

Music Publishing and Compositional Activity
in England, 1650-1700

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Stephanie Louise Carter

School of Arts, Histories and Cultures/Music

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Note to the Reader

In the musical examples provided in Chapter 5, please note the following editorial actions. Discrepancies in song lyrics between different voices follow either the principal spelling without individual comment, or the principal word with square brackets indicating as such. The regularization of *u* and *v*, and *i* and *y* has been made throughout. Lines indicating the length of a syllable for melismas are editorial. Original time signatures have been preserved throughout. Bar numbers are editorial, and further editorial additions are in square brackets.

Abbreviations

Library Sigla (based on the RISM system used in *Oxford Music Online*)¹

Belgium (B)

Bc *Brussels, Conservatoire Royal, Bibliothèque*

France (F)

Pc *Paris, Conservatoire National de Musique*

Pn *Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France*

Great Britain (GB)

Bu *Birmingham, Birmingham University*

Cfm *Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum*

Ckc *Cambridge, King's College, Rowe Music Library*

Cmc *Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys Library*

Ctc *Cambridge, Trinity College Library*

Cu *Cambridge, University Library*

CDu *Cardiff, University of Wales Library*

CH *Chichester, West Sussex Record Office*

DRc *Durham, Cathedral Church Library*

DRuc *Durham, Ushaw College Library*

En *Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland*

Gu *Glasgow, University Library*

HAdolmetsch *Haslemere, Dolmetsch private collection*

LEbc *Leeds, University Library*

Lbl *London, British Library*

Lgc *London, Guildhall Library*

¹ *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales*, Series C includes a library directory. Many of these abbreviations are listed on Laura Macy, ed., *Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com> (Last Accessed 26 October 2010). See also Sandra Tuppen, ed., *Music Manuscripts after 1600 in British and Irish Libraries*, RISM Online Database, <http://www.rism.org.uk> (Last Accessed 26 October 2010).

Lam	<i>London, Royal Academy of Music Library</i>
Lcm	<i>London, Royal College of Music Library</i>
Lv	<i>London, Victoria and Albert Museum</i>
Mp	<i>Manchester, Public Library, Henry Watson Music Library</i>
Mr	<i>Manchester, John Rylands Library, Deansgate</i>
Ob	<i>Oxford, Bodleian Library</i>
Och	<i>Oxford, Christ Church Library</i>
Owc	<i>Oxford, Worcester College</i>

Ireland (IRL)

Dtc	<i>Dublin, Trinity College Library</i>
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New Zealand (NZ)

Ap	<i>Auckland, Public Library</i>
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United States of America (US)

Ca	<i>Cambridge (CA), Harvard University</i>
Cn	<i>Chicago, Newberry Library</i>
LAuc	<i>Los Angeles, University of California William Andrews Clark Memorial Library</i>
NH	<i>New Haven (CT), Yale University</i>
NYp	<i>New York, Public Library</i>
Sm	<i>San Marino (CA), Huntington Library</i>
U	<i>Urbana (IL), University of Illinois</i>
Wc	<i>Washington, D.C., Library of Congress</i>
Ws	<i>Washington, D.C., Folger Shakespeare Library</i>

Abstract

Stephanie Louise Carter

Music Publishing and Compositional Activity in England, 1650-1700

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This thesis focuses on the flourishing music-publishing industry in England in the second half of the seventeenth century, and examines its relationship to and influence on the activities of professional musicians. Music publishing as a commercial entity developed in England during this period, particularly, but not exclusively, through the endeavours of the Playford family. By placing the printed music books within the social and cultural contexts in which they were produced, this thesis explores the consequences of printing on the musical text, understanding the purposes for which the printed book was created and how different functions of print affected the musical texts that they contained. A detailed examination of the printed music sources sheds light on how publication (including posthumous publication) related to the image and status of the composer, and draws attention to the interaction between public music-making, compositional activity and music publishing during this period.

Through an investigation of the contemporary printed outputs of five case-study composers – William Lawes, Henry Lawes, Matthew Locke, Henry Purcell and John Blow – this thesis explores the individual nature of the composers' relationships with the printed music book trade and how their contemporary printed outputs relate to their overall compositional output. This is followed by a detailed analytical study of specific compositions by the five case-study composers, examining both contemporary manuscript and printed sources, in order to determine to what extent the commercial print market influenced professional musical creativity. Different versions of compositions of certain genres, particularly secular vocal works, were disseminated via print as opposed to manuscript, and these alternative versions appear to have been instigated by both composers and stationers. This approach to examination of contemporary sources calls for the contextual consideration of sources and the musical texts within them.

Declaration

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In addition, I am obliged to the staff of the University of Birmingham Library, William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, California, Cambridge University Library, Durham Cathedral Library, the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, University of Glasgow Library, the British Library, London, the Henry Watson Music Library, Manchester, the Bodleian Library, Oxford, York Minster Library, and particularly the reproduction staff of The John Rylands University Library, Manchester. It is my pleasure to acknowledge the financial assistance of The Musica Britannica Trust Louise Dyer Award (2009), the Arts and Humanities Research Council UK Study Visit Grant, and the University of Manchester School of Arts, Histories and Cultures Postgraduate Research Travel Grant.

Finally, I am indebted to my husband, Benjamin, for his unfailing love and encouragement.

If men had not leisure to read our Writings, the Booksellers would silence us, and save you the labour: For none would Print them.

Richard Baxter, *A Christian Directory*, London, 1673, sig. [A4].

A CATCH by way of EPISILE,

And Sett by Mr. Henry Purcell.



O all Lo-vers of MU-SICK, Performers, and Scra-pers;

To those that love Catches, play Tunes, and cut Capers.



With a new Catch I greet you; And tho' I say it that shud'n, like a

Fiddle, 'tis MUSICK, tho' the Words are but wood'n: But my

Brother JOHN PLATFORD and I shall present you e're long, with a Book, I presume will

con-tent you. 'Tis true, we know well the Sale of good Mu-sick; But to hear Us per-

form wou'd make Him sick, or You sick. My maggot Man Sam at the first Tem-ple-Gate

will further in-form you; If not, my Wife KATE,

From between the two Devils near Temple-Bar,

I rest,

Your Friend & Ser-vant

JOHN CARR.

Figure 1. Henry Purcell, 'To all Lovers of Musick', *Comes Amoris; Or, The Companion of Love...The First Book*, London, 1687.

Introduction

Early modern England witnessed a considerable transformation for the professional musician, from livelihoods dependent on master-servant relationships with wealthy aristocratic patrons, the church and court towards a publicly visible and entrepreneurial career within a commercial market. A number of factors arose in the latter half of the seventeenth century to facilitate this change, including an increased availability of teaching employment, particularly in London forced by the turbulence of the Civil Wars and Interregnum, the musical development in the public theatres after the Restoration, the rise of the amateur ‘music-lover’,² the development of the public concert from the 1670s, and the growth of the music-publishing industry. The retrenchment of the Court establishment under the reigns of James II and William and Mary particularly encouraged professional musicians to exploit every possibility of the commercial market in order to make a living. From 1683 onwards there were a number of activities based in London including Cecilian celebrations, the concerts in the York Buildings, and an increase of music used in the theatre. Commercially-orientated publications by stationers such as John Playford chiefly characterised printed music in England during the latter half of the seventeenth century, but the old style of patronage and presentation continued alongside these commercial ventures, though in different ways. Playford’s publishing activities in particular highlight the growth of musical literacy and activity with numerous titles and editions for the amateur vocalist and beginner instrumentalist. A number of composers partook in the publishing of their own work, employing business and marketing techniques such as newspaper advertising and subscription volumes, while others relied primarily on booksellers for disseminating their volumes. The active engagement of composers in the printing process of their works and the works of others, although not new in England in the second half of the seventeenth century, is particularly interesting during this period because of the shifting nature of the profession and the growth in music publishing as a means of disseminating musical works. There is clear evidence of working relations between publishers and composers in the preparation of anthologies, tutor books and treatises.

Print brought a dramatic increase in the accessibility, dissemination and transmission of music with the potential availability of hundreds of copies of a work in contrast to the limited circulation of manuscripts. Hence print brought with it a new

² Harold Love, ‘How Music Created a Public’, *Criticism*, xlvii (2004), 257-271.

public visibility, placing composers and their music in a much larger public forum than ever before. Determining how composers viewed and reacted to this new transmission medium is the central aim of this dissertation. Composers' input into the publishing of their own work in particular poses a number of questions: how did composers regard print as a means of dissemination? Did print influence compositional activities? Were already-composed works revised or altered for the print market, and if so, to what extent did print technologies, market demands, and fashions of musical styles influence those changes? What does this tell us about how composers perceived the status and fixity of their works? This thesis considers the relationships between the music-publishing industry, compositional activity and a variety of music-making activities (including both public and private endeavours) in England in the latter half of the seventeenth century, to determine the extent to which music publishing influenced musical creativity, and vice versa. Going beyond a provision of reference data and a detailed examination of the sources, I will consider some of the larger implications of music publishing in the context of socioeconomic and cultural history, thus helping to elucidate the relationship between musical creativity and the material embodiment of the printed book, its function, commercial orientation, destination, public reception and the ways in which the financial sponsors (stationers, composers, text authors) viewed the musical text.

The nature of the book has changed over time in Western society, and the ways in which people interpreted the book in seventeenth-century England are not necessarily the same as our modern concept of print culture. Previous accounts of seventeenth-century English music sources have tended not to differentiate in principle between prints and manuscripts, regarding them all as sources of musical texts and subsequently ignoring the numerous consequences of the invention of printing, especially the relationship of print culture with questions of transmission and dissemination of texts.³ For instance, Lionel Pike's recent volume of Henry Purcell's anthems with strings refers to the transmission history of 'I was glad' in symphony anthems and verse anthem versions, but he does not contextualise the three-voice arrangement of the piece that survives in the 1703 *Harmonia Sacra* source, stating only

³ Francis Bacon's aphorism that we should 'take note of the force, effect and consequences' of printing has been repeatedly cited. See Fenlon, *Music, Print and Culture in Early Sixteenth-Century Italy*, 1; Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge, 1983, 2nd ed., 2005, 13.

that this printed arrangement as ‘a sacred song is worthy of note’.⁴ Another example is Bruce Wood’s edition of Purcell’s symphony songs, in which he provides a description of the variants that appear in the printed source of Purcell’s ‘Soft Notes, and Gently Rais’d’, including omission of ornamentation, ties and slurs, but no context of the printed version of the song is given despite Purcell’s own possible involvement in the printing process.⁵ Treating these sources as fundamentally the same entity does not permit consideration of how the very different purposes for which printed sources were created, and how the functions they served in relation to some manuscript sources, affect the texts within them.

I do not claim that this is a novel approach: throughout there is a strong underlying influence from the theoretical framework established by contemporary historians of the book.⁶ The complex combination of social and technological factors involved in the material embodiment of the printed book does not end with the finished product: in an environment in which print existed alongside, and interacted with, oral, visual and manuscript transmission, the printed book needed to target its readers, anticipating and trying to shape their tastes and reading habits.⁷ This required entrepreneurial and marketing skills by the publisher and bookseller, and to varying extents, a degree of revision and editing of previously-composed pieces in preparation for print. For those publications involving the composer, whether or not the finished product was printed ‘for the Author’, the very idea of having one’s work appear in print potentially affected not only the compositional activities of composers in what they chose to compose, but also in the revising and altering of previously-composed pieces in preparation for print. Only recently have scholars begun to consider how the formal characteristics of a printed music book have shaped its content, to say nothing of

⁴ Lionel Pike, ed., *Henry Purcell: Sacred Music Part II, Nine Anthems With Strings*, Purcell Society Edition, xiv, London, 2003, 230.

⁵ Bruce Wood, ed., *Henry Purcell: Symphony Songs*, Purcell Society Edition, xxvii, London, 2007, xix and 219-230. The printed source of ‘Soft Notes, and Gently Rais’d’ is Henry Playford’s *Theater of Music... The Second Book*, London, 1685, 14-16.

⁶ For a general introduction to this methodology see David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery, eds., *The Book History Reader*, London, 2001, 2nd edn., 2006.

⁷ The marked distinction between manuscript and print cultures is the latter’s capability of disseminating multiple and nearly identical copies of a work. John Milsom has highlighted the occurrence of stop-press alterations in the press run of *Cantiones Sacrae* (1575), which has led to the survival of different printed copies. John Milsom, ‘Tallis, Byrd and the “Incorrected Copy”’: Some Cautionary Notes for Editors of Early Music Printed from Movable Type’, *Music & Letters*, lxxvii (1996), 348-367. See also David C. Price, *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance*, Cambridge, 1981, 189; Iain Fenlon, *Music, Print and Culture in Early Sixteenth-Century Italy*, London, 1995, 1.

readership and circulation, and recognised that printed books were subsequently subject to the cultural context and market within which they were produced.⁸ Despite this acknowledgement, little research has attempted to answer questions regarding the potential influence of print on composers' creative activities. This may be due in part to the complications of early printing, and also the textual fluidity of Restoration musical works, which is now widely acknowledged in light of chiefly palaeographic work on manuscripts, and especially autographs. The lack of fixedness in musical texts during this period has most recently been identified by Alan Howard,⁹ and Andrew Woolley.¹⁰ In addition, Robert Thompson and Rebecca Herissone have both argued that musicologists should seek to move away from the idea that composers' revisions were always intended to supersede previous readings or that they should be interpreted as improvements.¹¹ Recent modern editions of Restoration music including Bruce Wood's *John Blow: Venus & Adonis*,¹² and Terence Charlston and Heather Windram's *Albertus Bryne: Keyboard music for harpsichord and organ*,¹³ have acknowledged this development away from the idea of the 'fixed' text by providing parallel versions due to the survival of significant variants.¹⁴

Studies in the dissemination of music in print, and considerations of the place of the printed music book in society, have tended to concentrate on Italian and French music publishing of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with the works of Tim

⁸ See, for example, Martha Feldman, 'Authors and Anonyms: Recovering the Anonymous Subject in Cinquecento Vernacular Objects', in Kate van Orden, ed., *Music and the Cultures of Print*, New York, 2000, 163-199. Considerations of contemporary printed music sources must include the problems of early printing, such as errors by typesetters and variants introduced by early editors. See David McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order, 1450-1830*, Cambridge, 2003, 97; Stephanie Carter, 'Published Musical Variants and Creativity: An Overview of John Playford's Role as Editor', in Rebecca Herissone, ed., *Concepts of Creativity in Seventeenth-Century England*, forthcoming.

⁹ Alan Howard, 'Manuscript Publishing in the Commonwealth Period: A Neglected Source of Consort Music by Golding and Locke', *Music & Letters*, xc (2009), 35-67.

¹⁰ Andrew Lawrence Woolley, 'English Keyboard Sources and their Contexts, c. 1660-1720', Ph.D., University of Leeds, 2008.

¹¹ Robert Thompson, 'Purcell's great autographs', in Curtis Price, ed., *Purcell Studies*, Cambridge, 1995, 6-34; Rebecca Herissone, 'Fowle Originals' and "Fayre Writeing": Reconsidering Purcell's Compositional Process', *The Journal of Musicology*, xxiii (2006), 570-572.

¹² Bruce Wood, ed., *John Blow: Venus and Adonis*, Purcell Society Edition Companion Series, London, 2008.

¹³ Terence Charlston and Heather Windram, eds., *Albertus Bryne: Keyboard music for harpsichord and organ*, Oslo, 2008. See also Candace Bailey's review, 'Restoration keyboard music in the digital age', *Early Music*, xxxvii (2009), 318-320.

¹⁴ Also see Christopher Hogwood, 'Creating the Corpus: The "Complete Keyboard Music" of Henry Purcell', in Christopher Hogwood, ed., *The Keyboard in Baroque Europe*, Cambridge, 2003, 67-89.

Carter,¹⁵ Iain Fenlon,¹⁶ and Jane A. Bernstein.¹⁷ More recently, Stephen Rose and Susan Lewis Hammond have contributed to our knowledge of German music print culture of the same period.¹⁸ Equivalent research for English music print culture for the latter half of the seventeenth century is gravely wanting, especially considering the recent attention given to the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries by John Milsom,¹⁹ Jeremy Smith,²⁰ and Kirsten Gibson.²¹ Kate van Orden's *Music and the Cultures of Print* particularly exposes the need for similar studies of later seventeenth-century English music print culture.²² Contributions to the field of late seventeenth-century music publishing are largely in the form of bibliographic, biographic and technical work: Day and Murrie's catalogue of English song books 1651-1702,²³ Krummel's survey of English music printing,²⁴ Humphries and Smith's *Music Publishing in the British Isles*,²⁵ and the unpublished theses of Peter Alan Munstedt,²⁶ Russell Nelson,²⁷ and D. Ross

¹⁵ Tim Carter, 'Printing the "New Music"', in Kate van Orden, ed., *Music and the Cultures of Print*, New York, 2000, 3-37.

¹⁶ Iain Fenlon, 'Music, Print, and Society in Sixteenth-Century Europe', in James Haar, ed., *European Music 1520-1640*, Woodbridge, 2006, 280-303.

¹⁷ Bernstein's work includes *Print Culture and Music in Sixteenth-Century Venice*, Oxford, 2001, and 'Financial Arrangements and the Role of Printer and Composer in Sixteenth-Century Italian Music Printing', *Acta Musicologica*, lxxiii (1991), 39-56.

¹⁸ Stephen Rose, *Music, Print and Authority in Leipzig during the Thirty Years' War*, Ph.D, Cambridge University, 2002; 'Music Printing in Leipzig during the Thirty Years' War', *Notes*, lxi (2004), 323-349; 'Schein's Occasional Music and the Social Order in 1620s Leipzig', *Early Music History*, xxiii (2004), 253-284; 'Publication and the Anxiety of Judgement in German Musical Life of the Seventeenth Century', *Music & Letters*, lxxxv (2004), 22-40; 'The Mechanisms of the Music Trade in Central Germany', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, cxxx (2005), 11-37; 'Music in the Market-Place', in Tim Carter, and John Butt, eds., *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music*, Cambridge, 2005, 55-87; 'Music, Print and Presentation in Saxony during the Seventeenth Century', *The Journal of the German History Society*, xxiii (2005), 1-19. Susan Lewis Hammond, *Editing Music in Early Modern Germany*, Aldershot, 2007.

¹⁹ John Milsom, 'Tallis, Bryd and the "Incorrected Copy"', 348-367.

²⁰ Jeremy L. Smith, 'From "Rights to Copy" to the "Bibliographic Ego": A New Look at the Last Early Edition of Byrd's "Psalmes, Sonets & Songs"', *Music & Letters*, lxxx (1999), 511-530; *Thomas East and Music Publishing in Renaissance England*, Oxford, 2003.

²¹ Kirsten Gibson, 'John Dowland's Printed Ayres: Texts, Contexts, Intertexts', Ph.D, Newcastle University, 2006; "'How hard an Enterprise it is": Authorial Self-Fashioning in John Dowland's Printed Books', *Early Music History*, xxvi (2006), 43-89; 'Author, Musician, Composer: Creator? Figuring Musical Creativity in Print at the Turn of the Seventeenth Century', in Rebecca Herissone, ed., *Concepts of Creativity in Seventeenth-Century England*, forthcoming.

²² As far as I am aware, the only reference to seventeenth-century English music print culture appears in Roger Chartier, 'Afterword: Music in Print', in Kate van Orden, ed., *Music and the Cultures of Print*, New York, 2000, 325-341.

²³ Cyrus Lawrence Day, and Eleanore Boswell Murrie, *English Song-Books, 1651-1702: A Bibliography, with a First-Line Index of Songs*, London, 1940.

²⁴ Donald W. Krummel, *English Music Printing, 1553-1700*, London, 1975.

²⁵ Charles Humphries, and William C. Smith, *Music Publishing in the British Isles from the Beginning until the Middle of the Nineteenth Century*, Oxford, 1970.

²⁶ Peter Alan Munstedt, 'John Playford, Music Publisher: A Bibliographical Catalogue', Ph.D, University of Kentucky, 1983.

Harvey.²⁸ These longer studies have been supplemented by Frank Kidson's biographical work on the principal music stationer John Playford,²⁹ and Margaret Dean-Smith's work on Playford's *Dancing Master* series.³⁰ Krummel's study includes the earliest account of John Playford's relationship with his market, detailing the publisher's marketing strategies for the primary purpose of selling his music books.³¹

More recently, small-scale studies have begun to place the printed music book within the context in which it was produced in England in the second half of the seventeenth century. Many of these studies reveal information regarding the social and cultural contexts of the printed music book, based particularly on surviving contemporary documents relating to the publishing industry. Nicholas Temperley has placed John Playford's psalm publications within the broader context of psalm singing in churches following the Restoration, highlighting the stationer's connections with the Company of Stationers and demonstrating how the books' contents reflect the different markets – including parish clerks as well as for congregational and domestic use – that Playford tried to attract.³² Following Dean-Smith's emphasis on Playford's political sympathies,³³ Peter Lindenbaum has provided an assessment of Playford's early publishing history as evidence of Royalist coterie culture.³⁴ More recently, Stacey Jocoy has placed the contents of Playford's early music publications of the 1650s in their social and cultural contexts, highlighting distinctly the many Royalist associations and implications of the musical texts.³⁵ Robert Thompson has drawn attention to the other roles of the music stationer in England in the second half of the seventeenth century,

²⁷ Russell Clair Nelson, 'John Playford and the English Amateur Musician', Ph.D., University of Iowa, 1966.

²⁸ D. Ross Harvey, 'Henry Playford: A Bibliographical Study', Ph.D., Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand, 1985.

²⁹ Frank Kidson, 'John Playford and 17th-Century Music Publishing', *Musical Quarterly*, iv (1918), 516-534.

³⁰ Margaret Dean-Smith, 'English Tunes Common to Playford's "Dancing Masters"', *The Keyboard Books and Traditional Songs and Dances*, *Proceedings of the Musical Association*, lix (1952), 1-17; *Playford's English Dancing-Master, 1651: A Facsimile Reprint with an Introduction, Bibliography and Notes*, London, 1957.

³¹ Krummel, *English Music Printing, 1553-1700*, 115-123.

³² Nicholas Temperley, 'John Playford and the Metrical Psalms', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, xxv (1972), 331-378; 'John Playford and the Stationers' Company', *Music & Letters*, liv (1973), 203-12.

³³ Margaret Dean-Smith and Nicholas Temperley, 'Playford (1). John Playford (i)', in Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell, eds., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians: Second Edition*, London, 2001, xix, 910-913.

³⁴ Peter Lindenbaum, 'John Playford: Music and Politics in the Interregnum', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, lxiv (2001), 124-138.

³⁵ Stacey Jocoy Houck, 'Decoding Musical Resistance: English Vocal Music in the Service of the King, 1625-1660', Ph.D., University of Illinois, 2005; 'John Playford and the English Musical Market', in Jessie Ann Owens, ed., *"Noyses, sounds, and sweet aires": Music in Early Modern England*, Washington, DC., 2006, 48-61.

concentrating particularly on manuscript publication and the provision of ruled music paper.³⁶ Ian Spink and Mary Chan have both made links between Playford's publishing activities and London music meetings, based particularly on examination of surviving manuscript sources, thus highlighting the stationer's connections with contemporary musicians from whom Playford was able to obtain primary sources for his printed anthologies.³⁷ Chan has also contributed an introductory review of sixteenth- and seventeenth- century music books in the recent *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain* series.³⁸ Here, Chan emphasizes the importance needed to be placed by musicologists on the social contexts of composition and reception of both printed and manuscript music books, as, she argues, 'social issues of performance, occasion and patronage were significant in determining what was printed, what was copied, and how music circulated'.³⁹

These studies have been complemented by recent work focussed on single composers and their relationship with contemporary publishers and the music book trade. Simon Jones has described the reception of the Italian violinist Nicola Matteis in late seventeenth-century London and his printing activities (see Chapter 3).⁴⁰ Henry Purcell's involvement in music printing has received considerable attention lately, with Rebecca Herissone's examination of the composer's self-publication *The Vocal and Instrumental Musick of the Prophetess, Or The History of Dioclesian* (1691) providing a consideration of Purcell's misunderstanding of the functions of music printing, Andrew Pinnock's evaluation of Purcell as entrepreneur, and Richard Lockett's survey of the working relationship between the Purcell family and Playfords.⁴¹

Such scholarship has been heavily based on surviving contemporary documents and sources to reveal information regarding the contexts in which the printed music

³⁶ Robert Thompson, 'Manuscript Music in Purcell's London', *Early Music*, xxiii (1995), 605-18.

