XX). In each case the composers took three verses of a poem and set them as three separate songs in their books. For Ferrabosco, this was certainly part of an already existing structure; the second set is known to have come from Ben Jonson’s *Masque of Beautie*, and there is conjecture that the first set

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\(^{186}\) Certainly the concept of the song cycle was not unique to lute songs; for example we may find many examples of madrigal cycles that show unity of mode, theme, poet, etc. before the English lute song composers.
formed part of a celebration, perhaps in King James’ honor. In Ferrabosco’s ayres we find connections in musical style and mode; all three of the songs to James begin with a rhythmic figure which “[unifies] the oratorical presence” of the songs. The first two songs, despite changes in mode, show strong similarity of style and form (though there are no written repeats the music is in AAB form), whereas the third ayre of the cycle differs in form (there is no repetition) and the accompaniment is quite different. His second song cycle shows the same pattern: the first two songs are similar with a contrasting third song that differs in tone and form.

Whereas Ferrabosco’s cycles form out of extra-musical dramatic contexts, Danyel’s song cycles appear to form from Danyel’s desire to set in a kind of through-composed style that was the antithesis of a majority of the strophic lute songs. His first cycle, the elegy, was one poem in three verses and each verse comprised the lyrics for one song. Poetically it is quite separate from Ferrabosco’s cycles due to its refrain on the text “Pyne, fret, consume, swell, burst and dye”: by choosing a text in which the last two lines are repeated Danyel makes it quite clear to the reader even without typographical cues that the songs are part of a set. The refrain creates poetical and musical structure for the cycle: in each song the words are set once to the exact same music in voice, viol, and lute, and then either all or part of the refrain is repeated with a different setting, allowing each verse’s sentiment to be expressed properly.

187 Duffy, The songs and motets of Alfonso Ferrabosco the younger (1575-1628), 115-16.
188 Ibid., 145.
189 I see no need to repeat Duffy’s analysis here; see Ibid., 145-51; 134-44, for further discussion of the music.
As Robin Wells points out in his analysis of the cycle, “the effect of these repeated refrains is to enrich the poetry and to suggest ambiguity where none exists in the words alone. Whereas in the first stanza it is the grieving singer who anticipates her own death, the music of the second and the third stanzas implies that it is not the subject, but her grief that is now expiring.”

He also points out the closure provided in the last iteration of the refrain, “the

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effect of the last four bars is one of great serenity as passion subsides into tranquility and finally dies away altogether on the repeated D with its suggestion of the rhythmic tolling of the funeral bell.”\footnote{Ibid., 111.}

The poem for this cycle is one of the more complex I have seen in a lute song (as is only fitting for the brother of a poet): with nine-line stanzas rhyming a b a b c c d d and varying metric feet (it begins alternating iambic pentameter and tetrameter, but the seventh and eighth lines are in iambic trimeter) it is not the easiest poem to set since the lyrics do not lend themselves to even phrases. In addition, the verses show marked differences in rhetorical devices; the first verse is an address to grief itself, the second verse specifically to tears with references to those actions so easily expressed in music (such as “drop” and “trickle down”), and the third verse is an \textit{anthypophora}. By giving himself the freedom to set the verses independently Danyel allows each song to express fully the verses’ individuality. Consider the opening lines of the first verse, “Greefe keep within and scorne to shew but teares” against the second, “Drop not myne eyes nor Trickle downe so fast,” and the third, “Haue all our passions certaine proper vents”: in each case the words call for different settings. Both the first and second verses begin with words that highlight the verses’ theme, they invite repetition. But the first word of the third verse, “Haue” hardly justifies any emphasis since it is clearly the word “passions” that is key to the line. Danyel recognizes this in his settings and both the first and second songs repeat the first word at least four times, whereas in the third song the opening line begins quickly and rises to the word passion without any repetition. But even the two similar starts call for different settings for where the word grief in and of itself does not suggest any particular musical figure, the word
“drop” does. Imagine if you will, a strophic setting of the poem: if Danyel had set all three verses to the music of the first song, he would have lost the effect of the repeated musical teardrops. But if he had set it to the tune of the second song, emphasizing the lyrics of the second stanza rather than the first, the song’s opening would have sounded somewhat odd. Instead, by choosing the equivalent of through-composition by use of the cycle, he allows each verse to breath, to develop its own musical rhetoric.

The second song cycle in Danyel’s book, consisting of Songs XIII, XIII, and XV, differ from the previous examples in that the lyrics for all three songs come from one stanza. Song XIII, “Can dolefull Notes,” contains the first two lines of the poem, Song XIII, “No, let Chromatique Tunes” the next four, and Song XV, “Vncertaine certaine turnes” the last two. This makes for odd lyrics: nowhere else have I seen entire lute songs (and songs of some length and complexity) set to such little text. The effect of splitting one poem into a three-song cycle is quite striking: all three songs (but especially the first and last) are filled with text repetition and significant passages where the accompaniment alone carries the music. Here the interplay between voice and accompaniment is like that of no other lute song composer, excepting Dowland. As with Danyel’s previous song cycle, the expansion of one poem into three songs gives him ample room to experiment while abandoning the typical strophic form (temporarily, since his other songs are all strophic). Danyel takes full advantage of the freedom, and as Doughtie puts it, “the music is highly illustrative of the text”; all three songs show significant “chromatique” elements and other musical elements that match the poem’s words quite well.\textsuperscript{192}

\textsuperscript{192} Doughtie, \textit{Lyrics from English Airs, 1596-1622}, 551.
The above song cycles, and others like them, are most obvious examples of the medium-scale structure I am attempting to show. But are there cases where composers and printers give the reader no clue that there is an underlying structure to the song? In at least one case, that of Dowland’s Second Booke, I would say the answer is yes. The Second Booke has been the focus of much scholarly attention over the years for several reasons: first, because of the infamous legal suit brought by George Eastland against Thomas East (mentioned above in Chapter Three), second, for the two opening songs of extraordinary skill and beauty, and third for the possible connections to the Earl of Essex around the time of his rebellion against Queen Elizabeth. The book does contain one obvious and known song cycle, Songs VI, VII, and VII, which are marked in the table of contents as the first, second, and third parts. These three songs are most likely set honoring Sir Henry Lee, and according to Doughtie, were probably part of a ceremony involving the knight. Either way, these songs fit nicely into the pattern of occasional songs shown above in Ferrabosco’s ayres. A more hidden set, though, might be found in examining the earlier songs in the book.

In 1983, in his article “New Light on John Dowland’s Songs of Darkness,” Anthony Rooley put forth a theory that Dowland’s propensity for melancholy songs did not, as some had suggested, have any basis in the man’s mental condition, but rather that Dowland was instead creating a persona that, while most noticeable in the first several songs of his Second Booke, could be found elsewhere as well. Rooley also contended that Dowland was part

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195 Rooley, “New Light on John Dowland’s Songs of Darkness..”
of a “cult of darkness” perhaps led by Lucie Bedford, dedicatee of the book. Though theory of the cult of darkness was later refuted by Robin Wells, it is not this element of Rooley’s article which is so intriguing, but rather a fairly offhand remark made towards the end of his article:

In the Second Booke of Songs the first five pieces relate to the dedicatee: *I saw my Lady weep* acts as a dedication and extols the powers and virtues of melancholy music; *Flow my tears* is the epigrammatic centre of Dowland’s lachrymose art. The other three of the five songs form a powerful trilogy – a contention between hope and despair: *Sorrow stay*, with its famous ‘But down, down, down I fall/ And arise I never shall’, is the epitome of despair; in *Die not before thy day* the Lady Hope suggests that all might not be lost; and *Mourn, mourn, day is with darkness fled* expresses, in alchemical opposites, a refutation – hope is of no value.

Here Rooley hints at the connection between the third through fifth songs (“Sorow sorow stay, lend true repentant teares,” “Dye not before thy day,” and “Mourne, mourne, day is with darknesse fled”), but he takes it no further. Neither do Diana Poulton or Doughtie, both of whom considered the songs in some detail, acknowledge any deeper connection between them. But a closer examination of the texts shows that they do function as a hidden song cycle, following two other connected songs and preceding three more.Typographically the songs stand out as well: as with the following songs, which clearly have structural connections, these three have no additional lyrics printed below the cantus part. Every other song in the book has additional lyrics, suggesting that these three songs are different in some way. I believe that like the first Danyel song cycle, that the lyrics to these three songs were either all one poem or that Dowland chose (or wrote) three short poems similar in style and tone to set as a cycle. The texts to the three songs are presented below, edited from Doughtie’s edition to correct what I believe are musical repetitions of the text.

196 Ibid., 14.

197 In fact, almost all of the songs in Dowland’s other three books have additional lyrics.
III.
Sorrow sorrow stay, lend true repentant teares,  
to a woefull, woefull wretched wight,  
hence, hence dispaire with thy tormenting feares:  
doe not, doe not my heart poore heart affright,  
pitty, help now or neuer,  
mark me not to endlesse paine,  
alas I am condenne’ed euer,  
no hope, no help, ther doth remaine,  
but downe, down, down, down I fall,  
downe and arise I neuer shall.

IV.
Dye not beeefore thy day, poore man condemned,  
But lift thy low lookes from the humble earth,  
Kisse not dispaire & see sweet hope contemned:  
The hag hath no delight, but mone for mirth,  
O fye poore fondling, fie fie be willing,  
to preserue thy self from killing:  
Hope thy keeper glad to free thee,  
Bids thee goe and will not see thee,  
hye thee quickly from thy wrong,  
so shee endes hir willing song.

V.
Mourne, mourne, day is with darknesse fled,  
what heauen then gouernes earth,  
o none, but hell in heauens stead,  
choaks with his mistes our mirth.  
Mourne mourne, looke now for no more day  
nor night, but that from hell,  
Then all must as they may  
in darknesse learne to dwell.
But yet this change, must needes change our delight,  
that thus the Sunne should harbour with the night.

Scanning the poems reveals the first and third share an unusual rhyme scheme of a b a b c d c d e e, while the second poem is a b a b c c d d e e, so each poem, despite some variations, ends in closed couplets. The metrical scheme for all three is quite odd, even accounting for the musical repetition of words; in general the lines have iambic feet but the number of feet vary, although there is some symmetry across the three poems since the first begins in
pentameter and ends in tetrameter, and the third begins with tetrameter and ends with pentameter. It is this very irregularity that suggests a connection between the three poems: that three such unusual texts would be placed one after the other in a book is not what one would expect.

Other similarities between the songs suggest they are a cycle as well. For example, all three poems are filled with alliteration; in Song III we find “sorrow stay,” “now or never,” and “woefull wretched wight,” in Song IV “dye not before thy day,” “lift thy low lookes,” and “hag hath no delight, but mone for mirth,” and Song V has “day is with darknesse fled,” “hell in heauens stead,” and “mists our mirth/Mourne.” Notice that almost all the alliteration happens in the first half of the poem, where time stops in the form of an apostrophe to man or abstraction. In the second halves, around line seven of each song, the poems pick up speed and action rather than apostrophe is suggested as in Song III the speaker falls down into despair, in Song IV the “woefull wight” is encouraged to embrace hope, and in Song V the speaker tells the audience to accept the coming darkness. Musically, Dowland acknowledges the poems’ changes in focus, and in each song the texture or meter change to reflect the lyrics. In “Sorrow sorrow stay” the lute shifts from lines that are either moving upward (at the beginning of the song) or static (in the middle) to lines that generally move downward, often in syncopation with the voice.

Example 14: “Sorrow sorrow stay” mm. 16-19
In Song IV, Dowland sets the second section off by use of a meter change; the piece had previously been in duple time and switches to triple. In addition, the lute begins pushing the piece toward the end with a moving line in which it sounds a new note on every beat while the voice above it declaims the text on repeated notes.

Example 15: “Dye not before thy day” mm. 16-19

In “Mourne, mourne, day is with darknesse fled” Dowland delays a musical change until the last two lines rather than at the poem’s second half. Here the meter changes from triple to duple and the cantus reflects the change with text repetition previously unseen in the song. The musical shift in the last song might weaken the case for the songs being seen as a cycle, but one final element suggests otherwise: Dowland set the very last two lines of Song V with a repeat, creating a very strong sense of conclusion to the set that the other two songs do not have. Combined with the significance of Song V’s final two lines, which in themselves suggest resolve and finality (“But yet this change, must needes change our delight,/ that thus the Sunne should harbour with the night.”), I think the pieces work better as a whole than separately. Whether Dowland wrote the lyrics himself as a unit or found the lyrics as one poem or several, I think he meant for the three to be a distinct unit within the book.
Large-scale Structure in Jones

While small and medium-scale structures make themselves known only by moving past the title page and reading or performing the songs in the book, large-scale structure is most often apparent right from the very beginning. In Chapter Two I considered the title pages as paratexts, as entities in and of themselves. Here, I will consider how the title pages and paratexts formed a design framework for the texts inside by examining Robert Jones’ third and fifth books: *Ultimum vale*, Jones’ third book of songs, has a subtle structure based on leave-taking and the fifth book, *The Muses Gardin for Delights*, finds its design from a conceit on a garden of songs of love.

As I have already mentioned, Robert Jones fashioned an identity for himself by creating an image opposite to that of Dowland’s in his dedicatory epistles and letters to the reader, but in other ways imitated him quite closely. Jones’ books included Latin mottos on their title pages, like Dowland’s, the wording of his titles closely matched Dowland’s, and the contents followed similar patterns up through the third books of each composer. Dowland’s third book, entitled *The Third and Last Booke of Songs or Aires* was printed in 1603, and contained 21 songs, four of which had one vocal part, sixteen of which had additional voice parts, and a final dialogue. In his “Epistle to the Reader” Dowland writes “THE applause of them that iudge, is the incouragement of those that write : My first two booke of aires speed so well that they haue produced a third . . .” His songs are a mixture of light songs such as “The lowest trees haue tops” and “Behold a wonder heere” and darker ayres such as “Weepe you no more sad fountaines.” In comparison, Jones’ third book, *Ultimum vale* (Final farewell) was published in 1605 and contained six songs for solo voice, nine songs with four voice parts, and an additional six vocal duets with both lute and viol
accompaniment. His letter “To the Silent Hearer” begins, “Th'He kinde Applause wherewith I
haue beene rewarded in my former Ayres, by such Gentlemen as can iudge, by the eare, &
are not other mens Echoes; hath now this third time giuen me heart from them to hope for the
like in these which I have composed.” Notice the similarity in wording and theme: Jones
echoes Dowland’s sentiment almost exactly. Both mention the applause they have received
from the “judges,” Jones too is encourage to produce a third (and final) book due to their
approval.

As usual, though, Jones continues his address with the standard forms of self-
abasement, setting himself off from Dowland whose short letter expresses little humility.
Jones closes his letter with “Farewell” and his full name (he often signed his letters to the
reader with just his initials), and thus we are once again reminded of Jones’ leave-taking. On
the very next page is printed the table of contents, in which the duets are separated from the
solo and four-part songs with the heading “These following are for 2. Trebles.” Simply by
looking at the table of contents we find three songs within the first fifteen that specifically
mention leave-taking in some form: Song III (“Goe to bed sweete Muze, take thy rest”),
Song XIII (“Flye from the world”), and Song XV (“Happy he who to sweete home retirde”).
Of the duets, the last song, number XXI, “Now haue I learned with much a doo at last,” is
another obvious farewell. In addition to these, readings of the texts suggest an additional two
that have lyrics touching in some way on departure: these are songs XIII (“When will the
fountaine of my teares be drye”) and XIX (“At her fayre hands now haue I grace intreated”).
So at least six of Jones’ 21 songs, including the final one, include references to departures or
farewells of some kind.
Of the 21 songs in the book, eight come from a miscellany called *A Poeticall Rhapsody* (*STC* 6373, 1602; songs VI, XI, XIII, XVI, XVIII, XIX, XX, XXI). From looking at these poems as they were first printed, we find even more references to leave-taking. Song VI, in Jones’ book entitled “Sweete if you like and loue me still” is headed with “Ode V. *His Farewell to his Vnkine and Vnconstant Mistresse*” (Sig. E2r) in the *Poeticall Rhapsody* and Song XIII is entitled “Ode V. *Petition to haue her leaue to die*” (Sig. [G2]v). This confirms the inclusion of song XIII (previously included on the basis of its text) and adds Song VI, giving a grand total of seven, or a third of the songs, references to departure.

Jones’ fifth and final book, *The Muses Gardin for Delights Or the fift Booke of Ayres, onely for the Lute, the Base- vyoll, and the Voyce*, contains 21 songs, all with one treble voice, lute, and bass viol. On the book’s title page is a woodcut engraving of two men tending garden plots inside what appears to be a walled garden; Doughtie identifies the woodcut as one going back to 1577 on a page inside Thomas Hill’s *The Gardeners Labyrinth*, and it apparently found its way to Windet and Stansby through Adam Islip, who had last used it in 1594. The words of the title themselves are also engraved rather than typeset, giving the appearance of a handwritten title instead of a printed one. Both of the engravings play into the theme of the title itself: that of an anthology of songs (the “gardin”) Jones has gathered in his spare time for the amusement of others. I use the word anthology because it has its roots in the garden: the *OED*’s first definition of it is “A collection of the flowers of verse, i.e. small choice poems, esp. epigrams, by various authors; originally

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199 Ibid., 358.
applied to the Greek collections so called.” Though Jones was the only lute song composer to use this metaphor, the use of the word garden, flower, paradise and the like to describe commonplace books, anthologies, and miscellanies was fairly common in early modern England. These descriptors could be used to create an extended metaphor, as Randall Anderson notes of STC 3189, Bel-vedère, or, The Garden of the muses, or as a tool in the author’s self-deprecation in the paratexts (see Chapter Three for more information on self-deprecation as a stylistic technique in paratextual material). Anderson draws a distinction between the miscellany and the commonplace book, noting that

The miscellany is essentially a private, idiosyncratic collection, whereas the carefully indexed or headed commonplace book, for instance, introduces a support structure that by its nature suggests a readership with a common goal. In a sense, the commonplace book is implicitly produced with other readers in mind, or, perhaps more accurately, it is produced with reference in mind, rather than merely collection. Miscellanies and anthologies, on the contrary, invite casual, perhaps even unsystematic re-reading and discovery. These miscellanies and anthologies of early modern verse may be said to devote themselves to the cultivation, as well as to the harvest, of the Renaissance hortus poeticus.