³⁷ Ian Spink, 'The Old Jewry "Musick Society": A 17th-Century Catch Club', *Musicology*, ii (1965-7), 35-41; Mary Chan, 'A Mid-Seventeenth-Century Music Meeting and Playford's Publishing', in John Caldwell, Edward Olleson and Susan Wollenberg, eds., *The Well Enchanting Skill: Music, Poetry, and Drama in The Culture of the Renaissance. Essays in Honour of F. W. Sternfeld*, Oxford, 1990, 231-244.

³⁸ Mary Chan, 'Music Books', in John Barnard and Donald F. McKenzie, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, 4 vols., Cambridge, 2002, iv: 1557-1695, 127-137.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 127.

⁴⁰ Simon Jones, 'The legacy of the "stupendious" Nicola Matteis', *Early Music*, xxix (2001), 553-569.

⁴¹ Rebecca Herissone, 'Playford, Purcell and the Functions of Music Publishing in Restoration England', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, lxiii (2010), 243-290. I am grateful to Dr Herissone for supplying me with a draft. Andrew Pinnock, 'The Purcell Phenomenon', in Michael Burden, ed., *The Purcell Companion*, London, 1995, 3-17; Richard Lockett, 'The Playfords and the Purcells', in Giles Mandelbrote, Robin Myers and Michael Harris, eds., *Music and the Book Trade from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century*, London, 2008, 45-68.

book was produced. This thesis explores the issue not previously discussed concerning the relationship between composition itself and music publishing, within a much more broad-ranging investigation of the place of the printed music book in late seventeenth-century English society. It is a case study of English music publishing between 1650 and 1700. This period encompasses the rise of commercial music printing from the initiatives of John Playford in 1650 to the developments in engraving techniques towards the end of the century, including the adoption of both pewter plates and punches by 1700, enabling engraving to become the primary means of printing music.⁴² The geographical focus of this thesis is England – specifically London, and to a much lesser extent, Oxford, due to the centrality of the printing and publishing houses in early modern England. Consequently, the study does not include the publishing activities of John Forbes in Aberdeen (1662-1706) and Robert Thornton in Dublin (fl.1687-1701).

This thesis is primarily divided into two sections. In the first section Chapter 1, ‘Music, Print and the Amateur Musician in Seventeenth-Century England’ explores the sources of amateur music-making activities and documentary evidence of printed music book ownership. Chapter 2, ‘The English Printed Music Book Trade’, introduces the printed music books, the nature of the trade and significant individuals, including both stationers and composers, working in the industry. Chapter 3, ‘Advertising and Marketing: Strategies for Dissemination’, explores the different outlets for advertising and the importance placed on publicity, as well as the marketing strategies employed in order to sell a book. Themes of public visibility, authority and brand awareness underlie this chapter. These three chapters establish the context of the printed book in late seventeenth-century English society. The second part of the thesis assesses the dense and complex relationships between five case-study composers and print. Chapter 4, ‘Compositional Output and Contemporary Transmission in Print’, traces the dissemination of the printed outputs of five composers – William Lawes, Henry Lawes, Matthew Locke, Henry Purcell, and John Blow – in the genres of secular vocal music,

⁴² For more information on music publishing in early eighteenth-century London see particularly David Hunter, ‘The Printing of Opera and Song Books in England, 1703-1726’, *Notes*, xlvi (1989), 328-351; ‘The Publishing of Opera and Song Books in England, 1703-1726’, *Notes*, xlvii (1991), 647-685; *Opera and song books published in England, 1703-1726: A Descriptive Bibliography*, London, 1997; Richard Hardie, “‘All Fairly Engraven’?: Punches in England, 1695 to 1706’, *Notes*, lxi (2005), 617-633. For details about John Walsh’s publishing career in the early eighteenth century, see William C. Smith, *A Bibliography of the Musical Works Published by John Walsh during the years 1695-1720*, London, 1948; Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson, *The Monthly Mask of Vocal Music 1702-1711: A Facsimile Edition*, Aldershot, 2007; Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson, ‘New Light on John Walsh’, *Early Music*, xxxvi (2008), 677-678.

sacred vocal music and keyboard music, and explores the nature of these composers' relationships with the music book trade. All five composers were important figures in print in the second half of the seventeenth century, and provide a chronological span of this period. Chapter 5 'Catering for a Public Amateur Print Market? An Analysis' discusses the findings of a close analysis of the surviving manuscript and printed sources of a selection of pieces by the five case-study composers in the three genres discussed in Chapter 4. I will claim that for certain genres there is an argument for different versions of pieces printed for the public market in comparison to versions circulated in manuscript form, and that the dissemination of these printed versions was engendered by composers as well as stationers.

A catalogue of English music publications issued between 1650 and 1700 is provided as an appendix, as well as a list of printed and manuscript sources examined for the compositions analysed in Chapter 5. A summary catalogue of these manuscript sources is also given in the appendices. A total of 275 copies of printed music books were examined as part of this study.⁴³ The primary aim of the thesis, to determine the extent to which music publishing influenced musical creativity, and vice versa, within the social contexts of an array of practical music-making activities in seventeenth-century England, restricts the examination of printed books to those primarily containing musical notation. The list does not include those music books published without musical notation, such as Edward Lowe's *A Short Direction of the Performance of Cathedral Services* (1661), James Clifford's *The Divine Services and Anthems* (1663; 2nd ed., 1664), or printed sermons about music, such as Henry Dodwell's *A Treatise Concerning the Lawfulness of Instrumental Musick in Holy Offices* (1700). In addition, with the primary aim of the thesis in mind, those books not principally regarded as practical music books are excluded. Consequently the academic writings including William Holder's *A Treatise of the Natural Ground, and Principles of Harmony* (1694) and the published writings of Thomas Salmon have not been included in Appendix A.⁴⁴ In order to keep within the limited nature of a doctoral thesis, psalm books, broadsides and magazines have not been included, nor have the books listed in Day and Murrie's catalogue that cannot be

⁴³ I have been unable to inspect every extant copy of the publications listed in Appendix A. Surviving copies of a single title range between one and well over 20, with many titles surviving in at least seven copies. See François Lesure, *Répertoire International Des Sources Musicales, B/I: Recueils Imprimés XVIe-XVIIe Siècles*, Munich, 1960.

⁴⁴ The print relationship between Thomas Salmon and Matthew Locke is elaborated in Chapter 2.

classed primarily as music books, such as novels and French grammar books, that incorporate only a few examples of music notation. The appearance of notation in other such printed genres is a study in itself.

Music, Print and the Amateur Musician in Seventeenth-Century England

A central concern of this thesis is to place the English printed music book of the second half of the seventeenth century within the social and cultural contexts in which it was produced. In order to do this, we must first explore the role of music as a cultural entity in the lives of those individuals who could afford to purchase the printed book and for whom the printed book was intended. As such, this chapter highlights the personalities and locations that promoted music, including information about club culture and the development of public concerts, and provides a preliminary cultural context in which to place the English printed music book. The music-publishing trade of early modern England saw significant progress towards the industry that we recognise today, not just in developments in printing techniques but also in the rise of commercialism from the middle of the century onwards. These advances were matched by a growing domestic music-making culture acknowledged by the contemporary gentleman amateur Roger North as a reflection of the social upheavals of the Civil Wars and Interregnum:

...when most other good arts languished Musick held up her head, not at Court nor (in the cant of those times) profane Theaters, but in private society, for many chose rather to fiddle at home, than to goe out, and be knockt on the head abroad; and the entertainment was very much courted and made use of, not onely in country but city familys, in which many of the Ladys were good consortiers; and in this state was Musick dayly improving more or less till the time of (in all other respects but Musick) the happy Restauration.¹

The majority of printed music books produced from 1650 were designed to appeal to the amateur musician, as will be illustrated in Chapter 2. What follows is an overview of the different types of amateur musicians active in England in the second half of the seventeenth century, and their activities, sources, and repertoires. Into this cultural context is placed the printed music book, exploring the focus of the market-place and clientele in London, and providing evidence derived from extant copies of the books of contemporary ownership and use of this material.

¹ John Wilson, ed., *Roger North on Music: Being a Selection from his Essays written during the years c.1695-1728*, London, 1959, 294.

1.1 The Rise of the Amateur: a “universal gusto”?

To understand the importance of the printed music book in seventeenth-century English society, it is crucial to recognize the source of the consumption of culture: the clientele. Ian Spink describes London in the second half of the seventeenth century as being characterized by an almost total involvement of music in public life. Spink is referring to the function of music in different spheres of the social hierarchy;² this thesis concentrates on music in the realm of the social elite, that is, those individuals with the financial capacity to buy printed music books. By the close of the seventeenth century, England was still a predominantly rural country with half of its five million population engaged in agriculture, and while London contained about half a million people, the second biggest cities, Bristol and Norwich, held less than 30,000.³ London was the home of government, banking and the professional classes, and the city dominated inland trade.⁴ It was also the centre for the music-publishing industry and music instrument making. The subsequent intensity of commercial and professional activity developed a concentration of wealth and the consumption demands of a bourgeois culture. Recently, Robert D. Hume has identified that no more than about five percent is ‘an upper-end estimate of the proportion of the British population circa 1700 who had the money to buy any but the cheapest books’.⁵ Despite Cyprian Blagden’s observations that 400,000 almanacs were purchased annually during the 1660s,⁶ according to Hume’s statistics, few members of the population with a ‘discretionary spending capacity’ probably had spare money particularly to indulge in expensive culture.⁷ Furthermore, many probably rarely visited London, and some may not have been interested in culture – the percentage specifically interested in music or even musically literate must have been even smaller. The narrow concentration of the population able to purchase culture was limited to members of the upper class and the

² Ian Spink, ‘Music and Society’, in Ian Spink, ed., *The Seventeenth Century*, The Blackwell History of Music in Britain, iii, Oxford, 1992, 1-65.

³ Barry Coward, *The Stuart Age*, London, 1984, 7; Spink, ‘Music and Society’, 1-2; Ned Ward, *The London Spy, 1703*, edited with Notes and Introduction by Kenneth Fenwick, London, 1955, Introduction, xii; Peter Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class: Business, Society and Family Life in London 1660-1730*, London, 1989, repr. 1991, 17 and 341.

⁴ Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class*, 17; Spink, ‘Music and Society’, 19.

⁵ Robert D. Hume, ‘The Economics of Culture in London, 1660-1740’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, lxxix (2006), 494 and 529.

⁶ Cyprian Blagden, ‘The Distribution of Almanacks in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century’, *Studies in Bibliography*, xi (1958), 107-16.

⁷ Hume, ‘The Economics of Culture in London, 1660-1740’, 497.

‘middling sort’,⁸ the latter being a contemporary term applied to such persons who ‘fell, economically, somewhere between artisans (who lived a notch above subsistence level) and the gentry’.⁹ This section of the population included gentlemen, merchants, persons in office (including parliament, army and navy) and the law, clergymen, artisans and persons in sciences and liberal arts.¹⁰ The magnitude of culture consumption among these groups is difficult to establish. Not only are patterns of spending personal, but Hume highlights the differentiation between habitual and sporadic purchasers of culture: most ‘could indulge in relatively cheap books or amusements but could not regularly afford expensive ones’.¹¹ Of the five per cent of the population who could afford to purchase luxury culture, it is uncertain how many were consumers of music. A certain level of financial outlay is essential for the practising of music in order to fund resources such as instruments, teachers and manuscript paper, not to mention manuscript-copying services and printed music books. The customer base for printed music books in seventeenth-century England must have been small, despite the popularity that the art enjoyed according to contemporary diarist and amateur musician Samuel Pepys:

Witness the universal gusto we see it followed with, wherever to be found, by all whose leisure and purse can bear it.¹²

Musical literacy had certainly been growing since at least as early as the late sixteenth century. Courtly fashion was a powerful inducement for the aristocracy to study music, with most etiquette publications regarding musical skills as a social necessity from as early as Sir Thomas Elyot’s *The Booke named The Governour* (1531). Such books encouraged a critical discussion of music and private practice and performance. The effects of the Reformation increased the availability of professional musicians for private employment, either as resident or visiting teachers, which, David Price argues, supplied a new generation of musically literate and skilled amateurs who would become patrons for both publications and the advancement of musicians’ careers.¹³ This period also saw the development of the printed instruction manual as a means of catering for

⁸ Jonathan Barry and Christopher Brooks, eds., *The Middling Sort of People: Cultural, Society and Politics in England, 1550-1800*, Basingstoke, 1994; Margaret Hunt, *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender and the Family in England, 1680-1780*, London, 1996.

⁹ Hume, ‘The Economics of Culture in London, 1660-1740’, 496.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 495.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 497.

¹² J. R. Tanner, ed., *Private correspondence and miscellaneous papers of Samuel Pepys, 1679-1703, in the possession of J. Pepys Cockerell*, 2 vols., New York, 1926, ii, 109.

¹³ Price, *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance*, 47.

(and creating) demand. Both the etiquette publications and music instruction books emphasized the principle that gentlemen should only attain certain levels of skill. Henry Peacham, for example, stressed that

I desire not that any Nobel or Gentleman should (save at his recreation and leisureable hours), prove a master in the same or neglect more weighty employments.¹⁴

Thomas Morley in his *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (1597), written in the style of a tutor-pupil dialogue throughout, set the scene by explaining the importance of musical skill:

Among the rest of the guesstes, by chaunce, master *Aphron* came thether also, who falling to discourse of Musicke, was in an argument so quickly taken up & hotly pursued by *Eudoxus* and *Calergus*, two kinsmen of *Sophobulus*, as in his owne art he was ouerthrowne. But he still sticking in his opinion, the two gentlemen requested mee to examine his reasons, and confute them. But I refusing & pretending ignorance, the whole companie condemned mee of discourtesie, being fully perswaded, that I had beene as skilfull in that art, as they tooke me to be learned in others. But supper being ended, and Musicke books, according to the custome bearing brought to the table: the mistresse of the house presented mee with a part, earnestly requesting mee to sing. But when after manie excuses, I protested unfainedly that I could not: euerie one began to wonder. Yea, some whispered to others, demaunding how I was brought up: so that upon shame of mine ignorance I go nowe to seeke out mine olde frinde master *Gnorimus*, to make my selfe his scholler.¹⁵

Music rudiments books increased the accessibility of notation-based, music-making activities, and reduced the costs involved in learning music, i.e. there was no need to employ a regular tutor, although there is no evidence to suggest that teachers were replaced by these manuals. These books were a means of gaining fashionable, musical skill for the upwardly mobile citizens of the middling sort, and particularly those beginners who lived in the provinces. Rudiment manuals included *The Pathway to Musicke* and *A New Booke of Tabliture* both published by William Barley in 1596, the latter volume intended for those who ‘cannot have a tutor’ as not everyone can ‘dwell in or neere the city of London where expert Tutors are to be had’.¹⁶ These books taught the basics of notation, pitch, rhythm and metre, and some, such as Morley’s *Plaine and Easie Introduction*, included basic composition instruction.¹⁷

¹⁴ Henry Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman*, London, 1622, Chapter XI, 98.

¹⁵ Thomas Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke*, London, 1597, ‘The first part of the Introduction to Musicke, teaching to sing’, sig. B2. See R. Alec Harman, ed., *Thomas Morley: A Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music*, London, 1952; Smith, *Thomas East and Music Publishing in Renaissance England*, 76-95.

¹⁶ William Barley, *A new booke of tablature*, London, 1596, ‘To the Reader’.

¹⁷ Rebecca Herissone, *Music Theory in Seventeenth-Century England*, Oxford, 2000, 6-8.

These printed introductory music books must have been extremely valuable sources for the education of the amateur, as few formal institutions encouraged or provided music tuition, either practical or theoretical, in their curricula. Beyond the professional song schools, formal music education appears in the records of a small handful of schools by the start of the seventeenth century: Christ's Hospital is the only known school in London to have had a full-time music master from the mid-sixteenth century onwards.¹⁸ Richard Mulcaster (c.1530-1611), headmaster of Merchant Taylor's School (1561) and St Paul's School (1586) was an early advocate for the inclusion of music in both schools' curricula. The statutes of Dulwich College formed in 1626 stated that two music teachers should be employed, and from 1626 a music teacher was employed at Charterhouse School.¹⁹ However, the majority of music activities, typically linked to their respective chapel services, in these schools were discontinued in 1644 in line with the Puritan suppression of music in liturgical services and replaced with psalm-singing by rote. At the universities, musical tuition was mostly private despite the general encouragement given by awarding degrees to professional musicians.²⁰ Private tuition was also the only method for gaining musical skill at the Inns of Court. The lack of musical instruction in educational institutions did not, however, prevent the encouragement of musical activities in the home. Metrical and four-part psalm books flooded the market from the 1560s onwards, the first music printed for the Sternhold and Hopkins' psalms appearing in the Geneva edition of 1556, and later editions of the psalms included a short introduction to music theory and notation written in the vernacular.²¹ These early attempts to encourage musical instruction provided a wider range of the population access to musical literacy at a very basic level.

Amateurs, Music-Making Activities and Sources

Despite the flourishing of musical literacy and growth in amateur musical activities, identifying individual amateurs in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has been

¹⁸ Bernarr Rainbow, *Music in Educational Thought and Practice*, Aberystwyth, 1989, 57.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 82.

²⁰ Peter Walls, 'London, 1603-49', in Curtis Price, ed., *The Early Baroque Era: from the Late Sixteenth-Century to the 1660s*, London, 1993, 286-287.

²¹ John Day's harmonised psalter, the *Whole Psalmes in Foure Parties* (1563) included a woodcut illustration depicting a domestic music lesson in which the father is found teaching his family. This woodcut is provided in Rainbow, *Music in Educational Thought and Practice*, 61.

severely limited by surviving sources, which are typically inclined towards the households and patronage of the upper class due to better preservation. Many references to amateur musicians of the ‘middling sort’ provide little information beyond a name and an instrument, for example, one Christopher Cooke of Keverstone, Durham, is known to have owned a ‘great pair of virginals’.²² In addition, there is currently no comprehensive study of music in household records in England from the second half of the seventeenth century similar to those of Walter Woodfill and David Price of the earlier decades.²³ A number of studies have concentrated on the activities of mid-century musicians, including Jonathan Wainwright’s research on the patronage of Christopher First Baron Hatton and music manuscript collaborations and networks in mid-century Oxford.²⁴ Music-making activities in Oxford have received considerable scholarly attention, particularly concerning the manuscript sources surrounding the university amateur and professional musicians.²⁵ The music meetings of William Ellis, Narcissus Marsh, Henry Aldrich, and the Mermaid Club are well-documented examples involving lay clerks, organists and members of the university and clergy, highlighting an amalgamation of amateur and professional musicians in private musical gatherings.²⁶ Thomas Mace recorded similar activity at Trinity College, Cambridge.²⁷

²² Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales, 1500-1700*, Basingstoke, 1994, 294.

²³ John Harley lists three London household inventories containing references to musical instruments. John Harley, *Music in Purcell’s London: The social background*, London, 1968, 39. Walter L. Woodfill, *Musicians in English Society from Elizabeth to Charles I*, Princeton, 1653; Price, *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance*.

²⁴ Jonathan P. Wainwright, *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England: Christopher: First Baron Hatton (1605-1670)*, Aldershot, 1997, 169-177.

²⁵ Jonathan P. Wainwright, ‘Images of Virtue and War: Music in Civil War Oxford’, in Andrew Ashbee, ed., *William Laves (1602-1645): Essays on His Life, Times and Work*, Aldershot, 1998, 121-142; David Mateer, ‘Hugh Davis’s Commonplace Book: A New Source of Seventeenth-Century Song’, *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, xxxii (1999), 63-87; Candace Bailey, ‘William Ellis and the Transmission of Continental Keyboard Music in Restoration England’, *Journal of Musicological Research*, xx (2001), 211-242; John Milsom, *Christ Church Library Music Catalogue Online*, <http://library.chch.ox.ac.uk/music/> (Last Accessed 24 April 2010).

²⁶ Anthony Wood also recorded other music meetings in Oxford, notably the theorbist Thomas Janes at Magdalen, in the Queens College chambers of Christopher Harrison and those of Charles Perot at Oriel. Andrew Clark, ed., *The Life and Times of Anthony à Wood*, 3 vols, Oxford, 1892-1894, i, 204, 274-275. See also Bruce Bellingham, ‘The Musical Circle of Anthony Wood in Oxford During the Commonwealth and Restoration’, *Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America*, xix (1982), 7-70; Pamela J. Willetts, ‘Music from the Circle of Anthony Wood at Oxford’, *The British Museum Quarterly*, xxiv (1961), 73; Robert Shay, ‘Aldrich, Henry’, in Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell, eds., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians: Second Edition*, London, 2001, i, 338; Margaret Crum, ‘An Oxford Music Club, 1690-1719’, *Bodleian Library Record*, ix (1974), 83-99.

²⁷ Thomas Mace, *Musick’s Monument, Or, A Remembrancer of the Best Practical Musick*, London, 1676, 234.

Music meetings were not new in England, having existed from at least the early decades of the seventeenth century: Nicholas Yonge's oft-quoted 'Epistle dedicatorie' of *Musica Transalpina* (1588) refers to

a great number of Gentlemen and Merchants of good accompt... have taken in good part such entertainment of pleasure, as my poor abilitie was able to affoord them, both by exercise of Musicke daily used in my house, and by furnishing them with Bookes of that kinde.²⁸

Well-known examples of meetings in London include one set up by Edmund Chilmead (1610-1654), an Oxford chaplain and amateur musician, in his lodgings at the Black Horse in Aldersgate until his death in 1654.²⁹ Another society made up of gentleman amateur instrumentalists was described by Roger North.³⁰ There were undoubtedly many more meetings elsewhere (see below), held in hired rooms, patrons' houses – the North family's domestic performances are well documented³¹ – and groups centred in cathedral cities around church musicians, although little is known of comparable musical gatherings in other provincial centres.³²

These private meetings were characterised by the mixture of professional and highly musically-educated amateurs with repertoires undoubtedly originating from performing members and relying on strong networks of manuscript transmission.³³ The social spectrum of the members of these groups appears to have been broad, especially in London meetings. The stationer John Playford dedicated his 1667 edition of *The Musical Companion* to 'his endeared Friends of the late Musick-Society and Meeting, in the Old-Jury, London', listing the members: Charles Pigeon, Thomas Tempest, Herbert Pelham, John Pelling, Benjamin Wallington, George Piggot, Francis Piggot and John Rogers.³⁴ This group consisted of a mixture of professional and amateur musicians, many of whom also appear in Samuel Pepys' diary. Herbert Pelham was described by

²⁸ Nicholas Yonge, *Musica Transalpina*, London, 1588, 'Epistle dedicatorie'.

²⁹ Michael Tilmouth and Penelope Gouk, 'Chilmead, Edmund', in Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell, eds., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians: Second Edition*, London, 2001, v, 625. Chilmead's lodgings in London was, incidentally, the former home of the music printer Thomas East.

³⁰ Wilson, *Roger North on Music*, 352.

³¹ Jamie C. Kassler, 'North, Roger', in Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell, eds., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians: Second Edition*, London, 2001, xviii, 53.

³² John Irving has illustrated the connection of an Oxford, Bodleian Library manuscript, Mus.Sch.E.415-18 with a similar musical gathering in Worcester in the early 1640s. John Irving, 'Consort playing in mid-17th-century Worcester: Thomas Tomkins and the Bodleian partbooks Mus.Sch.E.415-18', *Early Music*, xii (1984), 337-344.

³³ Rebecca Herissone, *Musical Creativity in Restoration England*, forthcoming.

³⁴ John Playford, *Catch that Catch can: Or the Musical Companion*, London, 1667, sig. [A2]. See also Glasgow, University Library MS R.d.58-61. Spink, 'The Old Jewry "Musick-Society"', 35-41.