Both miscellanies and commonplace books used garden metaphors, and though Jones’ book is of music, since it is not designed as a reference work it is more in line with the miscellanies. In his address to the “friendly censurers,” Jones’ extended garden metaphor continues. He invites the reader to view (rather than to perform) the “varietie of delights”

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202 Alas, despite the similarity in titles, I have found no other connection between Bodenham’s work and Jones’, either in text, patrons, printers, or style. Bodenham’s book is a miscellany of sayings culled from numerous authors arranged by subject. The most extensive article I have found on Bel-vedère is in Charles Crawford, “Belvedere, or the Garden of the Muses,” Englische Studien 43, no. 1 (1910): 198-228.

contained therein, and proceeds to walk the reader through the garden, pointing out the highlights along the way:

In your first entrance into which Garden, you shall meete with Loue, Loue, and nought but Loue, set forth at large in his colours, by way of decyphering him in his nature. In the midst of it, you shall find Loue rejected, upon inconstancie and hard measure of ingratitude: Touching them that are louers, I leaue them to their owne censure in Loues description. And now for the end, it is variable in another maner, for the delight of the eare to satisfie opinion. (Jones5, “To the friendly Censurers.”)

Thus the reader knows, upon glancing at Jones’ letter, that the first songs will be about love as it is (“in his colours”) so as to understand it. The second set will be about love gone wrong (inconstancy, rejection, etc.), and as to the third section, Jones is rather vague, stating only that they are “variable in another maner.” What this might mean I shall address later. Jones’ address continues with further references to his garden along with the standard pleas for understanding. And whereas in the dedicatory epistle to Lady Mary Wroth Jones refers to the book as his child (see Chapter Two), here Jones continues the garden metaphor, promising “neuer to set, sow, plant or graft” if his works are unappreciated.

From the table of contents it is difficult to judge exactly where these sections might begin and end, although it is made apparent that a clever comment in the letter to the reader (“you shall meete with Loue, Loue”) references the book’s first song, “Love, love.” From looking at the song texts, it is fairly clear that the first part of the garden, where the talk is about all the varieties of love, ends after song seven, “Joy in thy Hope,” a third of the way through the book. The tone of song eight (“How many new yeares have grown old”) is definitely more somber, and this continues through to song thirteen, which begins the last set. This final set is more of a miscellany than the other two, providing a little something for everyone; while some of the texts are clever ditties rife with sexual innuendo and the nonsense syllables more common to English madrigals, others are much more serious, ending
in a final song quite somber and full of religious (even Catholic) sentiment. Surely this was intentional, for as Anderson points out, writers of miscellanies sometimes highlight “the commercial value of a ‘heterogenous’ selection to ‘draw on the Reader.’”²⁰⁴

Musically, the book is very uneven. Apart from the numerous typographical errors (Fellowes’ edition contains some three pages of emendations he made, mostly in the lute tablature), the songs vary from the trite to the (nearly) sublime.²⁰⁵ Generally speaking, the vocal ranges are normal, dropping as low as a seventh (Songs III and VII) and up to a twelfth (usually from d₁ to g₂) and the time signatures are for the most part straight common or triple time, with the occasional song venturing into shifting between duple and triple. Some of the songs, such as Songs XII and XIII, sound very much like madrigals with fast-moving notes and repeating melodic patterns. In other places one hears tendencies towards the declamatory ayre with its more angular, less-stepwise voice lines. The lute parts vary as well, from fairly basic chordal arrangements to lines that are more independent of the voice, as we shall see below (especially in Song XXI). Jones wrote for a seven-course lute with the seventh course tuned a fourth below the sixth (a common tuning for a seven course lute); the tablature uses small note heads to indicate rhythms rather than the flags. As Fellowes points out, “There are numbers of passages in this book in which the lute part consists of nothing more than simple chords added to the bass part, and slavishly following the rhythmic pattern of the bass. There are even to be found chords placed unnecessarily on passing notes, and not infrequently the compiler seems to have supplied the wrong chord.”²⁰⁶ He uses this as

²⁰⁴ Ibid., 253.


²⁰⁶ Ibid.
evidence to justify his opinion that the lute parts were later added by someone other than Jones, who perhaps provided only the viol and voice parts; from my own perusal of the viol parts, I wonder how accurate this assessment can be, for the viol parts too are often lacking in originality, and most of the time fail to take advantage of the instrument’s full potential. For example, the viol’s lowest note in the entire book is F (sounded on the instrument’s lowest string tuned to D), while the lute part regularly descends below that in several songs, especially at cadences. See for example the passage below from the end of “Soft Cupid Soft:”

Example 16: “Soft Cupid soft” final two measures

Here the lute sounds the D in octaves (d and D) before ending on a G, while the viol merely holds a d minim (a stopped c string) before ending on G, the fifth lowest open string. Since the viol is much more resonant on open strings than on stopped strings, why would Jones continually forego the opportunity to take full advantage of one of the instrument’s most alluring qualities (that octave cadential figure pattern is quite common in viol literature) if he were at all aware of it? Because of this, I am inclined to think that Jones either had little understanding of the viol or wrote them hastily or carelessly. Either way, the viol parts are quite disappointing.
Below I will examine five of the songs from the book with an eye to both what texts were chosen, how they functioned, and how Jones set the poems to music.

Loue, loue (Song 1)

The first song, “Loue, loue” is a six-verse text in short hymn meter (6686) with an end rhyme scheme of a b c b and usually a medial rhyme in the third line. Each first line is hypercatalectic iambic trimeter, the second and fourth vary between straight iambic trimeters and hypercatalectic iambic trimeters, and the third lines are iambic tetrameters. Outside of meter and rhyme, the text is structured by two rhetorical devices, anaphora and meiosis.

Verse 1:
Loue Is a prettie Frencie,
a melancholy fire,
begot by lookes, maintain’d with hopes,
and heythen’d, by desire.

Verse 2:
Loue is a pretie Tyrant,
By our affections armed,
Take them away, none liues this day,
The Coward boy hath harmed.

The text, an impersonal lyric with no references to the singer or the listener, takes as its theme the definition of what “love is,” which phrase begins each verse in a form of anaphora. By the second verse the repetition creates an expectation in the reader, an understanding of the form the lyric will take. Love is a frenzy, a tyrant, an idol (verse 3): in all three cases love is compared to a thing of high negative value (at the time frenzy carried its more literal meaning of delirium or temporary insanity). Love’s value drops comparatively lower in the next three verses, and as it is compared to a Painter, a “Pedler,” and finally a “pretie nothing,” the use of meiosis wreaks havoc on the reader’s expectations and intensifies the

207 Song titles are taken from the books’ tables of contents.
poem’s tone. This final comparison of love to “nothing” is a direct example of Fischlin’s “inexpressibility topos;” love is so difficult to define that no thing, high or low, can be an appropriate simile for it and paradox (the paradox of an actual concept being compared to nothing, non-existence) is the only recourse left the poet. The nothingness is further emphasized in the typography: to this point in the poem every object to which love is compared has been capitalized but the word “nothing” is left uncapitalized. Another intensifier is the use of articulus carried over from one line to the next in the fifth stanza: “Loue is a pretie Pedler, / Whose Packe is fraught with sorrowes, / With doubt with feares, with sighs with teares, / Some ioyes, but those he borrowes.” Here, unlike in other verses, the text pushes the reader through to the final line, avoiding a noticeable caesura until after the first metric foot of the last line.

Musically speaking, Jones follows the text fairly literally and the song is not very ambitious. The piece is in common time (though only the cantus part has a time signature) with a G tonality. Jones’ setting of the lyrics is a little simplistic: the first word rather than the first phrase (“loue is”) is repeated four times as a way of emphasis, as is the word “prettie” instead of the word to which love is compared. Each line of text is separated by the use of rests in the vocal part while the lute and bass viol move the song forward; the caesura in the long third line is acknowledged with a quarter note rest. The cantus part moves mostly in steps or small leaps of a third; the overall range is an eleventh, but the majority of the melody moves within the space of about a fifth, from g1 to d2. The viol generally doubles the lowest notes of the lute part; while the accompaniment is essentially chordal there are occasional hints of imitation between it and the cantus, such as in mm. 5-6.
Example 17: “Loue, loue” mm. 5-6

Notice also that the word on which the meiosis hinges, in the above example “frencie,” is all but lost in the combination of an abrupt line end in the cantus part and the stronger, more emphasized beginning of repetition in the accompaniment. In the third and fourth lines of the text, mm. 10-14, the cantus rises from a d1 towards the climax of the song an octave higher on the word “heightened,” which is drawn out for a full seven beats, after which point the voice descends quickly down to the final G on “desire”; the accompaniment imitates with an octave ascent from G to g.
Example 18: “Loue, loue” mm. 10-end

Between the cantus and the accompaniment, there is a new note sounded on every beat through these measures, adding to the climactic effect on the first word of the last line. Thus, though the effect of meiosis and anaphora in the first half of the poem are somewhat lost by Jones’ setting, his setting of the final two lines is much more appealing.

*The fountaines smoake (Song III)*

Song III is another impersonal text; neither performer nor listener are referred to anywhere in the lyric. Its three verses are in Venus and Adonis stanza, each stanza ending in the refrain (with some minor changes) “loue loues most, when loue most secret is.”

**Verse 1:**
The fountaines smoake, And yet no flames they shewe, Starres shine all night Though vndesern’d by day,
and trees doe sprint, yet are not seene to growe,
And shadowes moue, Although they seem to stay,
in Winters woe, Is buried Summers blisse,
and Loue loues most, when loue most secret is.

The inexpressibility of love is once again made evident, this time through use of a series of repeated paradoxes. Each paradox spans the course of a line, usually split in two parts with a caesura separating them: smoke but no fire, stars shine but one can not see them, shadows are moving even when they appear to be standing still. And the refrain itself is a paradox, for which the listener is finally granted an explanation in the last stanza: “Cupid is blind, the reason why, is this, / Loue loueth most, where loue most secret is.” The repetitiveness of these contradictions is broken up by the use of different grammatical structures. Despite the lack of ending punctuation, essentially each verse works as two sentences, the first sentence spanning the first four lines with the couplet functioning as a second sentence. In the second and third stanzas, this is made even clearer by the use of an article or noun at the start of the first three lines leading to the conjunction “and” in the fourth line followed by a return to noun or article at the start of the couplet. This reading is further strengthened by Jones’ musical setting of the lyrics.

The setting of this poem is quite different from that of the first song; there is little stepwise motion in the cantus as Jones appears to be attempting a more declamatory style that is much less melodic than one finds in many other Jones songs. The piece is again in duple meter (time signatures are missing from all but the lute part), and the cantus part uses a C1 clef since the range is limited to an octave from d1 to d2. Though the cantus rests at the end of each line, the quatrain and the couplet differ in their use of rests within the lines. In the quatrain, the first two lines have rests at the medial caesura and the lines come to a G
cadence at the end of the second line. The cadence is reinforced as a stopping point by the slowing down of the accompaniment before the cantus begins the third line, in which there is no break. The first half of the fourth line (at “And shadowes mooue”) is repeated before the second half comes to a close on the word “stay,” the longest note of the cantus part to this point. The cadence on “stay” is weakened though, as the accompaniment pushes forward into the final couplet, and there are no more rests for the cantus in the song. The last line of text features the only extended stepwise motion in the entire piece consisting mostly of longer half and whole notes, placing a strong emphasis on the refrain.

Example 19: “The fountaines smoake” mm. 26-end

As in Song I, imitation between the accompaniment and the voice happens at the eighth note runs. The texture created by the lute is fairly thin; its movement is independent of the voice most of the time. Just as the cantus’ extended last line slows down the rhythm of the piece, so do the lute and viol parts, abandoning the steady quarter and eighth note rhythm present under the first five lines of text (see example 18 above).

_I cannot chuse but giue a smile (Song VI)_

Song VI is a reply poem between two individuals, never identified, à la the exchange between Christopher Marlowe’s “The Passionate Shepherd to his Love” and Sir Walter
Raleigh’s “The Nymph’s Reply to the Shepherd.” It consists of six verses, three for each speaker, in heroic quatrains; the first speaker declares his immunity to love whilst the second (probably a woman) smiles at the first’s hubris. Much in the poem hinges on the parallels between speakers, so the lyrics are given in full.

**Verse 1:**
I Cannot chuse but giue a smile,
To see how Loue doeth all beguile,
Except it bee my frozen heart,
That yeeldes not to his fierie Dart.

**Verse 2:**
Belike I was Achillis like,
Drencht in that fatall hardning flood,
My flesh it feares no push of pike,
The speare against me doth no good.

**Verse 3:**
Onely my heele may Cupid hit,
And yet I care not much for it,
Because the hurt I cannot feele,
Vnlesse my heart were in my heele.

**The Answere. Verse 4:**
I cannot chuse but needes must smile,
To see how Loue doth thee beguile,
Which did of purpose faire thy heart,
To thaw it to thy greater smart.

**Verse 5:**
Suppose thou wert Achillis like,
Drencht in that fatall hardning flood,
That might auaill gainst push of pike,
But gainst his dart t’will doe no good.

**Verse 6:**
For if thy heele he doe but hit,
His venom’d shaft will rancle it,
The force whereof the heart must feele,
Conuaide by Arteryes from thy heele.

The first speaker believes himself immune to love’s “fierie Dart,” imagining himself to be like Achilles, dipped into the river Styx to protect him, so that neither pike nor spear can harm him. In the third stanza the speaker remembers his Achilles’ heel, stating foolishly that since his heart is not in his heel he can not feel the pangs of love. His statements are all in the declarative: belike (likely) he is like Achilles, his flesh does not fear weaponry, Cupid can only hit his heel, etc. The second speaker, on the other hand, is a realist and expresses this sense of “ah, but . . .” by use of the subjunctive: “suppose thou wert”, “for if thy heele,” etc. She recognizes the first’s foolishness, commenting that his heart is frozen only so it might hurt even more when thawed (by Love). The twist, of course, comes in the final verse, when she reminds the first speaker that Cupid’s arrow is poisoned, and thus love will enter
through the heel and travel up to his heart “conuaide by arteryes.” Viewing the stanzas side by side, as above, one can see that not only the sentiments are echoed (in reverse) between the speakers, but the lines themselves are repeated as close as possible between the two. The rhymes are the same between speakers, indeed the rhyming words themselves are repeated in every instance except for the last line of the first verse. In many cases an entire phrase might be echoed by the second speaker: “I cannot chuse” begins each speaker’s lines, and the second and fifth stanzas have lines that are nearly identical. Besides the repetition of words and phrases, there are numerous instances of alliteration in the poem. Take for instance the line “My flesh it feares no push of pike” in the second verse, where the smoothness of the fricative F sounds give way to the hardness of the voiceless stops in “push of pike.” The answerer’s voice echoes the hard Ps, but this time without the soothing quality of the Fs before it.

Unfortunately, Jones’ music is hardly as inspired as the poem he set. Again in a G sonority, the cantus part’s range is from d1 to d2 with few of the more “adventurous” leaps or repetitions we have seen in the previous two songs. It is set in an AAB form, the first couplet constituting the B section and the second couplet the B section with a repeat.208 Neither melody nor accompaniment contain anything that hints of the text’s cleverness; in fact, the melody is rather awkward at times, especially at the end on the words “fierie dart,” where the rhythm is, for lack of a better word, clunky.

Example 20: “I cannot chuse but giue a smile” final four measures

208 Although there is no repeat sign in the final bar, the cantus part has a segno to mark a repeat; the bass viol part has no sign but the custos indicates a return to the same point.
*How many New yeeres haue grown olde (Song VIII)*

Song VIII, the beginning of the “love gone wrong” section, is one of the more somber pieces in the book. In a D dorian/minor sonority and a very sparse, homophonic texture, the song stands out. The lyrics, too, present an abrupt shift from the previous song (entitled “Joye in thy hope”), and the poem’s four verses tell the tale of a man whose love has long gone unnoticed. Although it uses the Venus and Adonis rhyme scheme with the final line functioning as a refrain (as did song IIII) it is in iambic tetrameter rather than pentameter as a true Venus and Adonis stanza would be. In addition, the metric pattern has many substitutions: for example, the first line “How many new yeres haue grow’n old” should be read as having a trochaic first foot followed by three iambic feet, and the same substitution can be found again in lines three and six.

**Verse 1:**
How many new yeres haue grow’n old,
Since first your servuant old was new,
How many long howers haue I told,
Since first my loue was vow’d to you,
And yet alas, Shee doeth not know
whether her servuant loue or no.

In each case this substitution creates extra emphasis not for the first stressed syllable, but for the second stressed syllable in each line, creating focal points on the words “new,” “long,” and the first syllable of “servuant.” Jones follows this reading nicely in his setting, particularly in the first and third lines, where the cantus emphasizes those words with both rhythm and pitch.

Example 21: “How many New yeeres haue grown olde” mm. 3-6
In the first line the voice drives upwards to a c2 in the space of four notes, holding for a full half note while the accompaniment below holds too, only to drop and rise again to the end of the line. For the third line, the word “long” is held for three beats on the highest note of the phrase (a d2), before again drawing out the end of the line with extended note values. In each case, Jones is able to place strong emphasis on the medial point of the line without breaking it up or affecting the completion of the line.

The final couplet begins with an exclamation, “And yet alas,” or an address “O cruel yet” in every stanza. This phrase is repeated before Jones finishes the line, which contains two octave leaps for emphasis.

Example 22: “How many New yeeres haue growen olde” mm. 18-end
The second leap down an octave from d2 to d1 highlights both the reason for the singer’s outburst and the phrase that ends each fifth line, ending in “not know.” This repetition exists both within the verse and between verses; for example, the first three stanzas all begin with the word “how” while the last verse begins with “and,” completing the thought. As mentioned above, the first four lines of the opening stanza begin by alternating “how” and “since,” a form of anaphora.