Pepys as a ‘sober citizen merchant... with great skill’ as a singer,³⁵ and John Pelling, an apothecary, was a frequent visitor from June 1667 onwards, calling sometimes ‘to sit with us, and talked of Musique and the musicians of the town’,³⁶ and visiting with friends Wallington, Piggot, Rogers and Tempest to perform informally.³⁷ Benjamin Wallington ‘did sing a most excellent bass, and yet a poor fellow, a working goldsmith, that goes without gloves to his hands’.³⁸ Thomas Tempest was ‘a gentleman, a young man... who sings very well ended [*sic*], and understands anything in the world at first sight’,³⁹ and who, according to Anthony Wood, attended Charles I in Oxford.⁴⁰ John Rogers, described by Thomas Mace as a great lutenist, succeeded to the position of lutenist in the King’s Musick at the Restoration.⁴¹ Charles Pigeon was admitted to Gray’s Inn in 1656 and is thanked for his assistance in Playford’s first edition of his *A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick* (1654). George Piggot was admitted clerk to the ‘Marshall, Wardens and Cominality of the Arte and Science of Musick in Westminster’ in 1672 on recommendation of Roger North, and Francis Piggot was probably the one who was admitted to Lincoln’s Inn in 1661.⁴²

Musical enthusiasts such as Samuel Pepys and Roger North would have been regarded as upper-end consumers of elite culture and are consequently not typical examples of the music amateur of Restoration England.⁴³ However, their contemporary accounts contain valuable information highlighting the exchange networks between professional and highly-skilled amateur musicians. Pepys in particular mentions numerous ventures with both amateurs and professionals, including Justinian Pagitt (1611/2-1668), a lawyer whom Pepys described as ‘Pagett (the counsellor, an old lover of Musique)’,⁴⁴ and Henry Walgrave, personal physician to the Duke of York who Evelyn described as one of the best musicians in Europe.⁴⁵ Pepys was well acquainted

³⁵ 29 May 1668. Robert Latham and W. Matthews, eds., *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, 11 vols., London, 1970-1983, ix, 217.

³⁶ 10 September 1667. *Ibid.*, viii, 432.

³⁷ 13 July 1668. *Ibid.*, ix, 261.

³⁸ 15 September 1667. *Ibid.*, viii, 437.

³⁹ 9 February 1668. *Ibid.*, ix, 58.

⁴⁰ Quoted in Spink, ‘The Old Jewry “Musick Society”’, 39.

⁴¹ Lodewijck Huygens identifies John Rogers as the brother of Dr Benjamin Rogers. Peter Holman, ‘Rogers, Benjamin’, in Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell, eds., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians: Second Edition*, London, 2001, xxi, 517-518; Mace, *Musick’s Monument*, 34.

⁴² Spink, ‘The Old Jewry “Musick Society”’, 40; Robert Shay and Robert Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts: The Principal Manuscript Sources*, Cambridge, 2000, 312.

⁴³ Hume, ‘The Economics of Culture in London, 1660-1740’, 449.

⁴⁴ 14 December 1662. Latham, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, iii, 281.

⁴⁵ J. A. Westrup, ‘Domestic Music under the Stuarts’, *Proceedings of the Musical Association*, lxxviii (1941-2), 49.

with many professional musicians and makes references to playing with Matthew Locke and an elder Purcell,⁴⁶ and a visit of William Caesar and Pelham Humfrey to Pepys' house where, 'after dinner we did play, he [Humfrey] on the Theorbo, Mr. Caesar on his French lute, and I on the viol'.⁴⁷ Pepys was also taught by Thomas Greeting, Thomas Blagrave, William Child, Theodore and John Goodgroome, and John Birchensha, and from 1673 he employed the Italian musician Cesare Morelli as a domestic musician.⁴⁸

A number of professional musicians are also known to have organised regular meetings in their homes. In the 1630s, Charles Coleman (d. 1667) held musical gatherings of instrumentalists at his house in Richmond. Lucy Hutchinson described Colman in the *Memoirs*, probably written by 1671, as

being a skilful composer in musick, the rest of the king's musitians often met at his house to practise new ayres and prepare them for the king; and divers of the gentlemen and ladies that were affected with musick came thither to heare; others that were not, took that pretence, to entertain themselves with the companie.⁴⁹

Lodewijk Huygens noted a music group, including Christopher Gibbons, Benjamin Rogers and John Rogers, who gathered at the home of Davis Mell to play 'a concert for organ... bass viol and two violins' and 'another concert for harpsichord, lute, theorbo, bass viol and violin', during his visit in 1652.⁵⁰ It is unclear to what extent amateur musicians performed at such meetings, and whether these gatherings provided opportunities for musical enthusiasts that extended beyond the social elite to the 'middling sort'. Hutchinson described Richmond, for example, as a place where 'a greate deale of good young Company, and many ingenious persons, that by reason of the court, where the young princes were bred, entertain'd themselves in that place'.⁵¹

In the 1640s, Henry Lawes entertained members of Royalist literary circles and other sympathisers, many of whom wrote commendatory poems in praise of the composer for his printed collections in the 1650s, at music meetings in his home.

⁴⁶ 21 February 1660. Latham, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, i, 63. Professional musicians were sometimes paid to play with amateurs. For example, Pepys gave Pietro Reggio five shillings for his services, 12 August 1664. *Ibid.*, v, 239.

⁴⁷ 15 November 1667. *Ibid.*, viii, 529-530.

⁴⁸ McDonald Emslie, 'Pepys, Samuel', in Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell, eds., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians: Second Edition*, London, 2001, xix, 327.

⁴⁹ Julius Hutchinson, ed., *Lucy Hutchinson: Memoirs of the Life of Col. Hutchinson*, London, 1806, 38. See also Peter Walls, *Music in the English Courtly Masque 1604-1640*, Oxford, 1996, 278-279.

⁵⁰ Peter Holman, 'Mell, Davis', in Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell, eds., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians: Second Edition*, London, 2001, xvi, 348-349; Peter Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court 1540-1690*, Oxford, 1993, 266.

⁵¹ Hutchinson, *Memoirs*, 38.

Margaret Cavendish, the wife of the Earl of Newcastle, recorded that in the early 1650s she ‘went with my Lord’s brother to hear music in one Mr. Lawes his house, three or four times’.⁵² Lawes’s songs were undoubtedly performed at these gatherings, which clearly also provided important opportunities particularly for highly musically-educated female amateur performers, composers and poets.⁵³ In Lawes’s second book of *Ayres and Dialogues* (1655), the composer not only dedicated the volume to Lady Dering but also included some of her compositions, stating that

*Not only in regard of that honour and esteem you have for Musick, but because those Songs which fill this Book have receiv’d much lustre by your excellent performance of them; and (which I confesse I rejoyce to speak of) some which I esteem the best of these Ayres, were of your own Composition, after your Noble Husband was pleased to give the Words. For (although your Ladiship resolv’d to keep it private) I beg leave to declare, for my own honour, that you are not only excellent for the time you spent in the practise of what I Set, but are yourself so good a Composer, that few of any sex have arriv’d to such perfection.*⁵⁴

Lawes’s meetings provided a place to maintain an active royalist musical culture during the Interregnum,⁵⁵ and a surviving printed programme that appears to relate to the performance of a musical celebration of St Cecilia’s Day in 1655 reveals part of the nature of the performing contexts at such gatherings, consisting of ‘Select PSALMES OF A NEVV TRANSLATION, To be sung in VERSE and CHORUS of *five Parts*, with *Symphonies* of *Violins*, *Organ*, and other Instruments, *Novemb. 22. 1655. Composed by HENRY LAWES, Servant to His late Majesty*’.⁵⁶

These formal gatherings were the beginnings of an early concert culture, but it was not until 1672 that John Banister began a daily, public concert series in a ‘Musick School, opposite the George Tavern in Whitefriars’, first advertised in the *London Gazette* on 30 December 1672.⁵⁷ By 1678 the series had moved to Essex Buildings in the Strand, and another concert series moved to a purpose-built music room in Villers Street, York Buildings around 1689. Such gatherings, which included Ellis’s meetings in

⁵² C. H. Firth, ed., *Margaret Cavendish: The Life of William Cavendish*, London, n.d., 169.

⁵³ Lynn Hulse, ‘Amorous Music’, in Ben van Beneden and Nora de Poorter, eds., *Royalist Refugees: William and Margaret Cavendish in the Rubens House (1648-1660)*, Antwerp, 2006, 83-89; H. Chalmers, *Royalist Women Writers, 1650-1689*, Oxford, 2004, 17-21.

⁵⁴ Henry Lawes, *The Second Book of Ayres and Dialogues*, London, 1655, [Dedication], sig. [a].

⁵⁵ Jocoy Houck, ‘Decoding Musical Resistance: English Vocal Music in the Service of the King, 1625-1660’, 35.

⁵⁶ *Select Psalmes of a New Translation*, 1655, Henry E. Huntington Library shelfmark RB 131907. See Scott Nixon, ‘Lawes’s Hand in the Bridgewater Collection: New Light on Composer and Patron’, *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, lxii (1999), 257-258.

⁵⁷ Michael Tilmouth, ‘A Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers published in London and the Provinces (1660-1719)’, *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, i (1961), 2.

Oxford, required the payment of a fee on entry, and subsequently became events of luxury culture available for the elite. Other (free) series including Thomas Britton's popular weekly concerts between 1678 and the coal dealer's death in 1714 persisted despite the more fashionable concert venues. Informal amateur gatherings continued – Thomas D'Urfey referred to amateurs 'that frequent the Rose, Chocolate-house, Coffee-houses, and other places of Credit, in and about Covent-Garden' in 1694⁵⁸ – but the distinction between amateur and professional musicians was becoming more marked with the rise of the virtuoso and the development of concert life.⁵⁹ Amateurs became music lovers and patrons, encouraging the profession of music and hiring musicians for private concerts and parties.⁶⁰

Highly musically-skilled amateurs were not the only sort of amateur in England in the second half of the seventeenth century. A second type of amateur musician also existed, who was less musically-educated and who did not have the social connections to be a part of the musically-elite networks described above. Such amateurs probably met informally with friends in such venues as taverns and coffee-houses, described by Peter Clark as 'indispensable social agencies',⁶¹ providing important centres for community identities of urban professional men. Michelle O'Callaghan has recently highlighted the social basis of the early seventeenth-century tavern societies in the Inns of Court, which 'were home to a new class of lawyers eager to fashion a professional identity in which notions of fellowship, civility, and gentility were vital constituents'.⁶² Music was a principal form of entertainment at many of these male convivial gatherings, and numerous contemporary accounts refer to music-making in taverns. Ned Ward, for example, described at the beginning of the eighteenth century in *The London Spy*,

Here's a tavern, hard by, where a parcel of pleasant companions of my acquaintance use... Songs and catches crowned the night, and each man in his turn elevated his voice to fill out harmony with the more variety.⁶³

⁵⁸ Thomas D'Urfey, *Songs to the New Play of Don Quixote... Part the First*, London, 1694, 'To my Much Honoured and Ingenious Friends (Lovers of Musick)'.

⁵⁹ Edward Croft-Murray and Simon McVeigh, 'London (i) V, 2: Musical Life: 1660-1800: Concert Life', in Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell, eds., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians: Second Edition*, London, 2001, xv, 119-125.

⁶⁰ Love, 'How Music Created a Public', 257-271.

⁶¹ Peter Clark, *The English Alehouse: A Social History, 1200-1830*, London, 1982, 2.

⁶² Michelle O'Callaghan, 'Tavern Societies, the Inns of Court, and the Culture of Conviviality in Early Seventeenth-Century London', in Adam Smyth, ed., *A Pleasing Sinne: Drink and Conviviality in Seventeenth-Century England*, Cambridge, 2004, 37-38.

⁶³ Ward, *The London Spy*, Part I, 15.

The effects of the Civil Wars saw the rebuilding of organs in tavern rooms following their removal from churches – again, Ned Ward described a typical scene:

we had heard of a famous Amphibious House of Entertainment, compounded of one half *Tavern* and t'other *Musick-House* [...] we no sooner enter'd the House, but we heard *Fidlers* and *Hoitboys*, together with a *Humdrum Organ*, make such incomparable Musick [...] we were Usher'd into a most Stately Apartment, Dedicated purely to the Lovers of *Musick, Painting, Dancing*.⁶⁴

Such meetings evidently continued throughout the late seventeenth century: Pepys, for example, described 'the King's Head, the great musique-house' at Greenwich,⁶⁵ and Roger North referred to a tavern near St Paul's where 'some shopkeepers and foremen came weekly to sing in consort, and to hear, and injoy ale and tobacco; and after some time the audience grew strong'.⁶⁶ Such groups presumably found it more difficult to obtain music without the strong personal connections and networks associated with the more formal music meetings described above. Both print and manuscript publication would have been useful for these individuals.⁶⁷ Roger North, on describing the tavern meeting near St Paul's mentioned that 'their musick was chiefly out of Playford's *Catch Book*' and that 'this shewed an inclination of the citisens to follow musick'.⁶⁸ Many of these amateur musicians were undoubtedly complete beginners, as numerous manuscript and printed sources contain pedagogical material (see Chapter 2).⁶⁹ Self-instruction was also probably an important method of obtaining musical skill for the male amateur during their years at university and the Inns of Court, thus avoiding what Richard Leppert has noted as a social stigma that might have been attached to the dependence on supervised instruction from a music master.⁷⁰

Less musically-educated amateurs included both men and women. Title-page illustrations of printed beginner instrumental lesson books from this period depict the gender of expected performers of the book's contents. Series of beginner instrumental

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, Part XIV, 254-255.

⁶⁵ 27 September, 1665. Latham, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, vi, 242.

⁶⁶ Wilson, *Roger North on Music*, 351-352.

⁶⁷ Some individuals and groups may have hired music. See below.

⁶⁸ Wilson, *Roger North on Music*, 352. North further supplemented the account, describing how 'with help of a dull organist and miserable-singers, folks heard music out of the *Catch-book*, and drank ale together.' *Ibid.*, 304.

⁶⁹ The British Library copy of *A Choice Collection of Ayres for the Harpsichord or Spinnet* (1700) contains numerous scribbles, including 'Excellent' against many of the pieces, suggesting that the print was used as a teaching resource. British Library K.3.1.4.

⁷⁰ Richard Leppert, *Music and image: Domesticity, ideology and socio-cultural formation in eighteenth-century England*, Cambridge, 1988, 68.

music such as *The Pleasant Companion*, *Musick's Delight on the Cithren* and *The Division Violin* clearly portray male music enthusiasts. Depicted sitting at a table with instrument in hand, the gentleman hovers over a book in oblong format learning how to play (see Figure 1.1).⁷¹ Either on the table or hanging on the wall behind are other instruments, representing other (possible) accomplishments of the music amateur. Women are seldom represented alone,⁷² but performing as a singer or keyboard player as part of an ensemble with a gentleman amateur, such as in the *Musicks Hand-maide* and *Deliciae Musicae* series (see Figure 1.2). Such depictions of female amateurs performing in musical ensembles were probably designed more for the marketing of the book to both male and female amateurs than illustrating commonplace performing contexts, as much female music-making during this period is thought to have been solitary. Musical skill was clearly regarded as an accomplishment to gain in the pursuit of a husband: as Andrew Woolley notes, female owners of music manuscripts 'tended to be unmarried as they often sign them [the manuscripts] with maiden names'.⁷³

Social pressures were clearly a motivation for women to obtain musical skill, an ability which the contemporary female writer Hannah Woolley thought was essential as without which 'a Lady or Gentlewoman can hardly be said to be absolutely accomplished'.⁷⁴ Surviving pedagogical manuscripts related to beginner female amateurs from the middle and second half of the seventeenth century represent rare examples of domestic repertoires, and include Och MS Mus. 580 copied by Richard Goodson senior for a Catherine Brooks,⁷⁵ and Och MS Mus. 438, which is partly a songbook in the hand of Edward Lowe possibly for a 'Mrs Anne Bayley'.⁷⁶ Such manuscripts are often written predominantly in the hand of their teacher and include pedagogical charts, singing exercises and keyboard settings of popular tunes and songs. Recently, Candace Bailey has pointed out that the mid-century manuscript *Elizabeth Rogers's Virginal Book* (Lbl Add. MS 10337) suggests that 'at least some young women received training in composition, transposition, and ornamentation, a possibility that broadens our

⁷¹ Book size and format are discussed in more detail in Chapter 2.

⁷² A solo female performer is depicted in the frontispiece picture of Playford's *The Treasury of Musick* (1669), but the 'buxom woman', sitting in a noticeably seductive position, appears to represent 'Musick'. The volume is addressed to 'Gentlemen' and 'Courteous Sirs' in the prefatory material. Krummel, *English Music Printing, 1553-1700*, 119.

⁷³ Woolley, 'English Keyboard Sources and their Contexts, c. 1660-1720', 7.

⁷⁴ Hannah Woolley, *The Gentlewomans Companion Or, A Guide to the Female Sex*, London, 1673, 84.

⁷⁵ Woolley, 'English Keyboard Sources and their Contexts, c. 1660-1720', 94.

⁷⁶ Milsom, *Christ Church Library Music Catalogue Online*.

Figure 1.1 John Playford, *Musick's Delight on the Cithren*, London, 1666, Title page picture



Figure 1.2 Henry Playford, *Deliciae Musicae* series, London, 1695-1696, Title page picture



interpretation of women and musical education in England at this time'.⁷⁷ The employment of a music teacher provided, for a fee, less musically-educated amateurs with access to musical texts that circulated primarily in manuscript among the strong transmission networks of professional and highly musically-educated amateurs, presented by the visiting master in arrangements that suited the student's instruction and taste.

1.2 The Printed Music Book in Early Modern England

The invention of music printing provided the technological resources to disseminate musical texts and instruction to literate classes at a much greater degree than ever before. The music printing monopoly granted to William Byrd and Thomas Tallis in 1575 was an attempt to promote the printing of English music by controlling the importing of printed music and the printing of polyphonic music (apart from metrical psalms) and ruled paper (manuscript paper) in England. The inaugural publication, *Cantiones Sacrae*, in 1575 consisted of Latin-texted, elaborate polyphonic music probably originally composed for professional singers in the Chapel Royal. The volume was, however, not an economic success: unsuitable for liturgical use in the context of late sixteenth-century Protestant England and too demanding for domestic use, the printed book had no obvious market with 'inadequate methods of distribution'.⁷⁸ The book appears to have been produced as a presentation of compositional skill, in order that the two composers' works might 'stand comfortably alongside those of their continental rivals at the very pinnacle of compositional virtuosity', and intended for use in the Chapel Royal and to be sold in the Catholic, European market.⁷⁹ In 1577 Tallis and Byrd noted the economic failure of the project, and a 1583 inventory specified 717 unsold copies.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ Candace Bailey, 'Blurring the Lines: "Elizabeth Rogers Hir Virginal Book" in Context', *Music & Letters*, lxxxix (2008), 510-511. See also Janet Pollack, 'Princess Elizabeth Stuart as Musician and Muse', in Thomasin LaMay, ed., *Musical Voices of Early Modern Women: Many-Headed Melodies*, Aldershot, 2005, 399-424.

⁷⁸ Smith, *Thomas East and Music Publishing in Renaissance England*, 30.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 32. See also Joseph Kerman, 'The Elizabethan Motet: A Study of Texts for Music', *Studies in the Renaissance*, ix (1962), 289-295.

⁸⁰ Smith, *Thomas East and Music Publishing in Renaissance England*, 29-30; Mark Eccles, 'Bynne-man's Books', *The Library*, 5th ser., xii (1957), 88.

After Tallis' death in 1585, Byrd set up a partnership with the printer Thomas East and their joint enterprise saw the first flourishing of the printed music book industry with a number of published volumes of devotional and secular songs with English texts, such as Byrd's *Psalmes, Sonets and Songs* (1588). Byrd remained an important figure in music publishing until his death in 1623, despite the expiration of his patent in 1596. From the late sixteenth century onwards, a number of music books were published by the printers William Barley and Peter Short and were concentrated on genres recommended for the amateur musician: as Rebecca Herissone describes, the anonymous *Pathway to Musicke* (1596) was 'clearly aimed at a specific and lucrative market of would-be amateur performers who wished to acquire minimum skills necessary for them to be able to participate in one of the most popular pastimes of the era'.⁸¹ Thomas Morley became the successor of the patent in 1598, and, with Barley as an associate, published a number of books of English madrigals.⁸² Morley died in 1602, enabling Thomas East and Peter Short to resume printing music before the monopoly passed to William Barley in 1606.⁸³ Several music volumes appeared at the beginning of the seventeenth century, many of which included rudimentary instructions such as Thomas Robinson's *The Schoole of Musicke* (1603) and *New Citharen Lessons* (1609),⁸⁴ and Robert Dowland's *Varietie of Lute-Lessons* (1610). Following Barley's death in 1614, the patent passed to a group consisting of two London booksellers and a printer: John Browne, Matthew Lownes and Thomas Snodham.⁸⁵ However, very little music was published after 1620 despite evidence of the patent still being current in 1629. The decline in music printing was in direct inverse trend with the general book-publishing industry, which expanded considerably between 1600 and 1640.⁸⁶ A number of reasons for the decline in music printing between 1620 and 1650 have been put forward by musicologists. Peter Walls suggests the decline of the music-publishing trade was brought about by the extraordinary number of deaths of composers in the first half of the seventeenth century, notably Campion (1620), Hooper (1621), Byrd and Weelkes

⁸¹ Herissone, *Music Theory in Seventeenth-Century England*, 7.

⁸² Smith, *Thomas East and Music Publishing in Renaissance England*, 78.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 119; Donald W. Krummel, 'Music Publishing: VII. The Age of Letterpress 1501-1700', in Donald W. Krummel and Stanley Sadie, eds., *Music Printing and Publishing*, The Norton/Grove Handbooks in Music, London, 1990, 91-92.

⁸⁴ Robinson's *The school of musicke* was intended to develop a 'method, how you may be your owne instructor for Prick-song, by the help of your Lute, without any other teacher'. Thomas Robinson, *The School of Musicke*, London, 1603, Title page.

⁸⁵ Krummel, *English Music Printing, 1553-1700*, 31.

⁸⁶ Peter Walls, 'London, 1603-49', in Curtis Price, ed., *The Early Baroque Era: from the Late Sixteenth-Century to the 1660s*, London, 1993, 288.

(1623), Gibbons (1625), Dowland (1626), Bull (1628), Bateson (1630), Giles (1634), and Wilbye and Pilkington (1638).⁸⁷ Charles Humphries and William Smith support this claim, asserting that the reason behind the industry's deterioration was the decline in the popularity of the madrigal, associated with the diminishing generation of composers.⁸⁸ Popularity instead turned to consort music, but little was published due to the lack of households owning sets of instruments, and a wealthy transmission network of instrumental music in manuscript.⁸⁹

On the other hand, Peter Holman has suggested that the decline in music printing was a result of confusion surrounding the succession of the music patent following a number of events: the death of Thomas Morley in 1602, the expiry of Thomas East's patent and James I's suspension of monopolies in 1603, and various court disputes over printing rights.⁹⁰ In addition, the music-publishing industry was affected by the Stationers' Company. According to Nicholas Temperley, the company 'exercised almost absolute control over printing and distribution of books' in the first third of the seventeenth century, and such an effect by the Stationers' Company on the music-publishing industry had a significant impact on the failure of the trade.⁹¹ Furthermore, Stephen Rose states that the 'Stationers' Company stipulated that music should be charged at the same rate as Greek – another language with an unfamiliar alphabet and many complicated symbols', as it cost 'three to four times as much to print music as normal books',⁹² and as Hume has calculated, the number of potential buyers was 'too small to make it very profitable'.⁹³

Another reason for the dearth in the trade may have been the general weakness of music-print technology and the availability of founts. Single-impression printing with moveable type was used for the majority of music books in the seventeenth century, with few produced using the elaborate and expensive engravings such as the originally-private publication *Parthenia* (c.1613). Limitations of type-set print technology included

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 270.

⁸⁸ Humphries, *Music Publishing in the British Isles*, 6.

⁸⁹ Westrup, 'Domestic Music Under the Stuarts', 28; Price, *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance*, 187-190. See also Andrew Ashbee, 'The Transmission of Consort Music in Some Seventeenth-Century English Manuscripts', in Andrew Ashbee and Peter Holman, eds., *John Jenkins and His Time: Studies in English Consort Music*, Oxford, 1996, 269; Andrew Ashbee, Robert Thompson and Jonathan Wainwright, *The Viola da Gamba Society Index of Manuscripts containing Consort Music*, Aldershot, 2001.

⁹⁰ Peter Holman, *Dowland: Lachrimae (1604)*, Cambridge, 1999, 2 and 6-7.

⁹¹ Temperley, 'John Playford and the Stationers' Company', 203.

⁹² Rose, 'Music, Print and Presentation in Saxony', 5.