Though the song is in common time there are several instances that have a strong sense of triple time that carries through both the cantus and lute and viol parts. This is understandable in lines that begin with trochaic substitutions; the pattern of stressed syllable followed by two unstressed syllables lends itself nicely to triple meter. The triple feel extends into the regular iambic tetrameter lines as well, and each time it enters it helps place the emphasis on the second accented syllable of the line, as in example 17 below.

Example 23: “How many New yeeres haue growen olde” mm. 14-17

The poem’s refrain, “whether her/your servuant love or no,” introduces a rare syncopation to the song. The dotted quarter notes on the first syllable of “whether” in the first statement and the repetition of the phrase help the it stand out from the rest of the piece, reflecting the poet’s anxiety over his unrequited love.

*Might I redeeme mine errors with mine eyes (Song XXI)*

The last song in the book is also the most somber. Four stanzas in Venus and Adonis style, the poem’s speaker laments for his soul, wishing he might wash away his sins with tears.
Verse 1:
Might I redeeme myne errours with mine eyes
And shed but for each seuerall sinne a teare,
The summe to such a great account should rise,
That I should neuer make mine Audit cleare,
The totall is too bigge to paye the score,
I am so rich in sinne, in teares so poore.

The text is reminiscent of the “literature of tears” trend that accompanied Counter-Reformation and was typified in England by poets such as Robert Southwell.209 The literature of tears and remorse was “treated in a particular matter – through extended, serial, and hyperbolic analogies, especially for tears,” often based on the lamentation of Saint Peter and Mary Magdalene.210 In the Catholic church’s doctrine the sacrament of penance included three acts: contrition, confession, and satisfaction, or the completion of various acts of penitence. The tears functioned as “both signs of pain and precious jewels. The emphasis on constant weeping, on eyes as ‘portable and compendious oceans,’ is the poetic embodiment of the painfulness of penance; the emphasis on the value and beauty of tears is the poetic embodiment of their merit (the eyes are also a mint).211 The function of the tears within the act of penitence is one of temporal punishment, the sinner may weep partially in the satisfaction for their sins. As Strier elaborates on the Catholic Church’s view of penance,

Penance is “a laborious kind of baptism” (CT, 94). This is not to say that the penitent works off the guilt of his sins. The Church distinguished between the guilt (culpa) and the punishment (poena) of sins, and it distinguished further between eternal and temporal poenae. Through contrition, the guilt of the penitent’s sins is forgiven, and the eternal punishment of them is remitted, but their temporal punishment is not (CT,

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210 Richard Strier, “Herbert and Tears,” ELH 46, no. 2 (Summer 1979): 222. According to both Strier and Martz, the most well-known works of this literature of tears are Southwell’s “Saint Peter’s Complaint” and Richard Crashaw’s Sainte Marie Magdalene, or The Weeper.”

211 Ibid., 223.
41). This temporal punishment is what “works of satisfaction” satisfy; *this* punishment the penitent must endure.\textsuperscript{212}

This temporal punishment in the form of weeping is what is chiefly expressed in the literature of tears of the Counter-Reformation poets Southwell and Crashaw. Hyperbolic quantities of tears could be shed, creating fountains or whole seas from the penitent’s weeping; as our poet admits though, “I am so rich in sinne, in teares so poore,” in other words, no matter how many tears he might shed it can not satisfy all his sins.

The poem makes use of a monetary metaphor for his soul’s judgment, based in the first stanza on the phrase “that I should neuer make min Audit cleare,” audit being a term for the Day of Judgment. Further references to accounting are made in the second verse, “O wretched wealth that doth procure such want,” in the third verse with “And bate my meanes by less’ning of my stocke,” and in the final verse with “That growing poore in sinne I Lazar like, / Might dayly beg for mercy at his gate.” In each of these instances, the speaker laments his “wealth” of sin and poverty of tears (the penitential satisfaction) and grace of God; in the final verse, however, the poet imagines a reversal of his fortunes: God could “bank-rout” (bankrupt) his “estate” of sins, allowing the poet to receive some “crums of grace.”

Rhetorical elements of pathos are used to great effect in the poem, particularly apostrophe. The address in the second verse is direct, “O wretched wealth” whereas those in the last two stanzas are vague and addressed to a silent hearer: “O might I prooue,” (verse three) and “O that my God” (verse four). Whereas the first, third, and fourth verses are personal, filled with first-person pronouns and using the subjunctive to evoke a wistful air, the second verse’s use of a more direct address sets the tone for a more practical stanza much

\textsuperscript{212} Ibid., 225. Strier’s references to “CT” are from *The Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, tr. Rev. J. Waterworth (London, 1848).
more impersonal. He addresses his wealth of sins and his “Vnhappy soule,” with declarations rather than wishes: “O wretched wealth that doth procure such want” (line 1) and “The store whereof doth make all graces scant” (line 3) Compare this with the same lines verse three, “O might I prooue in this a prodigall” and “I should in grace grow great, in sinnes but small,” where the speaker returns to his pathetic imaginings.

Two literary references strengthen the figures of tears and penitence in the poem, that in the second stanza “What once a famous Poet sung be fore, / I finde too true my plenty makes me poore,” and the reference to the Prodigal Son at the beginning of the third verse. The reference to the Prodigal is fairly straightforward, the poet is hoping to be compared to the Prodigal Son who, though he sinned returned to his father repentant and was received with forgiveness. The reference to the “famous Poet” could be Ovid, where in Metamorphoses Book III Narcissus says inopem me copia fecit (my plenty makes me poor). In the story of Narcissus, we hear the tale of a man who having betrayed the love of Echo, is cursed to fall in love with himself. This he does upon seeing his reflection in a well, and eventually pines away for his hopeless love of self. Other English Renaissance poets made use of this phrase in translation as a paradigm of unrequited love rather than as the paradox of unattainable self-love; Shakespeare referred to it in Twelfth Night and in Venus and Adonis and Edmund Spenser’s use in Sonnet XXXV of Amoretti and Epithalamion (STC 23076, 1595) refers to “in their amazement lyke Narcissus vaine / whose eyes him staru’d: so plenty makes me poore” (lines 7-8), exactly the same words as the poet of “Might I redeeme myne errors.” Whether our poet was quoting directly from Ovid or from Spenser, the

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significance is that in both cases the fault lies in the eyes as it does in our poem. The poet is so wealthy in sin that it “stops thy [the soul’s] teares, ere they doe scarce begin” (line 11).

With such weighty lyrics, one might hope that Jones’ musical setting would match them, and he certainly tries; Song XXI ranks with Song IIII as one of his more adventurous pieces. In it we find again a hint of the declamatory ayre for which both Ferrabosco and Dowland are known. The song’s final is on A and the piece makes significant use of mutatio toni in shifting between major and minor sonorities; reminiscent of Dowland’s “In Darkness Let Me Dwell,” the cantus part three times ends a line on a G sharp, the major third of the dominant E chord. Jones also uses text repetition to heighten effect; the first halves of both the fourth and the sixth lines of text are repeated, each cantus line ending on a G sharp the first time for added emphasis.

Example 24: “Might I redeeme mine errors with mine eyes” mm. 18-25
Example 25: “Might I redeeme mine errors with mine eyes” mm. 32-37

In example 18 not only is the text repeated, but the melodic line is as well. In example 19 though, the cantus line shows imitation through the expansion of the half step movement from B to C in the first iteration of “I am so rich” to a perfect fourth from B to E in the second. This technique of expansion occurs more than once in the music, more often in the accompaniment which is one of the more interesting lute and viol parts Jones wrote in his fifth book. For example, in mm. 6-9 the figure of a descending fourth from A to E is repeated and expanded to a fifth, and each interval within this figure expands as well.

Example 26: “Might I redeeme mine errors with mine eyes” mm. 6-9

The accompaniment stands out from the melody quite clearly; where the cantus often moves in leaps of thirds, fourths, and sixths, the lute and viol move more often in a stepwise motion using synonymia, or repeated phrases at different pitch levels with dotted and/or faster
moving rhythms than the cantus. The accompaniment prefigures the beginning of the final
couplet in the vocal part, which imitates the bass at the fourth.

Example 27: “Might I redeeme mine errors with mine eyes” mm. 26-29

A few elements of text painting are carefully inserted into the melody, including an ascent to
the highest note in the piece, an e2, to the text “a great account should rise.” Close to the
beginning of the song, Jones makes use of Dowland’s well-known Lachrimae figure right on
the text “mine eyes.” This is strikingly reminiscent of the figure’s use in Dowland’s “Flow
my tears”; both times the descending fourth is used to set an expression of weeping.

Example 28: “Might I redeeme mine errors with mine eyes” mm. 5-6

On the whole, I would consider this one of the finer songs in Jones’ fifth book.
Musically speaking, it is an adventurous piece that takes advantage of the declamatory style
in which Jones’ contemporaries had recently published (Ferrabosco’s book was published in
1609, Robert Dowland’s A Musicall Banquet, which contained Dowland’s “In Darkness Let
Me Dwell,” in 1610). From a textual standpoint it is challenging and evokes a strong
emotional response from the listener or reader. In addition to reasons mentioned above, it is
an apt conclusion to the fruits of Jones’ labors and most particularly to this book. For not only did the tears signify the satisfaction of a penitent’s sins, but as demonstrated in Southwell’s writings, they were the “fruitefull showers” of the earth:

For this water [Mary Magdalene’s tears] hath thy heart beene long a limbecke, sometimes distilling it out of the weedes of thy owne offences with the fire of true contrition. Sometimes out of the flowers of spirituall comforts, with the flames of contemplation, and now out of the bitter hearbs of thy Maisters miseries . . . Heaven would weewe at the losse of so pretious a water, and earth lament the absence of so fruitefull showers.214

Given the strong Catholic sentiment of Jones’ poem in a style for which Southwell is the exemplar, it is not much of a stretch to imagine its comparison with Southwell’s references to tears as nourishing as well as penance. Marie Magdalens Funeral Teares was published at least six times between 1591 and 1609, showing its extreme popularity despite the fact that Southwell himself was executed in 1595 for being a Catholic priest and administering the sacraments.215 With all the references to Saint Mary Magdalene, I can not help but wonder whether the use of this poem was intentional on yet another level: the book was dedicated to Lady Mary Wroth, and this last song’s basis in the tradition of Magdalene’s tears is almost too perfect to ignore, a kind of final bow from Jones to his patron in addition to the recalling of those images of flowers and gardens with which the book began.216

214 From Robert Southwell’s prose work Marie Magdalens Funeral Teares (STC 22950, 1591), quoted in Martz, The Poetry of Meditation, 201.

215 One of Thomas Morley’s lovelier lute songs, “With my love my life was nestled” is a Southwell poem as well (the poem is “Marie Magdalens Complaint at Christs Death,” found in STC 22957, 1595, among other places).

216 Nor is this the only bow to the Sidney family in the book. The lyrics for Song XVII are from Sidney’s Certaine Sonnets (as was Corkine’s Song IX above). See Doughtie, Lyrics from English Airs, 1596-1622, 595.
Gender and Person as Structure in Dowland and Jones

Most lyrics of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were written from a distinctly male perspective. In examining all Dowland’s and Jones’ songs, we see that as a general rule, the male lyric voice dominates and that the majority of lyrics are in the first person. As might be expected, second person is relatively rare, and the female voice is almost non-existent outside of Jones’ fourth book, which I shall discuss later.

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Table 5: Person and gender in Dowland’s and Jones’ books

The most striking imbalances in gender and person exist in both Dowland’s and Jones’ first books, each of which contains fourteen texts with a first-person male speaker. Though Dowland’s later books contain fewer first-person male lyrics, there is still (as one might expect) a preponderance of male-voiced songs; Jones’ books, with the exception of the fourth, maintain a heavy reliance on texts spoken by men. In comparing Dowland in his

217 Two of the songs in this book, songs four and ten, are ambiguous in voice and gender. This accounting does not include the final duet.

218 I do not include the duets at the end of the book in this count.

219 Song number six contains both male and female voices.
second book and Jones in his fourth, *A Musicall Dreame*, one sees that both subvert poetic gender standards by using a pronounced female or at least gender-neutral point of view. I would like briefly to return to these two previously-discussed books to examine their use of gender and narrative person in their song choices.

The opening pair of songs in Dowland’s second book, “I saw my Lady weepe” and “Flow my teares,” create a gender-based duet: the first song is clearly a man’s voice and as Daniel Leech-Wilkinson has suggested, the tears flowing in the second song are likely those of the lady in the first song. Based on its placement within the book, Leech-Wilkinson suggests the weeping lady might have been Lucy Bedford, the book’s dedicatee; certainly within the context of the book this could be the case, however, its very clear avoidance of any gender-specific language means that performed separately, or read apart from the previous song, it could be any person, male or female, whose tears are flowing. The lyrics of “Flow my teares” offer no inkling of the singer’s melancholic state: it could be rejection, it could be political troubles, or it could be simply a personal tendency towards melancholia. Likewise, songs III-IX present a mixed view to the reader: neither person nor gender aid the reader in understanding the texts since they are all either gender-neutral or female in point of view and use first, second, and third person. The remainder of the second book’s songs are much more typical texts: they largely represent the first or third-person male perspective.

The contrast between the two halves of the book (Songs I-IX and Songs X-XXII) becomes even more marked when one considers their musical setting and placement in the book since the first eight songs are all “to two voices,” a curiosity out of keeping with Dowland’s first book and his subsequent publications. Allowing for the coincidence of Song

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IX’s ambiguous gender and person, the first eight make up a group united in musical setting (all for two voices, cantus and bassus), textual similarities (as previously discussed, Songs I and II are a pair, Songs III-V appear to be a grouping, and Doughtie and others have proved the connection of Songs VI-VIII to Sir Henry Lee), and finally in their gender-neutral/female and first and second-person texts. Nowhere else in Dowland’s books does one find such a striking, extensive series of songs that are not male-voiced or in the first person. I would suggest that their placement together at the beginning of the book is based on more than simply convenience for the printer; rather, their grouping was based on an acknowledgement of the songs’ shared musical and textual characteristics.

Let me now return for a moment to the paratexts to *A Musicall Dreame* (previously discussed in Chapter Three), in which Jones used a dream trope around which to frame his fourth book. As discussed before, there were practical reasons why this conceit was necessary: Jones had called his previous book his last and needed to offer a justification for this subsequent book. But in examining the songs contained within the book, one finds that the trope extends beyond the paratexts into the book’s main text.

The fourth book has two distinct oddities: first, the lyrics are a rather unusual mixture of the sublime and the silly, the religious and the amorous with no apparent connection between most of them and second, four of the songs are narrated from a woman’s point of view. It is this varied nature that gives the book its structural thread: the songs represent the “many opinions and extravagant humors of divers Natures and Conditions” of Jones’ dreams. By using this conceit, Jones can justify the unusual combination of four first-person songs using a female voice, religious songs, and Italian texts, few of which can be

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found in other books or manuscripts (the first song is by Thomas Campion, the last two are from Petrarch). The female-narrated songs themselves have wildly variant themes:

“Harke, harke, wot you what” is similar in tone to Corkine’s “Away, away,” in which the narrator is “afraide to die a maid and then lead Apes in hell,” and in “Farewel fond youth, if thou hadst not beene blind” (Song VIII) and “I know not what, yet that I feele is much” (Song XIII) the woman bemoans the loss of her lover.

The final song with a likely female speaker is Song X, “O he is gone and I am here,” seems to portray a more religious sentiment than the other three.

O He is gone and I am here
aye me why are wee thus deuided,
My sight in his eyes did appeare
my soule by his soules thought was guided,
then come again my all my life, my being,
soules zeale, harts ioy, eares guest, eyes onely seeing.

Come sable care sease on my heart,
Take vp the roomes that ioyes once filled,
Natures sweet blisse is slaine by Art,
Absence black frost liues spring hath killed,
Then come again, my loue, my deere, my treasure,
My blisse, my fate, my end, my hopes full measure.

The tone strikes me as similar to Southwell’s “Marie Magdalens Complaint at Christs Death,” set to music in 1600 by Morley. In Jones’ lyrics, the narrator refers to the absent “he” of the poem (perhaps Jesus) as “my all my life, my being, soules zeale, harts ioy,” stating “my soule by his soules thought was guided,” suggesting the woman had a spiritual reliance on the man. In addition, the reference to the resurrection repeated in the penultimate line of each verse, “then come again,” is reminiscent of Southwell’s poem, in which Mary Magdalene bids Christ to “Turne againe and take me with thee.” In both cases, though, the

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references are vague enough that a more secular interpretation is possible, although
combined with the evidence of the religious sentiment to the final song of Jones’ The Muses
Gardin for Delights I think a more sacred reading should be favored. 223  One might even
imagine Jones “seeing” Mary Magdalene mourning the loss of Christ at some point during
his “Musical dreame.”

The dream framework was a well-known device in literature of the Middle Ages and
Renaissance, perhaps two of the more famous English examples are Geoffrey Chaucer’s The
Legends of Good Women and Shakespeare’s A Midsummer Night’s Dream. Dreams are “not
under the control of [the] conscious will . . . when dreaming [one seems] to be less in
command . . .” and yet they seem to be especially significant, for “nothing in a dream seems
to be trivial or unimportant.”224  Certainly the characters in A Midsummer Night’s Dream
have little control over their fate and can only explain what transpired in the context of a
dream: Bottom, for instance, says

I have had a dream, past the wit of man to say what dream it was: man is but an ass, if
he go about to expound this dream. Methought I was – there is no man can tell what.
. . but man is a patched fool, if he will offer to say what methought I had . . . I will get
Peter Quince to write a ballad of this dream: it shall be called Bottom’s Dream,
because it hath no bottom; and I will sing it in the latter end of a play, before the duke
(Act IV, scene i, lines 205-17).225

Bottom’s “dream” is so incomprehensible he can not possibly explain it, yet he hopes to gain
the Duke’s favor (to profit, that is) by turning it into a ballad, in the same way that Robert
Jones takes an incomprehensible collection of lyrics and turns them into a lute song book (by

223  Morley chose not to set all seven verses of Southwell’s poem; the verses he set, verses 5, 4, and 3 avoid the
more pointed religious sentiment of the remaining verses.