⁹³ Hume, 'The Economics of Culture in London, 1660-1740', 497.

the inability to clearly illustrate complicated rhythms and to beam notes together. As such, certain genres, particularly string and keyboard music, were more easily readable in manuscript. The technological response to these problems did not appear until the late 1680s with innovations in type design, consisting of round note heads and ligatures, and the development of cheap engraving methods towards the end of the century. The financial issues of music printing – as opposed to the cost of selling the books – are also significant. Printing by type necessitates re-setting from scratch for the production of more copies, thus providing a tendency to print too many copies the first time round, a problem that was solved by engraving.⁹⁴ Music type itself circulated among a small network of printers, and Donald Krummel notes that in the 1620s and 1630s ‘music type could be found if one looked hard enough, but rarely did anyone use the type, and rarely did composers learn how to set it’.⁹⁵ Krummel has charted various successors of founts including that owned by Thomas East in the 1580s to Thomas Harper, the principal music printer in the 1650s.⁹⁶ Harper intermixed the leftovers of three different types that date back to the late sixteenth century for printing music, and these types continued to be used by Harper’s successors, William Godbid, Anne Godbid and John Playford Junior.

Most recently, Rebecca Herissone has highlighted the financial context of printing music in this period.⁹⁷ Printed music books of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century are primarily characterised by the almost constant presence of dedicatory epistles to members of the nobility and implying financial support. Financial reward for a dedication was common in contemporary Germany,⁹⁸ and there are a few examples of a similar practice in England.⁹⁹ The vast majority of music publications from this earlier period are single-composer collections with dedications ascribed to the composer, implying that the existence of music printing during this period was primarily on account of the financial support of the aristocracy rather than any genuinely commercial orientation.¹⁰⁰ Krummel suggests that printers had lost interest in the non-

⁹⁴ Robert Thompson, ‘The Music: Sources and Transmission’, in Rebecca Herissone, ed., *The Ashgate Research Companion to Henry Purcell*, Aldershot, forthcoming.

⁹⁵ Krummel, *English Music Printing, 1553-1700*, 90-92.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 61.

⁹⁷ Herissone, ‘Playford, Purcell and the Functions of Music Publishing in Restoration England’, 247-249.

⁹⁸ Rose, ‘The Mechanisms of the Music Trade in Central Germany’, 18 and 24-5.

⁹⁹ Price, *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance*, 185; Herissone, ‘Playford, Purcell and the Functions of Music Publishing in Restoration England’, 247-248.

¹⁰⁰ Gibson, “‘How hard an Enterprise it is’”: Authorial Self-Fashioning in John Dowland’s Printed Books’, 74.

lucrative area of music publication by this period,¹⁰¹ but the political turbulence in England from the late 1630s onwards may have curtailed much of this principal financial income anticipated by those involved in the production of printed music books.¹⁰²

Music publishing as a genuinely commercial industry did not begin in England until the 1650s. John Playford set up his business by the Temple Church in 1647 as a political tract publisher, following his apprenticeship to John Benson. Playford's publication of *King Charls His Tryal* (1649), in association with the royalist stationers Francis Tyton and Peter Coles, led to the issue of a warrant for their arrest, although there is no record of imprisonment.¹⁰³ In 1650 Playford began issuing printed music books, and his published output is characterised by prefaces addressed to the reader in contrast to dedications to the nobility. Playford's music-publishing activities were primarily commercial in that he sought to appeal to a large enough market to make a profit without the traditional patronage system. The reasons why Playford saw music publishing as a viable commercial outlet in the 1650s are unclear. Certainly the abolishment of monopolies in 1641 and the shift of printing authority to the Company of Stationers, of which Playford was a member, provided Playford the freedom to set up his business despite the high printing costs.¹⁰⁴ With the lack of copyright laws, the Stationers' Company Register provided a certain degree of protecting books from being printed by competitive stationers, with entries in the book acting as 'authoritative documentation of customary right'.¹⁰⁵ Competition was also restrained as stationers kept mostly to specialist areas of bookselling dependent on their training and personal interests.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰¹ Krummel, *English Music Printing, 1553-1700*, 32-33.

¹⁰² Although Linda Levy Peck has demonstrated that consumption of luxury material culture continued throughout the 1640s and 1650s. Linda Levy Peck, *Consuming Splendor*, Cambridge, 2005, 230-276.

¹⁰³ Lindenbaum, 'John Playford: Music and Politics in the Interregnum', 126-127.

¹⁰⁴ Jocoy Houck, 'Decoding Musical Resistance: English Vocal Music in the Service of the King, 1625-1660', 392.

¹⁰⁵ Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making*, Chicago, 1998, 214. Johns points out that it was possible to enter proposed books before the existence of the text, insuring booksellers against rivals even before publication. *Ibid.*, 218.

¹⁰⁶ John Barnard notes that the bookseller-publisher Peter Stent (*fl.* 1642-1665) set up his business in 1642 selling printed maps and portraits aimed at the 'new demand for prints by the aspiring lower and middle classes', and by 1657 'he had a near monopoly of the copybook trade'. John Barnard, 'London Publishing, 1640-1660: Crisis, Continuity, and Innovation', *Book History*, iv (2001), 7.

Playford's establishment of an almost total monopoly in music publishing in the mid-seventeenth century was also undoubtedly due to significant financial considerations. As described above, printing by movable type – the principal technology of music printing until the late 1680s – was time-consuming, requiring specialist type and expensive high-quality paper, while the potential market for sales was small. Playford's move into music publishing was probably spurred on by his connections with members of the music profession and the music book trade, as well as his own musical knowledge and skill (see Chapter 2). Mary Chan has argued that Playford's printed music business was 'a direct result' of the music meetings of the late 1640s and early 1650s, although it is unclear to what extent these were public or semi-public gatherings.¹⁰⁷ He was clearly knowledgeable about the state of the trade by 1653, when he produced a printed music book catalogue, which subdivides works generally between the period 1575-1620 and 1638-1653. This early stock was probably acquired by the stationer from the music printer Thomas Harper (who probably received it from Thomas Snodham), whose acquaintance Playford made during his apprenticeship with John Benson in the 1640s.¹⁰⁸ Jocoy has recently drawn attention to the fact that 'print shops could easily have acted as meeting houses for stationers, compilers, and authors'.¹⁰⁹ Benson's shop in St Dunstan's was also 'close to the music-house of Lownes and Browne at the White Flower de Luce in the same churchyard'.¹¹⁰ Playford's acquisition of unsold copies of Elizabethan publications was undoubtedly in order to set himself up as a reputable music-book seller.¹¹¹

Playford's commercial focus relied on making musical texts immediately accessible to more readers than ever before. In order to encourage musical literacy, and consequently provide himself with more customers, Playford compiled the treatise *A Briefe Introduction to the Skill of Musick*, supplied lessons for single instruments (the traditional method for amateurs to learn music), and made works of contemporary composers accessible. Playford's output is dominated by multi-composer anthologies as

¹⁰⁷ Mary Chan, 'A Mid-Seventeenth-Century Music Meeting and Playford's Publishing', 232.

¹⁰⁸ Dean-Smith, 'English Tunes Common to Playford's "Dancing Master"', 7.

¹⁰⁹ Jocoy Houck, 'Decoding Musical Resistance: English Vocal Music in the Service of the King, 1625-1660', 397.

¹¹⁰ Dean-Smith, 'English Tunes Common to Playford's "Dancing Master"', 7. Matthew Lownes and John Browne in association with the printer Thomas Snodham published a number of music books. See Humphries, *Music Publishing in the British Isles*, 90, 220 and 298; Miriam Miller, 'Lownes, Matthew', in Donald W. Krummel and Stanley Sadie, eds., *Music Printing and Publishing*, The Norton/Grove Handbooks in Music, London, 1990, 326.

¹¹¹ Humphries and Smith suggest that Playford was 'particularly interested in the sale of the available copies of the Elizabethan publications'. Humphries, *Music Publishing in the British Isles*, 8.

opposed to the single-composer publications characteristic of the earlier decades of the century. Such printed books, at a fee, provided the amateur musician with an introduction to the art of music,¹¹² without the dependence on connections and networks of manuscript circulation. However, it is very clear that the development of printing ‘brought about no sudden or radical transformation’,¹¹³ and manuscript culture continued to thrive and interact with the new technology. Stationers such as Playford continued to sell manuscript paper, and provided manuscript-copying services throughout the second half of the seventeenth century alongside the production and selling of printed books. Some genres remained primarily in scribal transmission,¹¹⁴ the most notable is liturgical music, and manuscript circulation was used by both composers and stationers to ‘test the waters’ before parting with substantial finances for creating printed copies. Individuals kept personal anthologies, sometimes getting sheets of manuscript paper bound with a print,¹¹⁵ and kept commonplace books, which provided space for the music lover to copy whatever took their fancy from other manuscripts and prints, and aural transcription.¹¹⁶ Printed music was copied into manuscript, just as music in manuscript was used as a source for printed books.

The Marketplace

Bookshops provided public access to and exchange of printed materials, thus bookselling practices were vital to the fate of the printed book. The seventeenth-century London general book trade was centred around St Paul’s Churchyard and the surrounding areas. Writing about the life of Dr John North (d. 1683), Roger North described the social communities of bookshops in seventeenth-century London.

The *Little Britain* was a plentiful and perpetual emporium of learned Authors; and Men went thither as to a Market. This drew to the Place a mighty Trade; the rather because the Shops were spacious, and the learned gladly resorted to them, where they seldom failed to meet with agreeable Conversation. And the Booksellers themselves were knowing and

¹¹² Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *L'apparition du livre*, Paris, 1958, trans. David Gerard, *The Coming of the Book : The Impact of Printing 1450-1800*, London, 1976, 252.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 260.

¹¹⁴ See Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in seventeenth-century England*, Oxford, 1993.

¹¹⁵ Such as the ‘Tabley House Song Book’, GB-Mr MS 1407.

¹¹⁶ For example, Hugh Davis’s commonplace book. See Mateer, ‘Hugh Davis’s Commonplace Book: A New Source of Seventeenth-Century Song’, 63-87.

conversible Men, with whom for the sake of bookish Knowledge, the greatest Wits were pleased to converse.¹¹⁷

The principal music bookshops were set up around the Inns of Court: Ned Ward provided a lively description of such music shops.

In our loitering perambulation round the outside of St Paul's... We walk'd a little further, and came amongst the music-shops, in one of which were so many dancing masters' 'prentices fiddling and piping bores and minuets, that the crowd at the door could no more forbear dancing into the shop, than the merry stones of Thebes could refuse capering into the walls, when conjur'd from confusion into order by the power of Amphion's harmony. Amongst 'em stood a little red-fac'd blade, beating time upon his counter, as if a Bartholomew Fair consort, with the assistance of a jack-pudding, had been ridiculing an Italian sonetta, and he was as prodigally pert in giving his instructions to the rest as a young pedagogue tutoring a discipline in the hearing of his father.¹¹⁸

Location was extremely important for passing trade, and title pages were pinned up as advertisements to attract and entice passersby into the bookshop (see Chapter 3). Booksellers frequently used a memorable sign or building to mark the location of their shop, for example, John Playford's shop was to be found 'in the Temple, near the Church Dore' and Henry Brome's shop was 'at the Gun near the West-end of St. Pauls'.¹¹⁹ The actual shops varied in physical form and in the sorts of customers for whom they catered: counters, shelves of bound and unbound books, and a variety of pictures and prints all feature in illustrations showing the interior of bookseller's shops from this period.¹²⁰ The principal music stationers gravitated around Temple Bar, undoubtedly as their specialist stock would receive significant attention from passers-by in this area. The Playford and Carr firms both set up their businesses within the Temple area, Playford against the Temple Church, and Carr at the Middle Temple Gate. In the late 1680s Samuel Scott set up shop 'at the Miter by Temple-Barr',¹²¹ John Hudgebut was 'at the Sign of the Golden Harp and Ho-boy in Chancery-lane near Fleet-street',¹²² and John Money was located 'at the Miter in Miter Court in Fleet-street'.¹²³ The increase in engraving towards the end of the century saw a broader network of locations of the

¹¹⁷ Roger North, *The Life of the Honourable Sir Dudley North... and of the Honourable and Reverend Dr John North*, London, 1754, 241.

¹¹⁸ Ward, *The London Spy*, Part V, 76-77.

¹¹⁹ C. Edgar Thomas, 'Musical Signs', *The Musical Times*, lx (1919), 300-302.

¹²⁰ Giles Mandelbrote, 'From the warehouse to the counting-house: booksellers and bookshops in late 17th-century London', in Robin Myers and Michael Harris, eds., *A Genius for Letters: Booksellers and Bookselling from the 16th to the 20th Century*, Winchester, 1995, 54-60. Unfortunately contemporary images of English bookshops are rare, with most examples taken of Continental establishments. See also Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making*, 116-117.

¹²¹ John Carr, *Vinculum Societatis, Or The Tie of Good Company... The First Book*, London, 1687, Title page.

¹²² John Hudgebut, *A Vade Mecum*, London, 1679, Title page.

¹²³ John Hudgebut, *Thesaurus Musicus... The First Book*, London, 1693, Title page.

principal music shops: John Walsh was located near the Strand,¹²⁴ John Hare in St Paul's Churchyard and Cornhill,¹²⁵ and John Young at St Paul's Churchyard.¹²⁶

Bookshops were centres of social networks, designed to attract customers to browse and exchange news. A few references made by Pepys in his diary describe the nature of customers' encounters in Playford's shop in the Inner Temple Churchyard: on 25 May 1661, 'at noon to the Temple; where I stayed and looked over a book or two at Playfords and then to the Theatre'.¹²⁷ Reading in the premises before choosing whether to buy was a common part of the customers' experience: on 8 May 1663, Pepys 'sat till one a-clock, reading at Playford's in Dr Ushers *Body of Divinity* his discourse of the Scripture'.¹²⁸ Exchanging books as well as second-hand purchase were both familiar aspects of the bookshop trade.¹²⁹ On 13 February 1660, Pepys did just this at Playford's shop: 'I went to Playfords; and for two books that I had and 6s. 6d. to boot, I had my great book of songs, which he sells always for 14s.'. ¹³⁰ The lending of books also appears to have been one of the services of the bookshop. Francis Kirkman (1632-c.1680), a general bookseller and writer,¹³¹ advertised his shop just outside Temple Bar in 1669 as a place where 'you may be furnished with all the Plays that were ever yet Printed, and all sorts of Histories and Romances, which you may buy or have lent you to read on reasonable Considerations. Also you may have ready Money for any Library, or other parcel of Books'.¹³² Playford also appears to have lent books for a fee. A little known reference in the Treasurer's Accounts of Westminster Abbey for 1661 reads:

To John Playford for a sett of Mr Barnard's Collections of Services and Anthems conteyning Tenn Bookes in folio bound in rough leather with one quire of rulled paper £13. 10s. and for the loan of another set for four or five Sunday, and the portage and carrying them 10s. in all £14.¹³³

¹²⁴ 'Musical Instrument maker in Ordinary to his Majesty at the Golden Harp & Ho-boy in Catherine street near Summerset house in ye Strand'.

¹²⁵ 'Musical Instrument Seller at ye Golden Violl in St. Paules Church=yard, and at his Shopp in Freemans=Yard in Cornhill'.

¹²⁶ 'Musical Instrument maker at ye Dolphin and Crown in St. Paules Church=yard'.

¹²⁷ Latham, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, ii, 106.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, iv, 127.

¹²⁹ Hume, 'The Economics of Culture in London, 1660-1740', 500.

¹³⁰ Latham, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, i, 54.

¹³¹ L. H. Newcomb, 'Kirkman, Francis (b. 1632, d. in or after 1680)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15672> (Last Accessed 12 May 2010).

¹³² Advertisement printed in *Psittacorum region*, 1669, cited by Mandelbrote, 'From the warehouse to the counting-house', 81.

¹³³ Lwa Ms 30695, folio 5. I am extremely grateful to Daniel Bamford for this information.

Playford's home doubled as a site to sell and promote his books. The home was an important outlet for the fortunes of stationers in seventeenth-century London, as it could be used as a place of meeting and discussion.¹³⁴ There is no evidence that Playford used his earliest dwellings for such a function,¹³⁵ but the family's move to Islington in 1656 where Playford's wife combined the premises with a boarding school provided the opportunity for the stationer to host musical gatherings. In the preface to his devotional song anthology, *Cantica Sacra...The Second Sett* (1674), Playford described musical gatherings in his home with an organ:¹³⁶

these Latin Hymns I thought to have concluded this *Second Sett*; but some noble Friends Seeing and Hearing perform'd (at my House) several Choice English Anthems of like nature for Two Voices to an ORGAN, which I had obtain'd from the Hands of these Excellent and knowing Masters, *viz*: Dr *Gibbons*, Dr *Rogers*, Mr *Matthew Locke*, and Others; They much importun'd me to Joyn them with the Rest.¹³⁷

Following the death of his wife in 1679, Playford moved to a house in Arundel Street, Strand, where Henry Playford was to later advertise as a location for the purchase of his publications.¹³⁸ Further evidence of the management of music stationer's businesses is sparse. Henry Playford listed a 'Mr. *Dolliff* Bookbinder in *Oxford*' as a supplier of the stationer's 1690 sale catalogue, indicating at least one working relationship with a bookseller outside London.¹³⁹

Booksellers' Clientele

The history of consumption is an important aspect in placing the printed music book in its cultural context of England in the second half of the seventeenth century. Little research into identifiable individuals who bought printed music books during this period has been conducted despite the abundance of recent book history research exploring marginalia and readership, undoubtedly due to the seldom annotations and

¹³⁴ Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making*, 120-122.

¹³⁵ Playford gave his address in Fetter Lane in 1653 but may have moved to the Temple by 1655. See Robert Thompson, 'Playford, John (1622/3-1686/7)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22374> (Last Accessed 01 November 2010).

¹³⁶ This was possibly the organ procured by Playford from the Chapel Royal. See page 75.

¹³⁷ John Playford, *Cantica Sacra... The Second Sett*, London, 1674, Cantus and Bassus partbooks, 'To all judicious Lovers and Understanders of Musick'. sig. [A2v].

¹³⁸ Thompson, 'Playford, John (1622/3-1686/7)'.

¹³⁹ Lbl Harl. MS 5936/419-420 (Bagford Collection).

marks of ownership in extant copies.¹⁴⁰ Unfortunately the only printed music book produced by subscription during this period for which a subscription list survives is not a typical music book: 300 subscribers are registered in the preface of Thomas Mace's academic publication, *Musick's Monument* (1676), with almost half of these subscribers connected to Mace's institution, the University of Cambridge.¹⁴¹ An initial exploration of extant marks of provenance and identification of specific seventeenth-century purchasers of printed music books can be found below. Here, the general types of customers that music stationers relied upon for the sale of their stock are explored.

Playford's political convictions have been shown to have affected the contents of his early music publications, and his Royalist sympathies probably also affected, to a certain extent, the type of clientele that frequented his bookshop. Stacey Jocoy has recently considered Playford's printed music output within the broader Royalist culture and context of Commonwealth London.¹⁴² Playford's earliest publications were political in nature with a strong Royalist bias, of which *King Charls His Tryal* (1649) prompted a warrant for his arrest along with the other Royalist stationers, Francis Tyton and Peter Coles (see above). Jocoy suggests that John Playford's early music books continue to mark his Royalist affirmations and that he saw the printing of music as 'a means to promote his political agenda, albeit more subtly, by prefacing seemingly apolitical material with Royalist codes and innuendo'.¹⁴³ His first music book was a reprint of William Child's *Psalmes* (1650) following Humphrey Moseley's publication of Henry and William Lawes's *Choice Psalmes* (1648). Both books relate to the culture of the early Stuart court, appealing to a Royalist audience.¹⁴⁴

Playford's *The English Dancing Master* (1651) has long been regarded by musicologists as evidence of Playford's Royalist convictions in Commonwealth England. As early as 1923, Hyder E. Rollins highlighted that Parliamentary attempts to suppress ballad singing and selling of seditious pamphlets do not appear to have

¹⁴⁰ Recent studies include H. J. Jackson, *Marginalia: Readers Writing in Books*, Yale, 2002; Jennifer Andersen and Elizabeth Sauer, *Books and Readers in Early Modern England*, Philadelphia, 2002; and William H. Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England*, Philadelphia, 2008.

¹⁴¹ Mace, *Musick's Monument*, 'The Subscribers Names', sig. [c1v]-d.

¹⁴² Jocoy Houck, 'Decoding Musical Resistance: English Vocal Music in the Service of the King, 1625-1660'.

¹⁴³ Jocoy Houck, 'John Playford and the English Musical Market', 51.

¹⁴⁴ Jocoy Houck, 'Decoding Musical Resistance: English Vocal Music in the Service of the King, 1625-1660', 404.

affected ballad printers.¹⁴⁵ Margaret Dean-Smith and, more recently, Peter Lindenbaum have emphasised Playford's early political publishing history as evidence of the stationer's political sympathies.¹⁴⁶ Keith Whitlock has argued that many of the tunes in Playford's *English Dancing Master* refer to dances from masques and theatre productions of the early Stuart period,¹⁴⁷ and Jocoy highlights that Whitlock's reading of the dance-tune book suggests that the printing of music related to the Stuart court under the label of 'English' music would 'have been a cultural act of defiance against the English Republican government'.¹⁴⁸ Playford's third music publication, *The Musically Banquet* (1651) also contains many possible Royalist implications. As Jocoy explains, the compilation includes music for viols, implying associations with Charles I and the aristocratic tastes of the court, with repertoire adopted from popular broadside ballads revealing Royalist affiliations. This is followed by an almost memorial-type section of dance music dedicated to William Lawes, who was one of Charles I's favourite musicians. The final section comprises vocal pieces incorporating Royalist rhetoric, distinguished by 'a pronounced anti-Puritan aesthetic that values drinking,...carefree entertainment, and a certain degree of sexual looseness'.¹⁴⁹ Angela McShane Jones has recently highlighted that drinking in company during the Interregnum was an important part of the political culture of the Royalists.¹⁵⁰

Playford's customer base was undoubtedly wider than Royalist sympathisers; musicologists have long noted that his early music publications appealed to both Puritans and Royalists.¹⁵¹ Furthermore, the placement of the Playford and Carr firms around the Inns of Court was an ideal location for attracting the young gentlemen students. Both the Middle Temple and Inner Temple shared their daily services in the Temple Church, and Playford's shop, located under the arch of the Temple Church Porch at the West End, must have depended much upon these potential customers.

¹⁴⁵ Hyder E. Rollins, *Cavaliers and Puritans*, New York, 1923, 50-51.

¹⁴⁶ Dean-Smith, 'Playford (1). John Playford (i)', 910-913; Lindenbaum, 'John Playford: Music and Politics in the Interregnum', 125-138.

¹⁴⁷ Keith Whitlock, 'John Playford's *The English Dancing Master* 1650/1 as Cultural Politics', *Folk Music Journal*, vii (1999), 548-578.

¹⁴⁸ Jocoy Houck, 'John Playford and the English Musical Market', 51

¹⁴⁹ Jocoy Houck, 'Decoding Musical Resistance: English Vocal Music in the Service of the King, 1625-1660', 417.

¹⁵⁰ Angela McShane Jones, 'Roaring Royalists and Ranting Brewers: The Politicisation of Drink and Drunkenness in Political Broadside Ballads from 1640 to 1689', in Adam Smyth, ed., *A Pleasing Sinne: Drink and Conviviality in Seventeenth-Century England*, Cambridge, 2004, 73.

¹⁵¹ Dean-Smith, 'Playford (1). John Playford (i)', 910-913.

Playford's early publication, *The English Dancing Master* (1651) was addressed to the 'Gentlemen of the Innes of Court' for 'much commend it [dancing] to be Excellent for Recreation, after more serious Studies, making the body active and strong, gracefull in deportment, and a quality very much beseeming a Gentleman'.¹⁵² Dancing was a lively activity in the Inns of Court during the Commonwealth, as Robert W. Wienpahl has identified.

On Saturday night last [November 29, 1651] there was a Masque at the Middle Temple London, before it began the Benchers, or ancients of the house were in the Hall and sung the hundred Psalm, which being ended, every man drank a cup of Hipocras, and so departed to their Chambers, then the young Gentlemen of that society began to recreate themselves with civil dancing and had melodious musick, many ladies and persons of quality were present.¹⁵³

John Playford also appears to have had dealings with cathedrals, although Playford undoubtedly sold little printed music to these institutions except at the Restoration with purchases of John Barnard's *First Book of Selected Church-Musick* (1641). The accounts of Westminster Abbey notifies a payment to Playford for copies of Barnard's ten-volume publication (see above), and a Canterbury Cathedral receipt survives, describing

Mr Playford's bill for Musicke Bookes 1660 Bought of John Playford Stationer in the Inner Temple March 6th 1660[1] It[em] for two Compleat Setts of Mr Barnards Collection of Services and Anthems for Cathedral Churches Containing 20 Volumes in folio well bound up with Rul'd paper added to each volume. £28. It[em] for lettering the bookes on the outside for deffinition of the quieres 5s. and for a box 8s. 6d.¹⁵⁴

As Chapter 2 will demonstrate, the activities of the music stationer were extremely varied, and the different items and services for sale may have attracted different customers. While this dissertation is primarily concerned with the printed music books for sale in booksellers' shops, it is worth noting that manuscript publication existed alongside print publication and was a strong medium through which to sell music to the smallest markets, including relatively old-fashioned instrumental music such as fantasia consorts, which were still popular among highly musically-educated amateurs (see Chapter 2).

¹⁵² John Playford, *The English Dancing Master*, London, 1651, sig. [A2].

¹⁵³ British Library MS E.791.20, under 'Perfect passages of every daies intelligence from the Parliament's Army', no. 43. Cited in Robert W. Wienpahl, *Music at the Inns of Court During the Reigns of Elizabeth, James and Charles*, Ann Arbor, 1979, 185.

¹⁵⁴ Canterbury Cathedral Treasurer's Vouchers for (1660-1). The entry for whatever reason did not find its way into the Treasurer's Account book. I am extremely grateful to Daniel Bamford for this information.

Evidence of the provenance of printed music books from seventeenth-century England is rare.¹⁵⁵ Jonathan Wainwright highlights that ‘music was rarely included in general library catalogues of the period (except for theoretical music books); it seems that music was regarded as “performing material” and was therefore separate from the main body of a library collection (possibly stored in moveable chests)’.¹⁵⁶ In addition, music books may have been seen in a similar light to pamphlets or sermons, which were frequently not regarded as valuable and discarded after use or by subsequent generations of the family.¹⁵⁷ Annotations in surviving copies of seventeenth-century English printed music books are equally rare, suggesting an absence of use while also indicating the loss of potentially heavily-used or annotated copies partly due to modern library trends of collecting ‘neat’ copies. Of the 275 prints examined in this study, 62 contain annotations of some sort – a percentage of 22%, which is a relatively small sample to help us understand the function and use of these books by their contemporary audience. Those annotations that have survived more often than not involve corrections of misprints implying hand-corrections in the print shop, such as for William King’s *Poems of Mr. Cowley and others* (1668),¹⁵⁸ or by people studying different copies. Other annotations mostly offer illegible scribbles; however, there are a handful of manuscript additions worth noting. Blank staves inserted by printers to fill up a page after the end of a piece were sometimes used by early owners to write out ornamentation, transposed parts or additional pieces.¹⁵⁹ One of the most extensive examples of such staff-notated marginalia in late seventeenth-century English printed music books is the Library of Congress copy of *The Theater of Music...The Fourth and Last Book* (1687), illustrated in

¹⁵⁵ More information concerning seventeenth-century provenance of printed music books may come to light with the forthcoming National Trust libraries catalogue, particularly concerning the significant collections of music at Killerton and Tatton Park. I am grateful to Ed Potten for this information.

¹⁵⁶ Wainwright, *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England*, 26.

¹⁵⁷ I am grateful to Ed Potten for this idea.

¹⁵⁸ Bryan White and Rebecca Herissone have also pointed out hand-corrected errors in Grabu’s *Albion and Albanus* (1687) and Purcell’s *Dioclesian* (1691) respectively. Bryan White, “‘Studying a little of the French Air’: Louis Grabu’s *Albion and Albanus* and the Dramatic Operas of Henry Purcell”, in Rachel Cowgill, David Cooper, and Clive Brown, eds., *Art and Ideology in European Opera: Essays in Honour of Julian Rushton*, Woodbridge, 2010, 16; Herissone, ‘Playford, Purcell and the Functions of Music Publishing in Restoration England’, 276. For stop-press corrections in *Cantiones sacrae*, 1575, see Milsom, ‘Tallis, Byrd and the “Incorrected Copy”’, 348-367.

¹⁵⁹ David Greer has studied such manuscript additions in early English printed music issued before 1650. David Greer, ‘Manuscript additions in early printed music’, *Music & Letters*, lxxii (1991), 523-535; ‘Manuscript additions in “Parthenia” and other early English printed music in America’, *Music & Letters*, lxxvii (1996), 169-182.

Figure 1.3. Here the blank staves are used to copy out a tune, presented up-side down and with apparently no correlation to its surrounding printed counterparts.

Few contemporary signatures of owners or bookplates remain and the survival of such marginalia does not necessarily guarantee identification: who did the initials ‘JJ’ in the Huntington Library copy of *Comes Amoris...The Fifth Book* (1694) belong to, for example? Many of the music books that have survived are copies originally in the libraries of book collectors and antiquaries, and the absence of annotations in these copies is hardly surprising as they may have been primarily purchased as a status symbol or for interest and study rather than performance. Those particular collections that have survived, such as the collections of Pepys and Aldrich, tend to be the larger and more important ones and may not be representative. These should therefore be looked at with caution as they tend to emphasize a certain type of owner – the practising musician and highly-educated amateur – and are subsequently not representative of typical household music collections. However, Pepys’s library collection and diary entries provide an interesting distinction in the ownership of printed music books. Table 1.1 lists English music publications issued between 1650 and 1700 that form part of Pepys’s library collection, as taken from Robert Latham’s catalogue.¹⁶⁰ In addition to these books, we know from Pepys’s diary entries that he owned, or had use of, further music books, listed in Table 1.2. A comparison of these two tables clearly indicates that few Playford-style beginner instrumental music lessons and song anthologies made it into the library as opposed to the single-composer volumes. Of course, the distortion is possible due to the fact that the diary only covers the 1660s whereas the library collection was amassed over Pepys’s lifetime: it is probably that his musical and collecting interests changed between the 1660s when he was an active musician and the 1690s when he was primarily a bibliophile. However, this contrast between music books mentioned in Pepys’s diary and those gathered into his library does highlight a distinction made by Pepys between those books used daily for pedagogical purposes and important collectable volumes, providing a warning of the distortions encountered when studying surviving copies for evidence of contemporary ownership.

¹⁶⁰ Robert Latham, ed., *Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge*, 7 vols., Cambridge, 1987-1994, iv: *Music, Maps and Calligraphy*.

Figure 1.3 An Example of Manuscript Additions in an English Printed Music Book

Source: John Blow, 'I little though, thou found ingrateful Sin!', in *The Theater of Music... The Fourth and Last Book*, London, 1687, 66-68: 68; Copy: US-Wc.

[68]

too. But now all's gone, I now, a-las! I now, a-las! com-

plain, declare, protest, and threat in vain; since by my own un-forc'd Con-

sent, the Traytor has my Go-vern-ment, and is fo fet--tl'd in the

Throne, that 'twere Re-bel-lion now, 'twere Re-bel-lion now,

to claim mine own.

Many music collectors' interest in antiquarian material dates from the late 1640s, when many were excluded from other responsibilities due to the tumult of the Civil Wars and abandonment of the Court. The only survey of music collectors from the seventeenth century is Alec Hyatt King's 1963 list of *Some British Collectors of Music c. 1600-1900*.¹⁶¹ The following inventory listed in Tables 1.3 and 1.4, the details of which have been compiled from various sources including the books themselves, serves as an addition to King's research and acts as an initial record of provenance marks in surviving seventeenth-century English music publications upon which future research can build. Table 1.3 lists known music collectors in England in the seventeenth century, most of whom are professional musicians, highly-educated amateurs of an elite social class, and academics: King states that 'collectors of this period were to be found not solely in academic circles, but also among the country gentlemen'.¹⁶² Thomas Hamond and Robert Orme fall into this latter category, but their ownership of printed sources, as opposed to manuscripts, is unknown. The amateur 'small-coal' musician Thomas Britton is a rare example of a 'common tradesman skilled in the arts and...an antiquary armed with a first-rate library'.¹⁶³

Table 1.4 lists both identified and unidentified owners of copies of printed music books examined during this study. This list is dominated by owners currently unidentifiable, but the small quantity of identifiable owners provides much evidence concerning the contemporary book ownership. John Jackson's copy of *The Second Book of the Pleasant Musical Companion* (1686) given to the musician as a gift from Playford indicates that Jackson was somehow in the preparation of the volume (see Chapter 2). Francis Withy's possession of Christopher Simpson's *A Compendium of Practical Musick* (1667) bound with extensive manuscript additions clearly indicates the use by the musician, himself a string player and composer of sets of division for solo bass viol.¹⁶⁴ In contrast, Baron Dartmouth's possession of a copy of Louis Grabu's *Albion and*

¹⁶¹ Alec Hyatt King, *Some British Collectors of Music c.1600-1900*, Cambridge, 1963.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 9.

¹⁶³ Curtis Price, 'The Small-Coal Cult', *The Musical Times*, cxix (1978), 1034.

¹⁶⁴ Robert Thompson, 'Withy, (3) Francis Withy', in Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell, eds., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians: Second Edition*, London, 2001, xxvi, 452.

Albanius (1687) is probably due to his political connections to both Charles II and James II, rather than using the book for practical purposes.¹⁶⁵

The list of currently-unidentifiable owners is due to indecipherable annotations or an absence of clear provenance: it is unknown who was the initial owner of the Tabley House songbook, for example, and at least two John Smiths have been identified as possible owners of the British Library copy of *Catch that Catch can* (1663). However, Table 1.4 does shed light on a number of issues concerning book ownership in seventeenth-century England. Firstly, it is important to note multiple ownership of a single copy. Examples include at least two owners of the British Library's *The Genteel Companion* (1686) and Ushaw College's copy of *The Pleasant Companion* (1676), which provides evidence of three separate owners, two of which are dated 1668 and 1678 respectively. In addition, the time span between initial publication date and the dated signature can be large, such as the Huntington Library's *Musick's Delight on the Cithren*, published in 1666 and annotated 'Jarvis Houghman 1715'. The absence of additional provenance markings makes it unclear as to the number of owners of this book prior to Jarvis Houghman. Secondly, the combination of these unidentifiable music-book owners with the prevalence of beginner instrumental music lessons and song anthologies listed in Table 1.4 may provide a representative sample of the less musically-educated amateur of the 'middling sort'. Furthermore, the list demonstrates the dissemination of printed music books to the provinces, with examples such as the Royal College of Music's copy of *The Musical Companion* (1673), which contains an inscription of a John Day from Letchlade, Gloucestershire. Table 1.4 provides a tiny glimpse of the little-known participants of amateur musical activity in England in the second half of the seventeenth century.

By contextualising the place of the printed music book within the amateur music scene, this chapter has highlighted the different types of amateur musician and the different media through which they obtained musical texts, including strong networks of manuscript exchange, music teachers, manuscript publication and the printed music book. This provides a perspective through which to explore, in the following chapter, the body of surviving printed music books produced in England in the second half of the seventeenth century.

¹⁶⁵ Nothing is known about Dartmouth's interest in music or whether he was literate in music. J. D. Davies, 'Legge, George', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16352> (Last Accessed 01 November 2010).

Table 1.1 English Music Publications (1650-1700) recorded in Samuel Pepys' Library

Source: Robert Latham, ed., *Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge*, iv: *Music, Maps and Calligraphy*, Cambridge, 1989.

Publication Title	Composer	Year	Publisher
<i>Cantica Sacra</i>	Richard Dering	1662	John Playford
<i>Poems of Mr Cowley and others</i>	William King	1668	William King
<i>The Treasury of Musick</i>	[Henry Lawes]	1669	John Playford
<i>Select Ayres and Dialogues... The Second Book</i>	-	1669	John Playford
<i>Select Ayres and Dialogues... The Third Book</i>	-	1669	John Playford
<i>Psalms and hymns</i>	-	1671	John Playford
<i>Cantica Sacra... The Second sett</i>	-	1674	John Playford
<i>The whole book of psalms</i>	-	1677	John Playford
<i>Songs</i>	Pietro Reggio	[1680]	Petro Reggio
<i>Instrumental ayrs in three, and four parts</i>	Gerhard Diesineer	[1682]	Gerhard Diesineer
<i>Sonnata's of III Parts</i>	Henry Purcell	1683	Henry Purcell
<i>Choice New Songs</i>	(Thomas D'Urfey)	1684	John Playford & Joseph Hindmarsh
<i>Pastoralle</i>	Louis Grabu	[1684]	-
<i>Albion and Albanus</i>	Louis Grabu	1687	Louis Grabu
<i>[A collection of choice ayres for two and three treble flutes]</i>	[Gottfried Finger]	[1691]	Tho[mas] Jones & John May
<i>Songs for one two and three voices</i>	Robert King	?1692	[Robert King]
<i>A Treatise of the natural grounds, and principles of harmony</i>	William Holder	1694	John Carr
<i>A second booke of songs</i>	Robert King	?1695	[Robert King]
<i>Wit and Mirth</i>	-	1699	Henry Playford

Table 1.2 English Music Publications mentioned in Samuel Pepys' Diary

Source: Robert Latham and William Matthews, eds., *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, 11 vols., London, 1970-83.

Publication Title	Year	Composer	Publisher	Diary Entry	Comment
<i>The whole book of psalmes</i>	1621	Thomas Ravenscroft	Company of Stationers	27-11-1664	'we sung with my boy Ravenscrofts four-part psalms' (v, 332)
				11-12-1664	'these psalmes of Ravenscroft' (v, 342)
<i>Choice Psalmes</i>	1648	Henry and William Lawes	Humphrey Moseley	07-11-1660	'some psalmes of Will. Lawes and some songs' (i, 285)
				14-12-1662	'sang some psalms of Mr Lawes' (iii, 281)
				20-04-1664	'calling at the Temple for Lawes's Psalmes' (v, 128)
				09-08-1664	'we sung a psalm or two of Lawes's' (v, 236)
[<i>Dancing Master</i>]	[1651/57]	-	John Playford	22-11-1662	'bought the book of country-dances' (v, 263)
<i>Ayres and Dialogues</i>	1653	Henry Lawes	John Playford	11-02-1662	possible source of text for 'Gaze not on swans' (iii, 27) [in library catalogue; see Table 1.1]
				01-02-1665	'a song or three or four (I having to that purpose carried Lawes's book' (vi, 27)
				19-11-1665	'my song-book singing of Mr. Laws's long recitative Song in the beginning of his book' (vi, 303)
<i>Ayres and Dialogues... The Second Book</i>	1655	Henry Lawes	John Playford	04-03-1660	'sang <i>Orpheus Hymne</i> to my Viall' (i, 76) [in library catalogue]
<i>Little Consort</i>	1656	Matthew Locke	John Playford	23-04-1660	'played a set of Lock's, two trebles and a bass'(i,114)

				01-09-1662	'played over some things of Lockes that we used to play at sea' (iii, 184)
<i>Ayres and Dialogues... The Third Book</i>	1658	Henry Lawes	John Playford	31-05-1660	'some of Mr. Lawes's songs, particularly that of <i>What is a kisse</i> (i, 164) [in library catalogue]
<i>Select Ayres and Dialogues</i>	1659	-	John Playford	27-05-1660	'my new song-book' (i, 161)
				18-02-1660	'learning to sing <i>Fly boy, fly boy</i> without book' (i, 59)
				13-02-1660	'my great book of songs' (i, 54)
				24-04-1660	'singing of <i>Turne Ameryllis</i> , as it is printed in the Song-book' (i, 115)
				25-04-1663	'my Vvall and song book' (iv, 110)
<i>[Musicks Recreation]</i>	[1661]	-	John Playford	23-05-1663	'to the temple and there took my Lyra viall book, bound up with blank paper for new lessons' (iv, 152)
<i>Musicks Hand-maide</i>	1663	-	John Playford	16-03-1663	'buying at the Temple the printed virginall-book for her [his wife]' (iv, 76)
<i>Catch that Catch can</i>	1667	-	John Playford	23-11-1666	'new impression of his Ketches' (ii, 381)
				15-04-1667	'Playford's new ketch-book' (viii, 168)
				18-04-1667	'three-parts in Playford's new book' (viii, 171)
				21-04-1667	'sung <i>Scio Moro</i> ' (viii, 174)
<i>[Youth's Delight]</i>	[?]	[unknown]	John Playford	16-04-1668	[possibly refers to a manuscript primer] (ix, 164) ¹

¹ Stanley Godman, 'Greeting's "Pleasant Companion for the Flagelet"', *The Monthly Musical Record*, lxxxvi (1956), 20-26.

Table 1.3 Known Seventeenth-Century Collectors of English Printed Music Books

Music Collector	Dates	Comments
<i>Collectors known to have owned seventeenth-century English music prints</i>		
Henry Aldrich	1648-1710	Dean of Christ Church, Oxford from 1689, bequeathed his music collection to Christ Church in 1710. An online catalogue of Aldrich's collection is currently in progress by John Milsom. Many items in the bequest are originally from the Hatton family (see below). See John Milsom, <i>Christ Church Library Music Catalogue Online</i> , http://library.chch.ox.ac.uk/music/
Thomas Britton	1644-1714	Concert promoter, book collector and coal merchant. 1714 sale catalogue of collection now lost but reprinted in John Hawkins, <i>A General History of the Science and Practice of Music</i> , 2 vols., London, 1853, ii, 792-3.
Richard Goodson Sr	c. 1655-1718	Heather Professor of Music at Oxford from 1682, bequeathed his collection to Christ Church in 1718. An online catalogue of Goodson Sr and Goodson Jr's collection is currently in progress by John Milsom. Items in the Goodson bequest include <i>Albion and Albanus</i> (1687), <i>Musica Deo Sacra</i> (1660), <i>Dioclesian</i> (1691), <i>The English Opera</i> (1675) and <i>Amphion Anglicus</i> (1700). Some items can be traced back to earlier owners including members of other Oxford colleges. See Milsom, <i>Christ Church Library Music Catalogue Online</i> .
Christopher Hatton, first Baron Hatton	c.1605-1670	Much of the collection survives at Christ Church, Oxford (see above), contains mostly early seventeenth-century Italian music, but may have included W. Porter's <i>Motetts of Two Voyces</i> (1657) and J. Wilson's <i>Psalterium Carolinum</i> (1657). See Wainwright, <i>Musical Patronage</i> , 40 and 165-166; David Pinto, 'The Music of the Hattons', <i>Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle</i> , xxiii (1990), 96-100.
Sir Peter Leicester	1614-1678	Antiquary born at Nether Tabley, Cheshire. Music collection dispersed at death, among which was a treatise entitled 'Prolegomena historica de musica P. L.' A list of music and instruments is given in Elizabeth M. Halcrow, ed., <i>Sir Peter Leicester: Charges to the Grand Jury at Quarter Sessions 1660-1677</i> , Manchester, 1953, 151-152. The collection included Lawes's <i>Choice Psalmes</i> (1648), Playford's <i>Introduction</i> (1655), <i>Catch that Catch can</i> (1658), <i>Court Ayres</i> (1655) and Locke's <i>Little Consort</i> (1656).
Edward Lowe	c.1610-1682	Organist of the Chapel Royal from 1660 and Professor of Music at Oxford from 1661, Lowe was a prolific copyist expanding the Music School's collection of vocal and instrumental performing material. His collection is now dispersed, but Ob MS Mus.Sch.c.204*[R] lists some of the collection.

		See Margaret Crum, 'Early Lists of the Oxford Music School Collection', <i>Music & Letters</i> , xlviii (1967), 29-32.
Narcissus Marsh, Archbishop	1638-1713	Archbishop of Cashel, Dublin and Armagh, his collection was gathered during his years studying and teaching at Oxford and during his ecclesiastical appointments in Ireland. The music collection includes Simpson's <i>Introduction to the Playing upon a Ground</i> (1659) and Playford's <i>Musicks Recreation on the Viol Lyra-Way</i> (1661), both now lost. In Marsh's library but of unknown provenance are Playford's <i>Introduction to the Skill of Musick</i> (1662), an incomplete copy of Bowman's <i>Songs for 1, 2, & 3 voyces</i> (1677 or 1678) and Dering's <i>Cantica Sacra</i> (1662). See Richard Charteris, <i>A Catalogue of the Printed Books on Music, Printed Music and Music Manuscripts in Archbishop Marsh's Library, Dublin, Clarabricken</i> , 1982.
Roger North	1651-1734	Lawyer, politician, writer and amateur musician, he was keenly aware of the need for printed sources of music and engraved a score onto copperplate in the early 1680s to demonstrate the ease of etching in the hope of encouraging composers. See Jamie C. Kassler, 'North, Roger', <i>New Grove Dictionary: Second Edition</i> , xviii, 53.
Samuel Pepys	1633-1703	Music amateur enthusiast, his collection is held at Magdalene College, Cambridge. See Tables 1.1 and 1.2 above, and Robert Latham, ed., <i>Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge</i> , iv: <i>Music, Maps and Calligraphy</i> , Cambridge, 1989; Robert Latham, and W. Matthews, eds., <i>The Diary of Samuel Pepys</i> , 11 vols., London, 1970-83.
John Stearne, Bishop	1660-1745	Bishop of Clogher, bequeathed his collection to Archhbishop Marsh's Library in 1745 (see above). Only known music in his collection are the August and September 1694 issues of <i>The Gentleman's Journal</i> . See Charteris, <i>A Catalogue of the Printed Books on Music, Printed Music and Music Manuscripts in Archbishop Marsh's Library, Dublin</i> .
William Wake, Archbishop	1657-1737	Archbishop of Canterbury, matriculated at Christ Church, Oxford on 28 February 1673 and bequeathed his collection to Christ Church. A copy of William King's <i>Poems of Mr Cowley and Others</i> (1668) is held at Christ Church with Wake's bookplate. See Milsom, <i>Christ Church Library Music Catalogue Online</i> .

Collectors known to have owned seventeenth-century English music, but no evidence of owning English prints

William Corbett	?1680 – 1748	Violinist and composer. Collected most of his music during his travels in Italy, no copy of sale catalogue has survived. See Kassler, 'North, Roger', <i>New Grove Dictionary: Second Edition</i> , 53.
John Cosin, Bishop	1595-1672	Bishop of Durham from 1660, his collection was bequeathed to Peterhouse, Cambridge probably around 1635 before he was ejected in 1644. Thomas Alfred Walker, <i>Peterhouse</i> , Cambridge, 1935, 70.
John Evelyn	1620-1706	Diarist and writer, his collection of mostly Italian music was dispersed after his death. Most of the collection is now held at the British Library, London. See King, 10.
Philip Falle, Canon	1656-1742	Canon of Durham from 1700, his music collection was bequeathed to the Dean and Chapter of Durham in 1722. The collection contains over 200 volumes, mostly collected abroad, and the accompanying catalogue has been lost. Nothing is known of his musical interests. See R. Alec Harman, <i>A Catalogue of the Printed Music and Books on Music in Durham Cathedral Library</i> , London, 1968.
Thomas Hamond	d. 1662	Manuscript music copied c.1631-c.1656 including from Playford's <i>A Musically Banquet</i> (1651) and Hilton's <i>Catch that Catch can</i> (1652), now preserved at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and the British Library, London. See Margaret Crum, 'A Seventeenth-Century Collection of Music belonging to Thomas Hamond, a Suffolk Landowner', <i>Bodleian Library Record</i> , vi (1957), 374-375.
Henry May	d. c. 1680	Collection given to Pembroke College, Cambridge, probably around 1642/3. See King, 145.
Sir Samuel Morland	d. 1695	Music collection was buried underground before his death, according to John Evelyn on 25 October 1695. See E. S. de Beer, ed., <i>The Diary of John Evelyn</i> , London, 1959, 1000.
Robert Orme	d.1711	Music collection sold on 20 December 1711, advertisement in <i>The Daily Courant</i> includes 'an excellent collection of books of musick, containing the choicest sonatas, motets, aires, etc.' King, 12; see the Lavington Estate Archives, West Sussex Record Office, http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk .
John Sharp, Archbishop	1644-1714	Archbishop of York from 1691. His collection formed part of the library at Bamburgh Castle, Northumberland, and was augmented by the collections of two grandsons of whom John III (1723-1792) collected the greater part of the music collection of 384 items. The original manuscript catalogue of John Sharp has survived incomplete, and the collection is now held at Durham Cathedral Library. See Harman, <i>A Catalogue of the Printed Music and Books on Music in Durham Cathedral Library</i> .