224  Peter Brown, ed., Reading Dreams: The Interpretation of Dreams from Chaucer to Shakespeare (Oxford:
Oxford University Press, 1999), 1.

which, we might assume, Jones hoped to profit). That is to say, the very nonsensical nature of the book is what gives it its structure, its meaning.

Conclusion

While structure in the lute song books never reached the comprehensive level of some of the Italian madrigal books, the lute song books and the order in which the songs appear in them, do show something other than a complete disinterest in the songs’ organization by the composers. In the use of small-scale structure we found that despite the fairly narrow range of poetic themes the composers often used quite interesting and well-written texts to set their songs. Poetically, rhetorical devices abound, not only in texts we know are from well-known poets, but even in those anonymous poems that we have seen in Corkine’s and Jones’ books. Most composers acknowledged these rhetorical devices in their musical settings to some degree, for even the most mediocre of composers (neither Corkine nor Jones are particularly good) showed at times their understanding of a poem’s complexity. We find also occasional songs, that is, songs written specifically for masques or other functions (see some of Ferrabosco’s and Dowland’s songs). And we also find that composers used their texts to give additional nods to their dedicatees, as both Corkine and Jones did with references to their patrons’ personal lives.

In medium and large-scale structures, we find organizing principles centered around one or more songs. Song cycles were present in the lute song books, usually consisting of three songs, and were often listed in tables of contents or headed as such. However, I have shown that occasionally song cycles were hidden within the text, as was the case with Songs III-V of Dowland’s Second Booke. Lastly, overarching themes were a useful way of collecting texts for a book; by use of a theme the author had both a hook to gain the potential
reader’s interest and a means of organizing the songs within the book. Jones, particularly, was fond of using this large-scale organizational method as we have seen in his third, fourth, and fifth books, although other composers not discussed here also used their paratexts as a means of framing the songs contained within their books. Campion, for example, used themes of age and youth, moral and light songs, to divvy up the songs in his later collections of ayres and Coprario used dedications to the memories of well-known court figures to organize his collections of ayres.
Conclusion

In passing by the circulation desk at my college library, I noticed what appeared to be a romance novel sitting on the counter: the book – in standard mass market paperback size and printed in very feminine shades of pink and green – was spread open, cover up, waiting for its reader to return. My first thought was, “What Haverford student would be caught dead reading a romance novel in plain sight of the entire library?” Curious, I took a closer look, and to my surprise found that instead of a cheap modern romance novel the student was in fact reading a 2008 Signet Classics edition of Jane Austen’s *Pride and Prejudice*.226 This struck me as a perfect modern example of a reader’s expectations and how a publisher or author might work with or against those same expectations. Any modern reader who regularly visits a bookstore would associate the color scheme, binding, and size of this book as a romance (probably historical romance) novel, yet that association is turned upside down when the reader sees the book is actually a well-respected classic work of fiction. The dichotomy of mass market/classic fiction is again blurred by the inclusion of an afterword by a prolific writer of historical romance novels.227

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226 The ISBN for this edition is 9780451530783. One may currently see an image of this book cover at http://us.penguingroup.com/nf/Book/BookDisplay/0,9780451530783,00.html. Signet Classics has reissued all of Jane Austen’s novels in this format, and each includes an afterword by a different well-known writer of historical Regency romance novels (including Eloisa James, Stephanie Laurens, and Mary Balogh).

227 Historical romance novels, especially ones set in the British Regency, are generally considered to be fashioned after Jane Austen’s writing style and themes.
Just as the modern reader has certain expectations of a book’s content based on its physical characteristics, so too we might presume did early modern readers. I have tried, over the course of this study, to categorize and describe the various elements of the lute song books’ paratexts (titles, letters, engravings) and texts (both musical and poetic) in an effort to understand the expectations of the authors and readers of these song books. The early seventeenth century in England was a time when the printing industry was still new, when music printing accounted for barely a percent of all prints in England, at a time when fewer than 1,000 books were printed yearly. But though the composers, printers, and publishers were all taking significant chances when they printed a new lute song book, they did not have to create an entirely new set of symbols and signifiers with which to entice their audience. Their methods were representative of other books of the day. Rather than existing outside their print culture, they were planted firmly within the trade’s traditions. As folios, they had elaborate title page borders, often the same borders used for non-musical books, with titles and layouts that highlighted the flexibility of the songs inside and praised their authors’ credentials. Additional engravings further enhanced the image of an expensive book, a book that could be an indication of wealth and status, at the same time that they filled up blank spaces on the page.

The printers and authors included dedicatory epistles and letters to the reader meant to charm their patrons while enticing the potential buyer. These epistles generally were written the same way epistles for other texts were written, with courtly language for the patron and with a more direct approach for the readers. Lute song book authors and other authors practiced the same rhetorical and stylistic techniques for gaining acceptance and encouraging sales; by playing on the readers’ emotions with pleas for understanding, with
references to their books as their “children” they tried to entice the browser into becoming the owner, and by becoming owners, becoming patrons themselves. In a manner similar to the well-known romance novelist’s afterword (since in the above case the author herself is dead), these letters offered the reader a connection to the author or the well-born patron that he might otherwise not have had.

By coming at the lute song books in a different way than previous scholars and closely reading their paratexts, I hope I have shown that there is much left to learn about the genre and the people involved in its creation and dissemination. Instead of starting with the songs and moving out, this method of starting at the outsides of the book and moving inwards gives the researcher a historical perspective to the genre that has in part been lacking in the scholarship. Through this analytical approach, for example, I was able to discover a textual relationship between Dowland and Jones that no one yet had found because no one had thought to compare their title pages or their paratexts. In simultaneously comparing and contrasting himself to Dowland, Jones was not only making an identity for himself, but he was leading the reader to make a connection between the two composers and hopefully gaining notoriety and sales in the process. I hope I have opened a path to further study into Jones’ life and works, for these readings clearly show that Jones was at least an interesting character worthy of study, if not perhaps the shining example of lute song composition.

Once inside the text proper, we find that composers had even more choices. The lyrics of the day included Petrarchan and anti-Petrarchan texts, simple ditties, “songs of darkness,” elegies, pastorals, and poems written for specific occasions, often coming from poetic miscellanies of the day or obviously mimicking the styles found in those anthologies. The poems were often full of rhetorical devices, some of which were enhanced by their
musical settings. Composers often set texts that, when considered in the context of the book’s dedicatees, suggest a purposeful connection between patron and text, as in the case of several of the songs in Corkine’s second book. Any deviation from the textual norm stands out to the reader, playing with the reader’s expectations, as one finds in Dowland’s second book and Jones’ fourth book, both of which contain unusually high numbers of poems with female or gender-indefinite narrators. The intentional groupings of songs within a book, consisting of a single text split into parts or three similarly-themed texts, created song cycles that perhaps were meant to be performed together; even if they weren’t performed together, the simple act of reading them one after the other creates a unity rather like reading a sonnet cycle. Large-scale structure was formed out of conceits based on paratexts that applied to many or all of the book’s songs; this went even further in making the lute song book more than a random collection of songs.

Much more work can be done in this area. In this dissertation, I have only begun to investigate the textual and paratextual elements of the lute song books and similar genres. For example, I have hardly mentioned one of the more unusual lute song books printed from this time, the *Ayres that Were Sung and Played at Brougham Castle*, largely because it is lacking any dedicatory epistle or letter to the reader. But this raises a couple interesting questions: should this book be considered a lute song book considering it is lacking the key paratexts present in all other lute song books? Perhaps instead it more closely resembles the few printed accounts of masques published during James I’s reign. A comparison between these prints might prove highly illustrative of the declining body of music prints in the second decade of the 1600s. The economic implications of its printing are interesting as well. Was it essentially a vanity press-type book printed by Mason and Earsden or was there
speculation that the market for this book might be similar to that of the printed masque – a curiosity of court designed to appeal to those people (who exist in all eras) who are fascinated with the doings of the rich and famous?

A further area which interests me is the similarities between the lute song books and madrigal books and other music publications of the post-Byrd printing patent era. By taking an in-depth view of the printing patterns, the titles, and paratexts of these books, I might even better understand the signs early modern music book consumers recognized. The most obvious difference between the lute song books and madrigal books are format related: madrigals were generally printed in the smaller, cheaper quarto size and were produced in part books. Their title pages, therefore, were too small for the elaborately engraved borders the lute song books used. But how often did madrigal books include dedicatory epistles or letters to the reader and how similar was the language and tone? Whether they were significantly different or similar will speak to whether lute song books might be more closely aligned with other music prints or with poetic miscellanies of the day.