Table 1.4 Marks of Ownership on Examined Copies of English Printed Music Books

Publication Title	Year	Copy Location	Annotations	Comments
<i>Identifiable Owners from Annotations on Surviving Copies</i>				
<i>A Compendium of Practical Musick</i>	1667	GB-Och	[Francis Withy's commonplace book]	Francis Withy (c. 1645-1727), singing-man at Christ Church, Oxford. Bound with an extensive supplement of manuscript additions. See Thompson, 'Withy, (3) Francis Withy', 452.
<i>Songs set by Signior Pietro Reggio</i>	1680	GB-LEbc		Only book in library catalogue of Montagu Garrard Drake. LEbc, MS Lt q 42. Cited in Woolley, 'English Keyboard Sources and their Contexts, c. 1660-1720', 8.
<i>The Second Book of the Pleasant Musical Companion</i>	1686	GB-Lbl	'The Gift of Mr. John Playford to John Jackson', title page.	John Jackson (d. 1688), Master of the Choristers at Wells. See Ian Spink, 'Jackson, John', <i>New Grove Dictionary: Second Edition</i> , xii, 720-721.
<i>Albion and Albanus</i>	1687	US-CA	'Dartmouth', title page verso.	Probably George Legge (c.1647-1691), first Baron Dartmouth, Master of the Horse under James II. See J. D. Davies, 'Legge, George', <i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> , http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16352 (Last Accessed 01 November 2010).

<i>Unidentifiable Owners from Annotations on Surviving Copies</i>				
<i>A Booke of New Lessons for the Cithren & Gittern</i>	1652	GB-Gu	'C Dun[?]', title page	Illegible signature
<i>Ayres and Dialogues</i> <u>and</u> <i>Select Muscally Ayres and Dialogues</i>	1653 1653	GB-Mr	[unknown]	Tabley House songbook. Printed books are bound together with manuscript additions.
<i>Catch that Catch can</i>	1663	GB-Lbl	'John Smith', title page	?Possibly member of the club, <i>The Order of the Fancy</i> , who was responsible for the publication of collections of drolleries in London in the 1650s; or the 'Sir John Smith Barronett', one of the stewards of the 1696 St Cecilia Day celebrations. His signature is included on a surviving ticket. See Simon Jones, 'The legacy of the "stupendious" Nicola Matteis', <i>Early Music</i> , xxix (2001), 558.
<i>Musick's Delight on the Cithren</i>	1666	US-SM	'Jarvis Houghman 1715', title page	
<i>The Musical Companion</i>	1673	US-Ws	'Jonah Hin[?]', title page	Illegible signature
<i>The Musical Companion</i>	1673	GB-Lcm	'John Day his Book liveing in Letchlade gloucestershei', p. 222	
<i>Melothesia</i>	1673	US-DLC	'Joseph Frances', title page	
<i>The Pleasant Companion</i>	1676	GB-DRuc	'Angus Birbett Book 1678', front flyleaves; '[?] James', crossed-out annotations on recto of first flyleaf; 'the [?] bears date the 5 th day of June, in the 20 th years of ye Kings Raigns. Anonq. Dni 1668', back flyleaf;	This book has evidence of multiple owners.

			multiple annotations throughout of 'Ann Stephenson our Book', 'Ann', 'Ann Stephenson our Book Given hur by LB for her Sack'.	
<i>Apollo's Banquet</i>	1678	GB-Lbl	'John Dymock his book' and 'Joseph Dymock', inside margin.	
<i>The Pleasant Companion</i>	1678	GB-Lbl	'John Spear His Book', verso of front binding.	
<i>The Pleasant Companion</i>	1680	US-Ws	'J. Newport 1717', title page; 'Tom [?]', sig. [E4].	
<i>The Genteel Companion</i>	1683	GB-Lbl	'Jo. Wyndham', front fly-leaf; 'Thomas Water' and '1697', back fly-leaf.	
<i>A Collection of Twenty Four Songs</i>	1685	US-SM	'H' and 'HH', initials throughout volume.	
<i>Arie Diverse Per Il Violino</i>	1688	GB-Lbl	'H[?]llingesby', title page	
<i>Vinculum Societatis... The Second Book</i>	1688	GB-En	[?]	Illegible signature on title page
<i>Peppa, or the Reward of Constant Love</i>	1689	US-NH	'Mary Fulford', title page	
<i>The Dancing Master</i>	1690	GB-Lbl	'John Faleon[?]', inner margin, p. 1	
<i>Youth's Delight</i>	1690	GB-Lbl	'James Mackadams His Booke of tunes', front fly-leaf	
<i>Comes Amoris... The Fifth Book</i>	1695	US-SM	'JJ', initials on title page	
<i>A Collection of Songs set to Musick</i>	[c.1696]	GB-Lcm	'Robert Mantin. His Book. A Collection of Songs: Set to Musick By Mr. Henry Purcel, and Mr. John Eccles. 1717/18.'	Manuscript title page. According to Day & Murrie, songs were originally issued separately. See Day, <i>English Song-Books, 1651-1702</i> , 98.

<i>Youth's Delight</i>	1697	GB-Lbl	'Ex Libris Edmundi Herbtii de Whittlewood in com. Northamptoni.', bookplate; 'Edmund Herbet 1704', title page
<i>A Collection of Ayres Compos'd for the Theatre</i>	1697	GB-Lbl	'Horace Pine', title page

The English Printed Music Book Trade

This chapter examines the bibliographical and archival evidence of England's music-printing trade in the second half of the seventeenth century. The main sources of information concerning the production of printed music are the extant books. Few other sources concerning of the nature of the trade and its workforce have survived from this period, comprising records from the Stationers' Company,¹ state papers,² advertisements (see Chapter 3), a handful of receipts, and one or two references in customers' accounts, correspondence,³ and a payment dispute between the printer William Pearson and Henry Playford.⁴ From these sources and from the books themselves, we can catch a glimpse of the mechanics behind the commercial operation of the book trade, upon which the very production and subsequent use of the printed material depended. This chapter provides an introduction to the music books and the principal members of the trade in the second half of the seventeenth century, exploring social networks, printing developments, economics and the various roles of the music stationer, all of which are intrinsic to the production dimension of the trade. Highlighting the different types of printed music books produced during this period draws attention to the different roles undertaken by the composer – from an absence in the publishing process through to self-publication – which in turn helps to shed light on the relationship between print and creativity.

¹ Temperley, 'John Playford and the Stationers' Company', 203-212.

² Donald F. McKenzie and Maureen Bell, *A Chronology and Calendar of Documents Relating to the London Book Trade 1641-1700*, 3 vols., Oxford, 2005.

³ John Playford petitioned Charles II for custom-free import of a thousand reams 'of Royall paper or other paper of the Like value' in order to print 'a large and choice Colection of Full services for both Morning and Evening'. Playford was granted his request on March 1st, 1674, but seems to have abandoned the printing project. McKenzie, *A Chronology and Calendar of Documents Relating to the London Book Trade 1641-1700*, ii: 1671-1685, 71. See Frank Kidson, 'The Petition of Eleanor Playford', *The Library*, 3rd ser., vii (1916), 346-352.

⁴ Cyrus Lawrence Day and Eleanore Boswell Murrie, 'Playford *versus* Pearson', *The Library*, 4th ser., xvii (1937), 427-447.

2.1 Music Book Trade Personnel

Fundamental to the production of the printed music book was the trade's workforce, including printers, publishers and booksellers. This important network of tradesmen was small in seventeenth-century England. The centrality of the music-publishing industry in London around the Inns of Court and Fleet Street was described in Chapter 1, and the specialism of moveable music type was limited to a select few printing houses.⁵

Stationers

The correct term to use to refer to trade publisher-booksellers in early modern England is debatable. The term *publisher* was known and used at this time but carried different meanings from its modern counterpart. One contemporary dictionary defined publication as 'a publishing, or making common',⁶ and in a later edition, 'a publishing or giving open notice of a thing'.⁷ Throughout this thesis the terms 'publisher' and 'to publish' are used to describe the person and the act responsible for commissioning and organising a publication (in our modern sense of the terms), in order to differentiate with the task of printing. The most recent offerings to describe an individual in early modern England engaged in this array of activities has been 'trade publisher', coined by Donald F. McKenzie and adopted by Michael Treadwell,⁸ or 'undertaker' by Adrian Johns.⁹ However, those individuals whom we primarily think of as music publishers combined the role of publisher with a variety of responsibilities including bookseller, instrument seller, music copyist, seller of music manuscript paper as well as non-musical items (see Chapter 3). As Michael Treadwell describes, 'all but the smallest London booksellers, whether principally retailers or wholesalers, engaged in some publishing, and... little publishing was done except by booksellers'.¹⁰ Neither McKenzie's, nor

⁵ Krummel, *English Music Printing 1553-1700*, Appendix: 'A Chronological Synopsis of Music Type Faces', 175.

⁶ E[dward] P[hillips], *A New World of Words, Or a General English Dictionary... The Fourth Edition*, London, 1678, sig. [Pp3v].

⁷ E[dward] P[hillips], *A New World of Words, Or a General English Dictionary... The Fifth Edition*, London, 1696, sig. [Hhhh3].

⁸ Donald F. McKenzie in his Sandars Lectures in 1976. See Treadwell, 'London Trade Publishers 1675-1750', 99-134.

⁹ Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making*, xix-xxi.

¹⁰ Michael Treadwell, 'London Trade Publishers 1675-1750', *The Library*, 6th ser., iv (1982), 99.

Johns's suggestions seem to cover the array of occupations of the music tradesman, and the term *stationer* seems more suitable. Although a contemporary term referring to the members of the Stationers' Company,¹¹ the term *stationer* is used in this thesis to differentiate between the principal characters of the music book trade, who predominantly made a living publishing and selling music books, and those composers, printers and other individuals for whom it was not a habitual activity. Appendix A lists extant English music publications produced between 1650 and 1700, and provides details of the individuals involved as identified on the title pages by such phrases as 'printed by', 'printed for', and 'printed and sold by'. The principal stationers clearly held a prominence in the book trade, with the financial responsibilities and accountability to the authorities for anything questionable in the printed text.¹² Stationers were agents, standing between the author and the book trade (see below).

The principal music stationers in London in the second half of the seventeenth century were John and Henry Playford, and John Carr. John Playford requires very little introduction, having been credited with almost sole responsibility for reviving English music publishing in the 1650s.¹³ Born in Norwich in 1623, Playford was apprenticed to the London stationer John Benson, of St Dunstan's Churchyard, Fleet Street, in 1640. On achieving his freedom in 1647, Playford set up shop against the Temple Church, the tenancy of which passed to his son, Henry, in 1684. John and Henry Playford's combined published-music output was by far the largest contribution to the English printed music-book industry of the second half of the seventeenth century. John Playford published twenty known titles, many of which saw new editions or additional books within the same title series.¹⁴

Less detail is known about the other main stationers of the music publishing trade. John Playford's main competitor was John Carr who emerged in the 1670s. Nothing is known of Carr's background until he is mentioned in Playford's

¹¹ Johns differentiates between the *Stationer* and the *stationer*, the latter of which referred to the trade of a paper-stationer. *Ibid.*, xix.

¹² Treadwell, 'London Trade Publisher 1675-1750', 121.

¹³ Dean-Smith, 'Playford (1). John Playford (i)', 910-913; Thompson, 'Playford, John (1622/3-1686/7)'; Krummel, *English Music Printing, 1553-1700*, 115; Cyrus Lawrence Day & Eleanore Boswell Murrie, 'English Song-Books, 1651-1702, and their Publishers', *The Library*, 4th ser., xvi (1936), 359; Frank Kidson, 'John Playford and 17th-Century Music Publishing', 516-534; W. Barclay Squire, 'John Playford', *Music and Letters*, 4 (1923), 261-265.

¹⁴ See Appendix A. Krummel states that Playford's output 'consists of upwards of fifty works in nearly a hundred different editions, which represents roughly two-thirds of the music printed in England between 1650 and 1686'. Krummel, *English Music Printing 1553-1700*, 125.

advertisement in *The Dancing Master... The Fourth Edition* (1670) as an instrument seller: ‘Choice *Violins* and other *Instruments*, also good *Strings*, are Sold by Mr. Carr, at his Shop at the *Middle-Temple-gate* in *Fleet-Street*.¹⁵ There are no records of Carr having held an apprenticeship with Playford, or of any special business relationship between the two stationers before the 1680s. In 1672, Carr was named as bookseller of *An Essay to the Advancement of Musick* by Thomas Salmon,¹⁶ which began the Locke-Salmon printed controversy.¹⁷ The instrument seller was evidently in close contact with both Playford and Matthew Locke by 1672, the latter being asked ‘to write somewhat in commendation’ of Salmon’s book.¹⁸ Playford published Locke’s *Observations upon a Late Book Entitled, An Essay to the Advancement of Musick* (1672), which was an argumental response deemed necessary against what Locke saw as an attack by Salmon on the music profession. This was subsequently followed by Salmon’s answer in *A Vindication of an Essay to the Advancement of Musick from Mr. Matthew Locke’s Observations* (sold by Carr), which included a slight at Playford (see Chapter 3) prompting Playford to respond by way of a *Letter* as part of Matthew Locke’s second response, published by Playford, *The Present Practice of Musick Vindicated Against the Exceptions and New Way of Attaining Musick Lately Publish’d by Thomas Salmon* (1673).

Carr’s selling of Salmon’s essays does not appear to have caused a rift between the stationers, and was in fact the beginning of a long business relationship between Carr and Locke. Beginning with Carr’s first music publication, *Melothesia* in 1673, the stationer became the principal selling agent for Locke’s future printing ventures (see Chapter 4). Playford and Carr also began collaborating in 1681 with the last three books of the *Choice Ayres, Songs and Dialogues* series (1681, 1683, 1684) and the second edition of *The Delightful Companion* (1686). Furthermore, in 1684 Playford printed a statement concerning the succession of his business following his retirement, naming ‘two young Men, my own Son, and Mr. Carr’s Son, who is one of His Majesty’s Musick, and an ingenious person, whom you may rely upon’.¹⁹ Robert Carr was a member of the Private

¹⁵ John Playford, *The Dancing Master... The Fourth Edition*, London, 1670, ‘Advertisement’, sig. [A4].

¹⁶ London, Printed by J. Macock, and are to be Sold by John Car [sic.] at the *Middle-Temple-Gate*. 1672’. The preface is entitled ‘The Publisher to the Reader’ and is signed by John Birchensha, but the volume was probably financed by Thomas Salmon.

¹⁷ Lillian M. Ruff, ‘Thomas Salmon’s “Essay to the Advancement of Musick”’, *The Consort*, xxi (1964), 266-275.

¹⁸ Matthew Locke, *Observations upon a Late Book Entitled, An Essay to the Advancement of Musick*, London, 1672, 4.

¹⁹ John Playford, *Choice Ayres, Songs and Dialogues... The Fifth Book*, London, 1684, ‘To All Lovers and Understanders of Musick’, sig. A2.

Musick from 1683.²⁰ There is no evidence of Robert Carr's involvement in the trade although his initials appear alongside Henry Playford and John Carr on a small handful of title pages. John Playford was clearly determined to unite the two firms by setting up John Carr's son as one of his successors.

John Playford's wishes were only partially successful: only one joint venture (*The Banquet of Musick...The Sixth Book* (1692)) appeared from the joint Henry Playford and John Carr businesses following the death of John Playford in 1686. The failure of the business partnership may have been due to conflicting ideas about new directions and the development in moveable type. The principal music printer employed by the Playfords and Carrs in the mid 1680s was John Playford junior – a nephew of the stationer and successor of the Godbid business.²¹ The younger John Playford died in April 1685,²² and his stock of type was apparently broken up and sold.²³ Developments in moveable type occurred around this time, and John Carr favoured John Heptinstall and the printer's 'new tied note' typeface, which consisted of round-note heads and beaming and was first used for Carr's *Vinculum Societatis...The First Book* (1687).²⁴ Henry Playford chose Edward Jones as his main printer and the older fount.²⁵ The late 1680s also saw the appearance of Samuel Scott on Carr's title pages, referred to by Carr in 1687 as his 'maggot Man Sam'.²⁶ Scott and Carr jointly published six music books together between 1687 and 1693 but Scott also published two books in collaboration with Henry Playford, in 1691 and 1696.²⁷ According to the title pages of *Vinculum Societatis* (1687-8) Scott moved premises but remained around the Temple Bar, and was

²⁰ Andrew Ashbee, 'Carr, Robert', in Andrew Ashbee, David Lasocki, Peter Holman and Fiona Kisby, eds., *A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians 1485-1714*, 2 vols., Aldershot, 1998, i, 233.

²¹ Krummel, *English Music Printing, 1553-1700*, 121-122.

²² Margaret Dean-Smith and Nicholas Temperley, 'Playford: (3) John Playford (ii)', in Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell, eds., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians: Second Edition*, London, 2001, xix, 914.

²³ Kidson, 'The Petition of Eleanor Playford', 350.

²⁴ Krummel, *English Music Printing, 1553-1700*, 129.

²⁵ Henry Playford did not use Heptinstall as a printer until 1694. Krummel, *English Music Printing 1553-1700*, 140.

²⁶ Henry Purcell, 'A Catch by way of Epistle', in John Carr, *Comes Amoris... The First Book*, London, 1687. See Figure 1. Scott served an apprenticeship under Carr. Donald F. McKenzie, ed., *Stationers' Company Apprentices 1641-1700*, Oxford, 1974, 27.

²⁷ *The Banquet of Musick... The Fifth Book*, London 1691, and *The Single Songs, With the Dialogue, Sung in the New Opera, Call'd Brutus of Alba: Or, August's Triumph*, London, 1696.

Figure 2.1 Henry Playford, *Theater of Music* series, London, 1685-7, Title page picture



to take over Carr's business in 1695.²⁸

The scarcity of documents relating to the working relationships of these stationers limits our understanding of the exact nature of their transactions. The business partnership between Henry Playford and John Carr is complicated all the more by the picture that originally appears on the title page of the *Theater of Music... The First Book* (1685) published by Henry Playford and Robert Carr. This picture, shown in Figure 2.1, reappeared in John Carr's *Comes Amoris* and *Vinculum Societatis* series from 1687. A number of printers were involved in the production of these three series, suggesting that the engraved plate passed between the two stationers.²⁹ It also appeared on the title page of Thomas Cross's *A Collection of Songs set to Musick by Mr Henry Purcell & Mr John Eccles* (c. 1696).³⁰

²⁸ Miriam Miller, 'Carr, John', in Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell, eds., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians: Second Edition*, London, 2001, v, 187.

²⁹ See *Theater of Music* series (1685, 1686, 1687), *Comes Amoris* series (1687, 1688, 1689, 1693, 1694), and *Vinculum Societatis* series (1687, 1688, 1691).

³⁰ Day, *English Song Books, 1651-1702*, 99.

Few other individuals undertook music publishing until the late 1680s. A small number of non-music specialist stationers from the mid-century include the literary-anthology specialist Humphrey Moseley,³¹ and the anti-Parliamentarian publisher Henry Brome. Both of these stationers published single-composer music volumes and undoubtedly had connections with those composers: Moseley published music books of Henry (and William) Lawes and John Gamble, as well as an English translation of Renatus Descartes' *Excellent Compendium of Musick* by Walter Charleton, and Henry Brome was the principal publisher for Christopher Simpson. Few other individuals ventured into music publishing before the late 1680s, implying that the industry was limited by the need for specialist moveable type and therefore connections with particular printers. Furthermore, this period is characterised by John Playford's dominance of the trade and Krummel has suggested that, in the case of Thomas Salmon's printed essays in 1672 and 1673, the musical examples were engraved because moveable type 'carried the special blessing of Playford and his friends' and 'neither John Playford nor any of his associates would have anything to do with such a book'.³²

The late 1680s saw a rise in competition in the music-publishing industry, with at least eight more individuals experimenting with the specialist trade including John Hudgebut, Humphrey Salter, Richard Hunt, Samuel Scott and Joseph Hindmarsh. This was undoubtedly a reflection of the 'sudden expansion and opportunism in publishing during the 1680s' of the general publishing trade,³³ but also the void in the trade following John Playford's death in 1686. Certain individuals attempted to gain financially during this time. The musician John Abell attempted to revive the monopoly on music printing from the early decades of the seventeenth century on 22 November 1687 by petitioning to the king 'for letters patent for the solo printing and publishing of vocal and instrumental music books'.³⁴ It cannot be simply a coincidence that, following Playford's death and the death of his printer-nephew and the subsequent failed petition by Eleanor Playford to gain a royal licence to continue printing, Abell attempted to gain a monopoly on the industry. Furthermore, on 4 April 1687, the records of the Stationers' Company describe how Humphrey Salter, who had published *The Genteel*

³¹ Christopher Rowe is currently writing a PhD thesis on Humphrey Moseley at the University of Leeds.

³² Krummel, *English Music Printing 1553-1700*, 152.

³³ Mandelbrote, 'From the warehouse to the counting-house: booksellers and bookshops in late 17th-century London', 78.

³⁴ McKenzie, *A Chronology and Calendar of Documents Relating to the London Book Trade 1641-1700*, iii: 1686-1700, 34.

Companion (1683) with the instrument seller Richard Hunt, was prohibited from printing and selling music books without authority as he was apparently not a member of the company:

Mr Salter was summoned to explain his printing and selling of music books in St Paul's Churchyard without being free of the Company or having any legal authority. He denied that he had printed any 'but was constrained to buy a parcel of Musick Bookes of his Master he served Apprenticeship with by reason he would not leave him his Shop and trade without buying them', and he admitted selling some. He had about 100 of 'the Bookes of the Leassons of the Pye called the Flagelett' and about 50 of 'the Bookes of Leassons for the Pye called the Recorder' and promised to sell no more and to give an exact account when desired.³⁵

No single individual was to fill the void left by John Playford until John Walsh at the turn of the century, and this period is characterised by developments in music-printing techniques, particularly with William Pearson's 'new London character' moveable type, and the rise in engraving as an alternative method of music-printing from the 1680s under Thomas Cross and subsequently used as the principal mode of printing music by John Walsh and others into the eighteenth century. Henry Playford appears to have tried to keep up with the trend, although the majority of his printed music output remained type-set volumes: he advertised a type-set single song for threepence in 1698,³⁶ and he issued a monthly journal *Mercurius Musicus: Or, The Monthly Collection of New Teaching Songs* irregularly between January 1699 and October 1702. This was not a success:

finding the Gentlemen uneasie that single Songs very Imperfect should be Extant before the Month was out, [Playford] has resolv'd for the future, he will Print ever New Songs from the Master's Copy singly, as often as they come forth; and they shall be numbered by equal sheets to be stitch'd up once a year, or once a Month if requir'd'.³⁷

The growth of the music-publishing industry at the end of the seventeenth century is linked with this heightened commercial aspect of music printing. Printed output from this later period is particularly characterised by engraved single-sheets and anthologies of songs of the latest theatre productions, emphasising the popularity of the public theatre in the 1690s. The rise of engraved single-sheet songs produced by

³⁵ *Ibid.*, iii: 1686-1700, 26. The 'Bookes of Leassons for the...Recorder' probably refers to Salter and Richard Hunt's *The Genteel Companion* (1683). The identity of the 'Bookes of the Leassons of the Pye called the Flagelett' is unclear. This reference may be a lost edition, or previously-bought copies of an earlier edition of *The Pleasant Companion, Youth's Delight on the Flagelet, or Directions for the Flagellet*. Salter continued in the music-book trade, his name appearing on the imprint of *Nolens Volens* (1695).

³⁶ Congreve's 'Fair Amoret is gone astray' with music by Eccles was advertised in *The Post Boy*, 19 March 1698. Not given in Tilmouth, 'A Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers published in London and the Provinces (1660-1719)'.

³⁷ Cited from Day, 'English Song-Books, 1651-1702, and their Publishers', 393.

printer-publishers such as Thomas Cross created some contemporary scandal among both professional musicians and the more traditional music-book publishers. Leaving aside the marketing ploy, Henry Hall's commendatory poem in praise of Blow's type-set volume *Amphion Anglicus* (1700) stated that

Music of many parts hath now no force
Whole reams of single songs become our curse...
While at the shops we daily dangling view
False discords by Tom Cross engraven true.³⁸

In *The Tragedy of King Saul* (1703), Henry Playford noted how such single song sheets hindered his own song collections: 'the Scandalous Abuse of Musick by selling single Songs at a Penny a piece'.³⁹ The end of the seventeenth century saw a transformation of relationships between the publisher and the buying public in England simultaneously with a shift in the interactions between publishers and professional musicians.

Networks and Primary Sources

In an environment in which music could be printed without the knowledge or consent of the composer, it is important to investigate how publishers obtained sources of musical texts and to what extent publishers interacted with the composers who were represented in the subsequent printed books. Publishers relied heavily upon their personal dealings with individual composers as well as obtaining texts from theatre copyists, text authors, orchestral musicians, friends and associates.⁴⁰ Printing shops, particularly those owning specialized fonts, types or engraving equipment, were also important centres for activity and may have acted as meeting places for stationers and authors. It therefore remains unclear, particularly in the case of anthologies, what the extent of individual composers' involvement was in the compilation and production of printed music. Most of the surviving evidence relating to the working relationships between stationers and composers is gleaned from the prints themselves, and must be observed with some caution as it may be part of a common marketing strategy for

³⁸ Henry Hall, 'To his Esteemed Friend, Dr. Blow, upon Publishing his Book of Songs', in John Blow, *Amphion Anglicus*, London, 1700, ii. Also see Hunter, 'The Publishing of Opera and Song Books in England, 1703-1726', 660.

³⁹ Henry Playford, *The Tragedy of King Saul*, London, 1703, Advertisement. See also Day, 'English Song-Books, 1651-1702, and their Publishers', 389.

⁴⁰ David Hunter has explored the networks between theatre personnel and music publishers in early eighteenth-century England. See Hunter, 'The Publishing of Opera and Song Books in England, 1703-1726', 650-655.

assuring the accuracy and credibility of the printed book. John Playford frequently stated that the contents of his anthologies were ‘from the hands of the composers’. In his *Choice Ayres and Songs... The Second Book* (1679), for instance, Playford claimed that

Most of the *Songs* and *Ayres* herein contained I received exact Copies of from the Hands of their Authors, to whom I acknowledge my self much obliged, for their Assistance in promoting this Work.

Furthermore, the extent to which compiled musical texts required editing prior to publication, who was involved in the editorial process, and how editorial practice both influenced and was influenced by consumer demand or compositional activity are issues affecting the production of printed material and have been largely overlooked by modern musicologists.⁴¹ Some title pages of printed music anthologies named the editor, often a professional musician, but the exact nature and extent of their role was rarely described beyond that of compiler or reviewer of the contents (see Chapter 3).

John Playford appears to have been in a unique position as a music stationer to obtain primary-source material from a wide circle of professional and amateur musicians. Playford himself is credited with musical knowledge and skill, and, as shown in Chapter 1, evidently he was a practising amateur musician within the London music network. From as early as 1776, John Hawkins stated that ‘what his education had been is not known, but that he had attained to a considerable proficiency in the practice of music and musical composition is certain’.⁴² Musicologists and historians have concluded that Playford was trained either at the almonry or at Norwich Cathedral,⁴³ or at least received musical training from an organist or choir-man of Norwich.⁴⁴ Unfortunately no documents relating to the choristers at Norwich Cathedral have survived from the first half of the seventeenth century, and there is no evidence that Playford went to the grammar school which his elder brother Matthew attended.⁴⁵ However, there is significant evidence to confirm Playford’s own musical skill. The

⁴¹ Susan Lewis Hammond’s recent study of the transmission and reception of Italian music in early modern Germany is the first comprehensive study assessing the role of editors as a distinct group. Hammond, *Editing Music in Early Modern Germany*, particularly 13-44.

⁴² John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, 2 vols., London, 1875, ii, 733.

⁴³ See Dean-Smith, ‘John Playford’; Thompson, ‘Playford, John’; Frank Kidson, ‘John Playford and 17th-Century Music Publishing’, 516-534.

⁴⁴ W. Barclay Squire explains that there is a break in the list of Norwich organists between c.1630-1660, in Barclay Squire, ‘John Playford’, 261-265. However, according to Noel Boston, Richard Gibbs was mentioned as Organist of Norwich as late as 1649. The organ was demolished in 1643. See Noel Boston, *The Musical History of Norwich Cathedral*, Norwich, 1963.

⁴⁵ Dean-Smith, ‘Playford (1). John Playford (i)’, 911. I am grateful to Mrs Gudrun Warren, Librarian at Norwich Cathedral for information relating to the cathedral archives.

manuscripts F-Pn Rés MS 2489, GB-Eu MS R.d.58-61, US-Ws MS V.a.411,⁴⁶ Och MS Mus.747-9,⁴⁷ and parts of GB-Lbl Add. MS 31430,⁴⁸ are reputedly in Playford's hand, and Alan Howard has recently suggested that the newly discovered manuscript, GB-Mp BRm 630.85Go42, may be in the hand of John Playford or one of his scribes. The initial three manuscripts listed attribute Playford to musical circles in London particularly in the 1650s and 1660s. The Glasgow and Folger manuscripts relate to a musical club, the members of which are listed in the Glasgow manuscript as well as in the dedication to this club of Playford's 1667 *Musical Companion* (see Chapter 1). As Stacey Jocoy notes, 45 of the 112 pieces in these part books appeared in Playford's anthologies between 1652 and 1663, prior to the 1667 edition, suggesting that the manuscripts are a working set of books assembled to augment the club's repertory and were not primarily a pre-production step for the 1667 volume.⁴⁹ The Paris manuscript was probably originally part of a larger collection, and possibly used as the main source for Playford's 1669 *Select Ayres and Dialogues*.⁵⁰ Playford also instigated a musical gathering in his own home at least by 1674 (see Chapter 1), and his petition to Charles II in 1674 for the custom-free importation of 1,000 reams of paper for the publishing of a collection of liturgical music referred to his having procured, at the Restoration, the organ and books 'belonging to the Chapel Royal, which had been embezzled, and that he had for many years spared neither cost nor pains to collect and publish many choice volumes of music'.⁵¹ Playford was first vicar-choral at St. Paul's between 1683 and 1687,⁵² and from as early as 1653 he was the clerk to the Temple Church, a position he held for the rest of his life. He was experienced in the practice of psalmody,⁵³ and is credited with the

⁴⁶ Richard Charteris, *An Annotated Catalogue of the Music Manuscripts in the Folger Shakespeare Library*, Washington, D.C., Hillsdale, N.Y., 2005, 230.

⁴⁷ Jonathan P. Wainwright, 'Richard Dering's Few-Voice "Concertato" Motets', *Music & Letters*, lxxxix (2008), 171.

⁴⁸ Thompson, 'Manuscript Music in Purcell's London', 607.

⁴⁹ Jocoy Houck, 'Decoding Musical Resistance: English Vocal Music in the Service of the King, 1625-1660', 306.

⁵⁰ Chan, 'A Mid-Seventeenth-Century Music Meeting and Playford's Publishing', 243.

⁵¹ McKenzie, *A Chronology and Calendar of Documents Relating to the London Book Trade 1641-1700*, ii: 1671-1685, 71.

⁵² Sarah Boyer, *The Cathedral, the City and the Crown: A Study of the Music and Musicians of St. Paul's Cathedral 1660-1697*, Ph.D, University of Manchester, 1999, 3 vols., iii, 390-391. Bernarr Rainbow states that by 1653 Playford was already a 'former member of the now disbanded choir of St. Paul's Cathedral' but provides no source for this information. Rainbow, *Music in Educational Thought and Practice*, 75. Playford was certainly in London from 1640 as he was apprenticed to John Benson in that year, and the choir of St. Paul's was disbanded in 1643. Ian Spink, 'Music, 1660-1800', in Derek Keene, Arthur Burns and Andrew Saint, eds., *St Paul's: The Cathedral Church of London 604-2004*, London, 2004, 392-398.

⁵³ Temperley, 'John Playford and the Metrical Psalms', 355.

invention of the ‘psalmody’, a stringed instrument for accompanying metrical psalms.⁵⁴ The publications themselves indicate not only that he was confident in music-reading and probably more advanced editing skills, but also composed himself: *Cantica Sacra* and the *Catch that Catch can* series, for example, have numerous pieces ascribed to the stationer.

Playford’s musical skill and devotion to the encouragement of music is repeatedly emphasized in his printed prefaces and stood him in good stead for developing friendships and business relations with numerous musicians, both professional and amateur alike. Both Henry Lawes and Charles Coleman became godfathers to Playford’s sons in the 1650s, indicating a close friendship between the families. Lawes’ and Coleman’s connections with members of the disbanded court music circles (see Chapter 1) provided opportunities for Playford to acquire repertory for his publications: Peter Walls suspects that the 55 pieces by William Lawes in *Court Ayres* (1655), for instance, were provided by Coleman.⁵⁵ Members of the ‘Old Jury Musick Society and Meeting’ and various other private gatherings, which incorporated both professional and amateur musicians including Playford, provided opportunities for the circulation of their repertory and the subsequent gathering of it for printing.

The music networks Playford was able to take advantage of were clearly much larger than the information provided in the extant prints: Playford was apparently directly acquainted with the amateur musician Silas Taylor (1624-1678), although no evidence other than the inclusion of his music in Playford’s printed books is given by Jack Westrup and Ian Spink.⁵⁶ According to Thurston Dart, one Ben Sandley was likely to have had a role in assembling the contents of *Musicks Hand-maide* (1663).⁵⁷ Anthony Wood described Sandley as a ‘teacher of the virginals in London’ who ‘died after the restoration of King Charles II’.⁵⁸ Andrew Woolley has drawn attention to the

⁵⁴ An advertisement in the *Post Boy* on 27 June 1699 referred to the fifth edition of Playford’s *The Whole Book of Psalms* (1699), announcing ‘A Book of Directions to Play the Psalmody, an Instrument invented by John Playford, adapted to the tunes in use in all churches’. Philip Bate and Sally Drage, ‘Psalterer’, in Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell, eds., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians: Second Edition*, London, 2001, xx, 520; Temperley, ‘John Playford and the Metrical Psalms’, 378.

⁵⁵ Walls, *Music in the English Courty Masque 1604-1640*, 256.

⁵⁶ Jack Westrup and Ian Spink, ‘Taylor, Silas’, in Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell, eds., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians: Second Edition*, London, 2001, xxv, 141-142.

⁵⁷ Thurston Dart, ed., *Musick’s Hand-Maid*, London, 1969, Notes.

⁵⁸ J. D. Shute, ‘Anthony a Wood and his Manuscript Wood D 19(4) at the Bodleian Library, Oxford: an Annotated Transcription’, Ph.D, Institute for Advanced Studies, Clayton, 1979, 262. Cited in Woolley, ‘English Keyboard Sources and their Contexts, c. 1660-1720’, 27.

manuscript addition of the US-Cn copy of *Musicks Hand-maide* (1678) of an ‘Almaine’ attributed to ‘Mr Ben Sandley’, but this evidence is insubstantial in corroborating Sandley’s possible connection with Playford.⁵⁹ Keith Whitlock has recently argued that Playford had a connection with the playwright Richard Brome, through the business relationship between Ben Jonson and Playford’s master John Benson, and may be the ‘knowing Friend’ that assisted the preparation of Playford’s *English Dancing Master* (1651).⁶⁰ Benjamin Rogers assisted the first edition of Playford’s *A Breif Introduction to the Skill of Musick* (1654), and the British Library copy of *The Second Book of the Pleasant Musical Companion* (1686) bears an autograph ascription of presentation on the title page: ‘The Gift of Mr. John Playford to John Jackson 7 Octob 1685’,⁶¹ indicating that the stationer had a reason for providing a presentation copy to the Master of the Choristers at Wells Cathedral (d. 1688).⁶² Friendships between professional musicians and the stationer continued throughout his career: Playford left money for mourning rings in his will to John Blow, Henry Purcell, and James Clifford.⁶³

A number of amateur musicians are mentioned in Playford’s publications, particularly in the small handful of dedications which indicate a strong association between the stationer and members of the Inns of Court, including *Court Ayres* (1655). This book is dedicated to ‘the most accomplish’d Gentleman, William Ball, Esq. (eldest Son of Sir Peter Ball) of the Middle-Temple’ of which the contents ‘have bin graced with performance of your part’.⁶⁴ Henry Playford later dedicated his *Wit and Mirth* (1700) to ‘Mr. Benjamin Ruffhead, of Chatham and now Steward of the Musick-Club at Rochester’. A presentation copy of *Psalmes & Hymns in Solemn Musick* (1671) survives with the autograph ascription, ‘To the Rt Honble Sr Francis North his Majesties Soliciter Generall This is humbly presented By John Playford’.⁶⁵ In addition, John Playford may have obtained sources from his amateur customers. In the preface of his 1685 edition of *Catch that Catch can*, Playford apologised for errors in the accuracy of the printed texts, stating that he aimed

⁵⁹ Woolley, ‘English Keyboard Sources and their Contexts, c. 1660-1720’, 27.

⁶⁰ Whitlock, ‘John Playford’s *The English Dancing Master* 1650/1 as Cultural Politics’, 553, 559 and 572.

⁶¹ Lbl K.1.d.24.

⁶² Prior to Jackson’s first role at Wells as organist in 1674, the composer had been *informator choristarum* in Ely in 1669 and lay clerk at Norwich in 1670. Ian Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music 1660-1714*, Oxford, 1995, 357.

⁶³ Clifford was the compiler of *The Divine Services and Anthems usually sung in the Cathedrals and Collegiate Choirs in the Church of England*, London, 1664. The National Archives: PRO, PROB 11/422, fols. 79v–80v.

⁶⁴ John Playford, *Court Ayres*, London, 1655, Dedication.

⁶⁵ Lbl K.1.i.19.

to make way for a second and more correct Impression, hoping such Gentlemen as find any Errors will be so kind as to rectifie them, by sending me some truer Copies.⁶⁶

Furthermore, silent participants in the provision of sources and assistance in preparing musical texts for printing undoubtedly included minor musicians and apprentices acting as middlemen.⁶⁷ John Ford and Zachariah Watkins were two known apprentices of John Playford,⁶⁸ and both appear on title pages alongside Playford as publisher. The publishers Samuel Scott and John Hudgebut both served their apprenticeship under John Carr. Although nothing is known of their musical skill or whether or not their apprenticeships included taking a role in the musical side of the business, both Hudgebut and Scott became music publishers in their own right, and published a number of vocal anthologies which they may have compiled themselves.⁶⁹

Playford's networks were not limited to London, with family and friends living in the provinces. Robert Thompson, in discovering that some of Playford's music volumes were owned by George Jeffreys, Christopher Gibbons and the North family of East Anglia, highlights a connection between Thomas Derham, another godparent to John Playford's son Thomas, with John Jenkins (musician in the household of the North family in the 1650s and 1660s).⁷⁰ The Playford firm also had links in Oxford, which is unsurprising as the city had been a royalist stronghold, playing host to the beleaguered Charles I during the Civil War, and was the second most important musical centre in England. Henry Playford married a daughter of an Oxford lawyer,⁷¹ and two apprentices of Henry Playford – John Baker and John Church – were both from Oxford, the latter possibly being the John Church who sang at the Theatre Royal and later became a member of the Chapel Royal and lay vicar at Westminster Abbey.⁷² Robert Thompson suggests that Church developed his copying skills, which can be seen

⁶⁶ John Playford, *Catch that Catch can*, London, 1685, 'To all Lovers of Music', sig. A2.

⁶⁷ Feldman, 'Authors and Anonyms: Recovering the Anonymous Subject in *Cinquecento* Vernacular Objects', 168; Hammond, *Editing Music in Early Modern Germany*, 20.

⁶⁸ McKenzie, *Stationers' Company Apprentices 1641-1700*, 132.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 27. In addition, Zachariah Watkins advertised a reward for the return of a stolen Theorbo-lute in *The Kingdom's Intelligencer*, April 20, 1663. See Tilmouth, 'A Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers published in London and the Provinces, 1660-1719', i, 1.

⁷⁰ Thompson, 'Manuscript Music in Purcell's London', 610.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 610-611.

⁷² Margaret Laurie, 'Church, John', in Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell, eds., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians: Second Edition*, London, 2001, v, 823-824; McKenzie, *Stationers' Company Apprentices 1641-1700*, 132; Donald F. McKenzie, ed., *Stationers' Company apprentices, 1701-1800*, Oxford, 1978, 275.

in surviving manuscripts such as Lbl RM 27.a.1-15, during his apprenticeship under Playford.⁷³

Other stationers also had known dealings with individual composers, although these seem to have been primarily business relationships rather than the personal friendships maintained by John Playford. Henry Brome's connections with Christopher Simpson, and Humphrey Moseley's working relationship with Henry Lawes have already been mentioned. John Carr clearly had a long-term working relationship with Matthew Locke, which will be explored in depth in Chapter 4. Carr may have relied upon his son Robert, as a member of the Private Musick from 1683, as the principal source of music for his other music books. John Carr may himself have had some musical skill: he advertised his stock of musical instruments throughout his publishing career, and announced that he had followed Locke's directions in the proof-reading of *Tripla Concordia* (1677) (see Chapter 4).

Successful music publishing in England between 1651 and the 1680s was characterised by direct links between stationers, composers and their material. John Playford is a pivotal figure in music publishing in this respect, having had personal links with numerous professional musicians despite what we presume was printing without permission. This trait of the trade seems to have evolved in the later decades of the seventeenth century with a transition to printed editions essentially divorced from composers without the personal links between publishers and musical circles, and the increasing commerciality of print. Henry Playford clearly had working relationships with Henry Purcell and John Blow, but their assistance as editors for specific books (see Chapter 3) seems to suggest that they were commissioned by Playford as part of a business relationship rather than personal friendship. There are few references to personal ties between stationers and composers in England in the later Restoration period, implying a shift in the nature of their relationship. No evidence of John Walsh's connections with professional musicians is known before the eighteenth century. Instead, William Smith considers that, at least for the instrumental series *Theatre Music* (1698-1700), 'as Walsh's business was only a step or two away from Drury Lane Theatre he [Walsh] was probably well acquainted with the managers and thus able to acquire the

⁷³ Thompson, 'Manuscript Music in Purcell's London', 613.

right to publish the music used in various productions'.⁷⁴ David Hunter concurs that theatre personnel probably supplied sources in this early period of Walsh's career, but from 1715 'almost all scores were probably supplied to the publisher by the composer'.⁷⁵ The printer William Pearson appears to have tapped the music library of Thomas Britton for material to print as opposed to consulting composers: the Bodleian Library copy of *Mercurius Musicus* of July 1699 has a note signed by Pearson, 'July the 23d: 1706 Borrowen then of Mr Britain 22 Old Song-Books which I promise to Return upon demand'.⁷⁶ John May and John Hudgebut published *The Songs in the Indian Queen* (1695), clearly indicating the unauthorised printing of Purcell's songs by addressing a preface directly to the composer and stating that

*Having had the good Fortune to meet with the Score or Original Draught of your Incomparable Essay of Musick compos'd for the Play, call'd The Indian Queen [...] in regard that (the Press being now open) any one might print an imperfect Copy of these admirable Songs, or publish them in the nature of a Common Ballad, We were so much the more emboldned to make this Attempt, even without acquainting you with our Design; not doubting but your accustomed Candor and Generosity will induce you to pardon this Presumption: As for our parts, if you shall think fit to condescend so far, we shall always endeavour to approve our selves.*⁷⁷

The heightened commercial aspect of music printing of the late seventeenth century was coupled by a more general move from traditional patronage towards commercial forms of patronage, including subscription volumes, public concerts and the rise of the musical entrepreneur. The shift in relationships between stationers and musicians in England in the last two decades of the seventeenth century implies less of a link between printing and musical creativity. This in turn has a strong bearing on what may have happened to composers' creative strategies in relation to print in this later period.

Economics of the Trade

The financial implications of printing and publishing are a principal factor in the commercial operation in the music-publishing trade of seventeenth-century England, affecting the stationer's selection process of what to print. Evidence of printing costs,

⁷⁴ William C. Smith, *A Bibliography of the Musical Works Published by John Walsh during the years 1695-1720*, London, 1948, xxi.

⁷⁵ Hunter, 'The Publishing of Opera and Song Books in England, 1703-1726', 654-655.

⁷⁶ Price, 'The Small-Coal Cult', 1033.

⁷⁷ John May and John Hudgebut, *The Songs in the Indian Queen... By Mr. Henry Purcell*, London, 1695, 'The Publishers, to Mr. Henry Purcell'.

sizes of print-runs and the financial obligations of the music stationer can provide information concerning trade practices, as well as allowing a better understanding of the nature of printed music dissemination and the significance of repeat editions printed using moveable type. Documentary evidence is unfortunately scarce for English music-publishing practices during this period as nothing has survived concerning the music stationers' daily running of their businesses.⁷⁸ An account drafted by the printer William Pearson in 1699 during a legal dispute with Henry Playford is the only document providing evidence of the printing costs and sizes of print runs for letterpress music printing during this period.⁷⁹ From this account Day demonstrates that single print runs most usually consisted of 500 copies, but ranged between 300 and 2000 copies depending on the individual nature of the book. Both the second edition of Henry Playford's *A Collection of Original Scotch-Tunes* (1701) and the fourth edition of *The Second Book of the Pleasant Musical Companion* (1701) had print runs of 500 copies. The former print was apparently begun when half of the 1000 copies of the first edition, published a year earlier in 1700, had been sold.⁸⁰ This has some indication of the demand for this particular printed music book, as well as the publisher's practices concerning new editions: not only were new editions (as opposed to reprints) readily issued if there was sufficient demand, but it also indicates the publisher's confidence in the new edition's ability to sell so soon after the previous book had been published.

Day has drawn from Pearson's account that, after what appears to be a 14s. cost for the initial working of the press, printing prices were determined by the cost of sheets (rather than reams) and depended upon format, size and quality. As such the cost for the composition and make-up of the sheets was variable; for example, folio music books were typically 14s.-18s. per sheet for 300-750 copies, and quartos were 20s. per sheet for 500 copies.⁸¹ The nature of books printed using moveable type required publishers to be dependent on the printer as each new book or edition had to be newly set. Supplements were particularly popular with the Playford firm, and were appended to already-published editions – such as 'A new Additional Sheet to the Catch-Book' bound to the back of some copies of *The Second Book of the Pleasant Musical Companion* (1686) – and were probably also sold separately. This extra material provided new

⁷⁸ A small handful of receipts issued by John Playford as evidence of individual sales transactions are discussed in Chapters 1 and 3.

⁷⁹ The account is transcribed in full in Day, 'Playford *versus* Pearson', 430-431.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 435.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 443-444.

additions without the need to print an entirely new edition and removed the additional cost of printing another title page.⁸² The rise of engraving practices towards the end of the century resulted in a shift of dependence by the publisher on the printer to the combination of the activities of engraving, printing and publishing by a single individual. The ownership of the printing medium thus transferred to the publisher, and the nature of engraved plates gave him or her the ability to reprint as and when necessary. The printer-publisher thus retained ownership of their plates, removing the preliminary costs (and time) of setting the type, which was a fundamental process of letterpress printing. John Walsh began to use pewter plates around 1700 to reduce costs further, as well as using punches and the passe-partout technique of printing title pages.⁸³

Another significant cost for the publisher was the high cost of paper. Robert Thompson has demonstrated that the cost of paper fell to the publisher rather than to the printer,⁸⁴ and paper was clearly available in Playford's and Carr's shops, ruled up and sold as manuscript paper, as well as sent to the printer's shop.⁸⁵ The survival of a list of paper types sent to John Fell, Bishop of Oxford in 1674 provides confirmation of the high cost of paper in late seventeenth-century England.⁸⁶ Good-quality paper was essential for manuscript and printed music, and the paper types listed in the 1674 inventory correspond with music manuscripts from the 1660s, priced between 6s. 8d. and £1. 14s. per ream.⁸⁷

Printing and paper costs were not the only financial obligations of the publisher: advertising, shop rent and trade discounts to other booksellers were among the necessary outlay. Furthermore, little is known about the financial transactions with composers from this period. Some composers must have been commissioned for their involvement in the production of printed music: Blow and Purcell's editing responsibilities for Henry Playford have already been mentioned, and Figure 1 is a

⁸² *Ibid.*, 443.

⁸³ Hunter, 'The Printing of Opera and Song Books in England, 1703-1726', 328; Hardie, "'All Fairly Engraven'?: Punches in England, 1695 to 1706', 617-633. See also Michael Tilmouth, 'A Note on the Cost of Music Printing in London in 1702', *Brio*, viii (1971), 1-3; David Hunter, "'A Note on the Cost of Music Printing in London in 1702" Revisited', *Brio*, xxvi (1989), 71-72.

⁸⁴ Previously, printing charges were thought to have included the provision of paper by the printer. See Day, 'Playford *versus* Pearson', 442.

⁸⁵ Thompson, 'Manuscript Music in Purcell's London', 608.

⁸⁶ R. W. Chapman, 'An inventory of paper, 1674', *The Library*, 4th ser., vii (1927), 402-408.