Finally, I think a new study of the manuscript transmission of lute songs would prove very enlightening to our understanding of the readers and performers of the genre. The lute song may no longer have been printed after 1623, but manuscript transmission was still going strong during Charles I’s reign. An examination of the copying patterns of lute songs and their texts (and the texts separately) in comparison to the transmission of both madrigals and poetry might also help better place the lute song within the context of the early-to-mid-seventeenth century. By following the analytical methods presented in this dissertation and reading late Elizabethan and Jacobean printed music books as books first, and then as songs,
we may develop a better understanding of both the composer and the society in which he worked, composed, and published.
## Appendix One: Table of Lute Song Books and Sigla

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Book</th>
<th>Siglum</th>
<th>Printer</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>John Dowland</td>
<td><em>Firste Booke of Songes or Ayres</em></td>
<td>Dowland1</td>
<td>Peter Short</td>
<td>1597</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael Cavendish</td>
<td><em>14. Ayres in Tabletorie</em></td>
<td>Cavendish</td>
<td>Peter Short</td>
<td>1598</td>
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<tr>
<td>Robert Jones</td>
<td><em>The First Booke of Songes and Ayres</em></td>
<td>Jones1</td>
<td>Peter Short</td>
<td>1600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Dowland</td>
<td><em>Second Booke of Songs or Ayres</em></td>
<td>Dowland2</td>
<td>Thomas East</td>
<td>1600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Morley</td>
<td><em>First Booke of Ayres</em></td>
<td>Morley</td>
<td>[Henry Ballard]</td>
<td>1600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>William Barley</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Jones</td>
<td><em>The Second Booke of Songs and Ayres</em></td>
<td>Jones2</td>
<td>Peter Short</td>
<td>1601</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philip Rosseter and Thomas</td>
<td><em>A Booke of Ayres</em></td>
<td>Rosseter</td>
<td>Peter Short</td>
<td>1601</td>
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<tr>
<td>Campion</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Dowland</td>
<td><em>The Third and Last Booke of Songs or Ayres</em></td>
<td>Dowland3</td>
<td>Peter Short</td>
<td>1603</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thomas Greaves</td>
<td><em>Songes of Sundrie Kindes</em></td>
<td>Greaves</td>
<td>John Windet</td>
<td>1604</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tobias Hume</td>
<td><em>First Part of Ayres</em></td>
<td>Hume</td>
<td>John Windet</td>
<td>1605</td>
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<tr>
<td>Robert Jones</td>
<td><em>Ultimum vale, with Triplicitie of Musick</em></td>
<td>Jones3</td>
<td>John Windet</td>
<td>1605</td>
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<tr>
<td>Francis Pilkington</td>
<td><em>The First Booke of Songs or Ayres</em></td>
<td>Pilkington</td>
<td>Thomas East</td>
<td>1605</td>
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<tr>
<td>John Bartlet</td>
<td><em>Booke of Ayres with a Triplicitie of Musicke</em></td>
<td>Bartlet</td>
<td>John Windet</td>
<td>1606</td>
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<td>John Coprario</td>
<td><em>Funeral Teares for the death of the Right Honoroble the Earle of Devonshire</em></td>
<td>Coprario1</td>
<td>John Windet</td>
<td>1606</td>
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<td>John Danyel</td>
<td><em>Songs for the Late, Viol and Voice</em></td>
<td>Danyel</td>
<td>Thomas East</td>
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<td>Thomas Ford</td>
<td><em>Musike of Sundrie Kindes</em></td>
<td>Ford</td>
<td>John Windet</td>
<td>1607</td>
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<td>Robert Jones</td>
<td><em>A Musicall Dreame, or The Fourth Booke of Ayres</em></td>
<td>Jones4</td>
<td>John Windet</td>
<td>1609</td>
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<td>Alfonso Ferrabosco</td>
<td><em>Ayres</em></td>
<td>Ferrabosco</td>
<td>Thomas Snodham</td>
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<tr>
<td>Robert Dowland</td>
<td><em>A Musicall Banquet</em></td>
<td>RDowland</td>
<td>[Thomas Snodham] Thomas Adams (publisher)</td>
<td>1610</td>
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<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Publisher</td>
<td>Additional Information</td>
<td>Year</td>
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<td>------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<td>-------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>William Corkine</td>
<td>Ayres, to Sing and Play to the Lute and Basse Violl</td>
<td>Corkine1</td>
<td>William Stansby</td>
<td>1610</td>
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<tr>
<td>John Maynard</td>
<td>XII Wonders of the World</td>
<td>Maynard</td>
<td>Thomas Snodham</td>
<td>1611</td>
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<tr>
<td>John Coprario</td>
<td>Songs of Mourning: Bewailing the untimely death of Prince Henry</td>
<td>Coprario2</td>
<td>[Thomas Snodham] John Brown (publisher)</td>
<td>1613</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thomas Campion</td>
<td>Two Bookes of Ayres</td>
<td>Campion1&amp;2</td>
<td>Thomas Snodham</td>
<td>1613</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Campion</td>
<td>The Third and Fourth Booke of Ayres</td>
<td>Campion3&amp;4</td>
<td>Thomas Snodham</td>
<td>1617</td>
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<tr>
<td>George Mason &amp; John Earsden</td>
<td>The Ayres that were sung and played at Brougham Castle</td>
<td>Mason</td>
<td>Thomas Snodham</td>
<td>1618</td>
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<td>John Attey</td>
<td>The First Booke of Ayres</td>
<td>Attey</td>
<td>Thomas Snodham</td>
<td>1622</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix Two: Additional Ornaments in Lute Song Books

Figure 18: Winged half-man (Eros?) (original size: 6 5/16” w x 2 3/16”h)

Figure 19: Two archers  (original size: 5 7/16”w x 1 7/16”h)

Figure 20: Bear and hunters  (original size: 6 ¼”w 1 7/16”h)

Figure 21: Two letter As  (original size: 4 7/16”w x ¾”h)

The image sizes, when possible, were measured from originals in the Folger Shakespeare Library and are shown at 1:1 scale.
Figure 22: Mask with vines

Figure 23: Grotesque mask with scrollwork (original size: 2 ¼"w x 2 ¼"h)

Figure 24: Grotesquerie with horses
Figure 25: Lion & dragon with crown & Tudor rose

Figure 26: IHS compartment similar to McKerrow 182-187

Figure 27: Lion & unicorn on sides of flowers & vines (original size: lion & unicorn each 1 1/8”w x 1”h, centerpiece is 3 5/16”w x 1 1/16”h)

Figure 28: Crown and Ich dien symbol (Prince of Wales’ badge) (original size: 1 9/16”w x 1 7/8”h)
Figure 29: Device 92 from McKerrow (printer, Richard Grafton’s mark)

Figure 30: Scottish thistle, Tudor rose, fleur-de-lis alternating  (original size: 7 1/16"w x 7/8"h)
Appendix Three: Peter Short’s Initials

Set 1:

When possible, initials were measured from originals in the Folger Shakespeare Library.

Initials in sets 1 and 2 are all approximately 2" w x 2 1/4"h (with slight variations based on the absence or presence of borders).
Set 2:
Set 3:

![Image of initials ADM]

Initials not part of an obvious set:\textsuperscript{231}

![Image of initials IKA]

\textsuperscript{231} The original sizes for these initials given in their respective order in the appendix: I: 1 15/16"w x 1 15/16h; Y: 2 1/8"w x 2 1/4"h; A: 2 1/4"w x 2 5/16"h; T: 2 1/4" w x 2 5/16" h; W: 2 1/16"w x 2 5/16"h.
Some smaller initials in Short’s lute song books\textsuperscript{232}

\textsuperscript{232} The original sizes for these initials given in their respective order in the appendix: N: 15/16" w x 15/16" h, 12pt type inside; M: 9/16" x 9/16", 6 pt type inside.
Appendix Four: Thomas East’s Large Initials

Set 1:233

All apostle initials in set 1 are base 1 5/16”w by 1 5/16” h, but most often have an engraved border around them that extends the size to 1 ½” w by 2 1/16” h or 1 ¾” w by 1 13/16”h.
Initials not part of an obvious set:

MORS

NW

AW

Some of East’s smaller initials

NNS

PP

234 The original sizes for these initials given in their respective order in the appendix: S: 1 1/4"w x 1 5/16"h; N: 1 9/16"w x 1 9/16"h; W: 1 5/16"w x 1 5/16"h; A & W: 2 7/16"w x 2 1/2"h. The smaller initials are in 52 point type.
Thomas Snodham’s additional large initials

The original sizes for these initials given in their respective order in the appendix: F: 1 7/16"w x 1 7/16"h; S: 1 3/16"w x 1 3/16"h; T: 1 5/16"w x 1 5/16"h (without border); S: 2 1/2"w x 2 1/2"h; R: 1 15/16"w x 2"h; T: 1 1/8"w x 1 3/16"h.
Appendix Five: John Windet’s Large Initials

Set 1:
Set 2:

Set 3:

\[236\] The original sizes for these initials given in their respective order in the appendix: O: 2 5/16"w x 2 5/16"h with 14 point type inside; T: 1 3/4"w x 1 3/4"h with 14 point type inside.
Set 4: 237

An additional large initial:

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237 The original sizes for the initial W is 1 11/16"w x 1 11/16"h with 8 point type inside.
William Stansby’s Additional Large Initials

BDI

HLM

NST

VWA
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