⁸⁷ Thompson, 'Manuscript Music in Purcell's London', 610-611.

musical setting by Purcell of John Carr's preface to *Comes Amoris...The First Book* (1687), which is clearly produced for the printed book. On the other hand, Henry Lawes apparently authorized John Playford to publish transcriptions of his songs after his death (see Chapter 4), and the presentation copy of *Catch that Catch can* given to John Jackson may suggest another method of compensating composers' contributions. What is clear in this period characterised by a small customer base and music printing by moveable type is that costs were high and consequently must have had an impact on what stationers were willing to publish.

2.2 Composers as Publishers

A number of composers explored the avenues of music publishing in the second half of the seventeenth century, and are highlighted in Table 2.7. Chapter 4 looks in detail at the print careers of five case-study composers; this section provides an overview of the group of composers who self-published their works in England between 1650 and 1700. Self publishing provided an outlet for composers to disseminate their works in print in single-authored volumes, printed 'for the Author' and implying at least a partial financial outlay by the composer in the cost of the publication. It allowed composers to retain control over their collection's production in print and was immediately responsible for ensuring its accuracy. In this age prior to copyright laws, some composers took action to ensure that they retained control of the dissemination and any subsequent financial rewards of their interaction with print: Pietro Reggio sought an initial prohibition on reprinting his book of songs without his consent.⁸⁸ The initial financial expense however must have been large, including materials for printing, employment of a printer, advertising to announce the sale, and possibly a fee or commission to a bookseller for promoting the book in their shop. Many title pages list the composer's home as a venue for obtaining a copy of the book, but composers were still reliant upon the bookshop network for wider public exposure.

The development in engraving techniques towards the end of the century provided a print technology to composers that was much less alien to them than moveable type, as the engraved plate resembled to a certain extent a sheet of manuscript

⁸⁸ McKenzie, *A Chronology and Calendar of Documents Relating to the London Book Trade 1641-1700*, ii: 1671-1685, 268.

paper: as Krummel notes, ‘in engravings, the composer came to recognize a medium which offered the same kind of flexibility that he knew in his work with hand-written copies’.⁸⁹ Following the rhetorical traditions of prefaces in printed music books of this period,⁹⁰ in which allegations of piracy was a common marketing strategy, Robert King implied that he took charge of the printing of his first book of *Songs for One, Two and Three Voyces* ([1692]).

Having observ’d that most of my former Songs in the Common Printed Books about Town were not only imperfect but in a very bad Character, feareing least these should meet wth the same Fate I was willing to publish them my self in Regard to those perticular Lovers of Musick for whom I design’d them And that I may doe the Authors of ye words as well as my selfe the Right to have them Faire and Correct I have bin at ye Charge of Engraveing them on Copper.⁹¹

Engraving provided an opportunity for composers to cut out the ‘middleman’ – the stationer – and retain control of the printing process, allowing them to keep close attention to the preparation of the musical text, correcting and revising prior to printing. For example, Purcell apparently decided relatively late in the printing preparation of his *Sonnata’s of III Parts* (1683) to engrave the thorough-bass, according to the ghost writer of the preface:

There has been neither care, nor industry wanting, as well in contriving, as revising the whole Work; which had been abroad in the world much sooner, but that he has now thought fit to cause the whole Thorough Bass to be Engraven, which was a thing quite besides his first Resolutions.⁹²

Printing by engraved plates particularly encouraged the rise of the professional musical entrepreneur in the late seventeenth century with the development in cheaper engraving techniques using copper. In fact, Roger North encouraged composers to print using engraved plates by providing an example of engraved music (see Table 1.3). Some composers engraved plates in order to avoid some of the printing costs: Peter Holman has suggested that both Henry Bowman and Nicola Matteis are likely to have engraved their own plates.⁹³ Nicola Matteis in particular used engraving for single compositions, printing them individually for his students before collecting the sheets together into a

⁸⁹ Krummel, *English Music Printing, 1553-1700*, 157.

⁹⁰ Rose, ‘Publication and the Anxiety of Judgement’, 24-32.

⁹¹ Robert King, *Songs for One, Two and Three Voyces*, [London, 1692], ‘The Preface’. King uses the typical advertising ploy here of ensuring the accuracy and authority of the printed musical texts. This strategy is explored further in Chapter 3.

⁹² Henry Purcell, *Sonnata’s of III Parts*, London, 1683, ‘The Preface’.

⁹³ Peter Holman, ‘Bowman, Henry’, in Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell, eds., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians: Second Edition*, London, 2001, iv, 153; Herissone, ‘Playford, Purcell and the Functions of Music Publishing in Restoration England’, 263.

book for the public print market. This was the beginning of composers eventually regaining control over the commodification of their music in print in the eighteenth century.⁹⁴

Engraving was the dominant printing method of single-composer collections in the latter half of the seventeenth century, and only a handful of composers printed their music using moveable type. However, both types of self-published books were dependent upon forms of patronage. As Rebecca Herissone has recently demonstrated, almost all self-publications during this period contain a dedication to a member of the nobility in the traditional style of patronage characteristic of music publishing in the early decades of the century. In conjunction with this form of patronage, subscription invitations were increasingly used: subscription became a common method of raising funds in advance in support of the volume and to gain an initial response of the popularity of the intended book before committing financially to its printing.⁹⁵ The rise in regular newspapers towards the end of the century provided a public medium through which to advertise subscription invitations and publication announcements (see Chapter 3).

Herissone highlights that music stationers appear to have been extremely reluctant to publish single-composer volumes from the late 1660s,⁹⁶ even though many of the self-publications are the types of repertoires and genres that stationers used for their anthologies, such as the domestic songs of Pietro Reggio and the instrumental music of Nicola Matteis.⁹⁷ Herissone concludes that there were more functions to self-publishing than simply commercial intentions during this period, and the function of a printed music publication as a monument was an important mode of self-publication. This function of music publishing first became commercially successful incidentally under the direction of the music stationer Henry Playford with *Orpheus Britannicus* (1698), a posthumous dedication to Henry Purcell (see Chapter 4).⁹⁸

⁹⁴ David Hunter, 'Music Copyright in Britain to 1800', *Music and Letters*, lxxvii (1986), 269–82.

⁹⁵ Herissone, 'Playford, Purcell and the Functions of Music Publishing in Restoration England', 261.

⁹⁶ In the 1650s John Playford published Henry Lawes's three books of *Ayres and Dialogues* (1653, 1655, 1658), Matthew Locke's *Little Consort* (1656), and reissued William Child's *Choise Musick to the Psalmes of David* twice (1650; 1656). This latter book was originally published as *The First Set of Psalmes of III Voyces* in 1639.

⁹⁷ Herissone, 'Playford, Purcell and the Functions of Music Publishing in Restoration England', 262.

⁹⁸ Lockett, 'The Playfords and the Purcells', 45-68.

2.3 Types of Printed Music-Books, 1650-1700

Of the 159 different titles of printed English music books examined as part of this study, over 70% appear to have been primarily conceived for the amateur musician, with prefaces addressed to the amateur public or pedagogical directions for the beginner. 28 known anthology series dominated the printed-music market between 1650 and 1700, and provided considerable amounts of printed vocal material and popular tunes for readily-available instruments. The following introduction to the extant printed music books divides the volumes into three principal categories, based on the make-up of the books: anthologies, single-composer collections and musical rudiments manuals. The dominance of anthologies (subsequently divided by genre below) during this period highlights a reliance upon the figure of the editor and compiler, and reflects the needs and motivations of both the producers and consumers. After all, anthologies are materials that particularly emphasize, in Susan Lewis Hammond's words, the 'overlapping and complex layers of reception, print and social histories'.⁹⁹ The category 'single-composer collections' brings together self-publications (discussed above), composer-authorised volumes and unauthorised prints to form an author-centred category of books that highlights the wide variety of genre, function and format, and ranging from edited extracts of large-scale works to collections of repertory to full scores. This group's principal difference from multi-composer anthologies is in the distinct dependence on the repertory, and subsequent reception of, a single composer's creative output. The third category introduces the principal music rudiments manuals printed in England during this period, which are discussed in detail in Rebecca Herissone's *Music Theory in Seventeenth-Century England*.¹⁰⁰ All three categories highlight the differences in genre, format, function and producer of the music books, all features that suggest the intended use of the volume and subsequently address questions concerning the ways texts were read and disseminated. Such an approach, which has been adopted by historians of the book since the 1950s,¹⁰¹ also considers the strategies that publishers employed to court their audience, which will be explored in Chapter 3. Each of the three categories includes a list of publication titles, the full details of which can be found in Appendix A.

⁹⁹ Hammond, *Editing Music in Early Modern Germany*, 4.

¹⁰⁰ Herissone, *Music Theory in Seventeenth-Century England*, 1-25.

¹⁰¹ Among others, Febvre, *The Coming of the Book : The Impact of Printing 1450-1800*; Roger Chartier, ed., *The Culture of Print: Power and the Uses of Print in Early Modern Europe*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane, Princeton, 1987.

Anthologies

The music anthology of early modern England comprised the following categories: secular vocal books, books of devotional songs, beginner instrumental lessons, other instrumental music and miscellanies. Secular vocal music was divided between two different types of books, and is subsequently divided as such in this analysis: accompanied songs – mostly solo but including some duets and choruses – in folio, and the unaccompanied songs – the majority of which were part-songs – in oblong format. Anthology series which spanned a number of years, either with the issuing of new books or editions, are indicated by their two outside years of production in the relevant tables.

Miscellanies

Following a reprint of William Child's psalms (1650) and Playford's first music publication, *The English Dancing Master* (1651), the stationer published the music miscellany *A Musicall Banquet* (1651) – see Table 2.1. This book comprised four sections: some 'Rules for Voice and Viol', 'Excellent new Lessons for the Lyra Viol', *Musica Harmonia*, and *Musick and Mirth*. Stacey Jocoy has recently drawn attention to Playford's preface of his *Court-Ayres* (1655) where the stationer referred to his resolution to enlarge all four sections of *A Musicall Banquet* into separate books, thus having used the initial publication in 1651 to assess the market appeal.¹⁰² The subsequent series were *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick*, *Musick's Recreation*, *Court-Ayres*, and *Catch that Catch can* (discussed below).

Accompanied-Song Books

John Playford's two accompanied-song anthology series, *Select Musicall Ayres and Dialogues* (later *Select Ayres and Dialogues*), and *Choice Ayres, Songs and Dialogues* provided a range of secular vocal repertory by different composers and originally composed for a variety of contexts, printed for the amateur print market between the 1650s and the mid

¹⁰² Jocoy Houck, 'Decoding Musical Resistance: English Vocal Music in the Service of the King, 1625-1660', 409-410.

Table 2.1 Printed Music Miscellanies, 1650-1700

Date	Short Title	Principal Publisher
1651	<i>A Muscicall Banquet</i>	John Playford

1680s. Both series were laid out in small folio size, which was originally used for English lute books and ‘many Italian monody books around 1620’.¹⁰³ Krummel states that ‘this format was used mainly for appearance and secondarily for use’.¹⁰⁴ The books in each series shared paratextual material with distinguishable title-page formatting and iconography, and prefaces addressed to the reader that related to previous books in the series. The typical contents of these books consisted of solo songs and duets, and the earlier series contained a separate section for three voices, either to be sung solo or as an ensemble. The notational format was voice or voices accompanied by a single bass line, implying that an individual would accompany themselves, either on theorbo, bass viol or harpsichord, as outlined on the title pages.¹⁰⁵ On the title pages of the later series, *Choice Ayres, Songs and Dialogues*, special mention was made concerning the original, fashionable performance contexts of the contents: ‘songs sung at Court, and at the Publick Theatres’. This was an early indication of the popularity for excerpts from the theatre, which was to dominate such vocal anthologies from the mid 1680s onwards.¹⁰⁶ This was exemplified by Thomas D’Urfey’s *The Fool Turn’d Critick* published in 1678, which was the ‘first English play to be published with musical accompaniments to its songs incorporated into the text’.¹⁰⁷

The last couple of decades of the seventeenth century saw a distinct rise in single volumes and short-lived series of song book anthologies, coupled with an increase in competition in the trade, as seen in Table 2.2. These series offered the latest music from the court and public theatre for performance in the home of the amateur, and the contents of the books testified to this: these theatre-song anthologies contained an average of 30 or fewer songs per book compared to around 100 songs in John

¹⁰³ Krummel, *English Music Printing, 1553-1700*, 122.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 122. Folio editions of literary works became popular in England in the late sixteenth century. Gibson, “‘How hard an Enterprise it is’”: Authorial Self-Fashioning in John Dowland’s Printed Books’, 50.

¹⁰⁵ The first reference to a harpsichord on the title pages of John Playford’s folio anthologies is in *The Second Book of Ayres* (1652).

¹⁰⁶ Day, ‘English Song-Books, 1651-1702, and their Publishers’, 370.

¹⁰⁷ Jonathan Pritchard, ‘D’Urfey, Thomas (1653?-1723)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8313> (Last Accessed 12 May 2010).

Table 2.2 Printed Accompanied-Song Anthologies, 1650-1700

Date	Short Title	Principal Publisher
1652-1669	<i>Select Muscicall Ayres and Dialogues</i>	John Playford
1673-1684	<i>Choice Ayres, Songs and Dialogues</i>	John Playford
1679	<i>Scelta di canzonette italiane</i>	Anne Godbid & John Playford (junior)
1684-1685	<i>Choice New Songs...Written by Tho. D'Urfey</i>	Joseph Hindmarsh
1685-1687	<i>Theater of Music</i>	Henry Playford
1687	<i>Quadratum Musicum</i>	John Clark
1687-1694	<i>Comes Amoris</i>	John Carr and Samuel Scott
1687-1691	<i>Vinculum Societatis</i>	John Carr and Samuel Scott
1688-1692	<i>The Banquet of Musick</i>	Henry Playford
1692	<i>Philomela</i>	Thomas Cross
1693-1696	<i>Thesaurus Musicus</i>	John Hudgebut
1694-1696	<i>The Songs to the New Play of Don Quixote...Written by Mr. D'urfey</i>	Samuel Briscoe
1695	<i>The Treasury of Musick</i>	Henry Playford
1695-1696	<i>Deliciae Musicae</i>	Henry Playford
c. 1695	<i>Joyful Cuckoldom</i>	Henry Playford
c. 1696	<i>A Collection of Songs set to Musick by Mr. Henry Purcell and Mr. John Eccles</i>	Thomas Cross
1697	<i>Single Songs, and Dialogues, in the Musical Play of Mars & Venus</i>	Gottfried Finger and John Eccles
1698	<i>The Álamode Musician</i>	[Henry Playford]
1699	<i>Musica Oxoniensis</i>	Francis Smith and Peter de Walpergen
1699	<i>Twelve New Songs</i>	William Pearson
1699	<i>Songs in the New Opera... Call'd the Island Princess</i>	John Walsh

Playford's earlier anthologies. Henry Playford's *Theater of Music* was followed by *The Banquet of Musick* and then *Deliciae Musicae*, and the contents of all three series were described as new songs 'sung at court and at Publick Theatres', and composed by the 'greatest Masters' or later, 'by several of the best Masters'. The contents diminished with each series, from a typical 50 songs to 10 in the last series. Set out as John Playford's earlier anthologies with voice and single bass line, these later series also included optional instrumental parts. The contents of *The Banquet of Musick* and *Deliciae Musicae* were both advertised as having songs 'being most of them within the compass of the flute'. Such instrumental parts offered the possibility for song tunes to be played on an instrument – such as the recorder or violin – probably as an alternative to singing. Henry Playford's later engraved song collection, *The Álamode Musician* (1698), stated on the title-page: 'for the easier playing ye Trebles upon the Flute, each Song is transpos'd

(where necessary) to a Key proper for that Instrument'.¹⁰⁸ These parts also appeared in John Carr's series, *Comes Amoris* and *Vinculum Societatis*, and John Hudgebut in his *Thesaurus Musicus* provided the 'Newest Songs At Their Majesties Theatres; and at the Consorts in Viller-Street in York-Buildings, and in Charles-Street Covent-Garden... to which is annexed A Collection of Aires, Composed for two flutes, by several Masters'. These later books provide details of theatre productions, original singers and venues, suggesting that these were important pieces of information to the customer (see Chapter 3). Prefaces addressed to the reader are printed in the first book of each series only, an indication that the stationer expected their readers to buy all the books in a given series.

This movement towards songs from the newest productions and public concerts (which were public performance occasions that provided a wealth of new musical texts ready for popular dissemination) can also be seen in the one-off song anthologies listed in Table 2.2, as well as an increase in the publication of songs from a single theatre production in the 1690s with such collections as *Single Songs, and Dialogues, in the Musical Play of Mars & Venus* by Eccles and Finger, and particularly those by Daniel Purcell (see below). The nature of the contents of folio song anthologies of the latter half of the seventeenth century was subsequently subject to change and development according to popular taste. The printed song-book was not a static embodiment of vocal material. While some features remained constant – editorial practices, prefaces addressed to the reader, providing the most current fashionable songs – the folio anthology was an evolving form catering to its market, with the introduction of figured bass figuring and optional instrumental parts reflecting new market directions. Throughout the second half of the century, however, the core principle of the folio song anthologies remained constant, that of providing the latest secular vocal repertory by contemporary composers for amateur performance in a domestic setting.

Unaccompanied-Song Books

The Playfords' catch anthology, *Catch that Catch can*, later named *The Musial Companion* and then *The Pleasant Musical Companion* went through sixteen known editions by 1700. It

¹⁰⁸ Henry Playford, *The Alamode Musician*, London, 1698, Title page.

Table 2.3 Printed Unaccompanied-Song Anthologies, 1650-1700

Date	Short Title	Principal Publisher
1652-[1698]	<i>Catch that Catch can</i>	John Playford and Henry Playford
1660	<i>Cheerfull Ayres or Ballads</i>	Ric. Davis
1669-1700	<i>Wit and Mirth</i>	Henry Playford
1683	<i>A New Collection of Songs & Poems</i>	Joseph Hindmarsh
1685	<i>Newest Collection of Choicest Songs</i>	D. Brown & T. Benskin
1687	<i>A Collection of the Choy[est] & Newest Songs</i>	John Crouch

single-handedly catered for the printed catch anthology market in the second half of the seventeenth century. The nearest rival publications were the chapbook miscellanies containing songs, poems and catches, many of which did not contain musical notation until the incorporation of some staff notation towards the end of the century.¹⁰⁹ These later chapbooks include Henry Playford's *Wit and Mirth*, a series which had previously been published by the Playfords as part of their non-music published items (see Table 2.3). One other music anthology published during the second half of the seventeenth century was John Wilson's three partbooks *Cheerfull Ayres or Ballads*, which was published in 1660 and printed in Oxford. The preface proclaimed that the partbooks were 'the first Essay (for ought we understand) of printing Musick that ever was in Oxford',¹¹⁰ and the publication was clearly an experiment – the errata lists are extremely large – rather than functioning primarily as a commercial product.

The earliest publication of catches appeared in Playford's *A Musicall Banquet* (1651) under the section 'Musica Harmonia' and this collection of catches was the first to be printed since Thomas Ravenscroft's three anthologies (1609-1611).¹¹¹ The first edition of *Catch that Catch can* appeared in 1652, compiled by John Hilton for the 'Mutuall Society of Friends in a Modest Recreation' and dedicated to Robert Coleman, 'a true Lover of Musick'.¹¹²

¹⁰⁹ For a survey of these printed miscellanies in England during this period see Adam Smyth, *"Profit and Delight": Printed Miscellanies in England, 1640-1682*, Detroit, 2004.

¹¹⁰ John Wilson, *Cheerfull Ayres or Ballads*, Oxford, 1660, 'The Preface', sig. [A1].

¹¹¹ *Pammelia* (1609), *Deuteromelia* (1609), *Melismata* (1611).

¹¹² John Hilton, *Catch that Catch can*, London, 1652, published by John Benson and John Playford, sig. A2.

The anthology comprised catches and rounds, with a separate smaller section of sacred hymns and canons.¹¹³ The second edition appeared in 1658, corrected and enlarged by John Playford. The contents grew from 140 or so to around 230 songs by 1667, when a further section of dialogues, glees, ayres and ballads was added. Hilton's sexto edition became oblong octavo in 1658 under Playford and grew again to oblong quarto by 1667.¹¹⁴ These early editions shared certain characteristics including paratextual materials and the emblem on the title page stating 'Lætificat cor musica' ('music makes the heart joyful'), which had also appeared on Robert Dowland's *A Musically Banquet* (1610) and Playford's own *A Musically Banquet* (1651). The 1667 edition is worth noting for its dedication to Playford's 'endeared Friends of the late Musick-Society and Meeting, in the Old-Jury, London' (see Chapter 1). The 1673 edition saw a change of title to *The Musical Companion*, Playford himself acknowledging in the opening of his preface to 'To all Ingenuous Lovers of Musick' that

*The former Impression of this Book finding so general acceptance, hath encouraged me to adventure another Edition; in which I have made it my care not only to amend some defects which were in the last, but indeed almost to new Model the whole: First, by selecting out of it only such Songs as were most approved of, and by adding a considerable number which were not Printed in that Book. Secondly, by placing all for Two Voyces together; next, those for Three; and lastly, those for Four. And thirdly, Printing the several Parts in such a Method as all may Sing by one Book, Lastly, the Songs for Two, Three and Four Parts are all Printed in the G sol re ut Cliff, for the more convenient Singing either by Boys or Men.*¹¹⁵

The edition includes commendatory poems in praise of Playford and his new edition by Charles Pigeon, Matthew Locke and Thomas Jordan. A short brief for 'some songsters who are not well acquainted with the Nature and Manner of Singing Catches' was also included. As the 1673 preface demonstrates, the series was primarily intended for male-centred singing groups as the basis of the repertory of music meetings. According to Roger North, this was certainly the case for at least one group of amateurs (see Chapter 1). Mary Chan has demonstrated that Playford's anthologies were in fact based on the repertoires of music meetings held in the 1640s and 1650s among professional musicians and musically-educated amateurs,¹¹⁶ and Playford's *Catch that Catch can* series

¹¹³ Of 102 pieces in John Hilton's manuscript, Lbl Add. MS 11608, only 14 were printed in the 140-piece 1652 edition, indicating that this manuscript was not a principal source for Hilton's compilation in preparation for print.

¹¹⁴ The use of oblong format for printed music books dates back to Petrucci. Donald W. Krummel, 'Oblong Format in Early Music Books', *The Library*, 5th ser., xxvi (1971), 312-324.

¹¹⁵ John Playford, *The Musical Companion*, London, 1673, sig. A2.

¹¹⁶ Chan, 'A Mid Seventeenth-Century Music Meeting and Playford's Publishing', 242-244.

suggests a market demand to emulate the popular repertory of such musical gatherings.¹¹⁷

The 1685 edition saw an attempt to print the newly titled, *Catch that Catch can: Or, The Second Part of the Musical Companion*, in upright folio in imitation of the accompanied-song anthologies. However, the following edition, entitled, *The Second Book of the Pleasant Musical Companion*, saw a return to the oblong quarto size, and in the preface to this 1686 edition, Playford acknowledged his mistake:

a small Impression was Printed and Published above two Years since, of which I have a considerable Number yet remaining, it being not so compleat and well done to my mind as I could have wish'd afterwards, and being not printed in a Volume to joyn with the First Book.¹¹⁸

Playford's move back to oblong format for his unaccompanied-song anthology was clearly for the convenience of binding the 1686 edition with others of the same series, but may also suggest that size and format were important aspects of a printed book series.

Devotional Song Books

Few books dedicated to sacred music, beyond the many editions of psalm settings, were published in seventeenth-century England (see Table 2.4). None of the three single-composer collections by Porter (1657), Wilson (1657) and Tomkins (1668) were published by the Playfords (see Table 2.7), who published five books of devotional song anthologies between 1650 and 1700 as well as part-song settings of psalms. Playford attempted to reform psalm-singing by issuing *Psalms & Hymns in Solemn Musick of Foure Parts* (1671). As Nicholas Temperley has explained, Playford's books comprised 'harmonised settings of all well-known tunes; designed primarily for male voices though adaptable for mixed singing'.¹¹⁹ Playford attempted to appeal to a broad audience, including parish clerks and the domestic market but primarily parish churches, and in 1677 he admitted that the publication had received criticism, as it

¹¹⁷ As Chan notes, the catches were just one part of the repertory of Hilton's music meeting as the manuscripts demonstrate. Chan, 'John Hilton's Manuscript British Library Add. MS 11608', *Music & Letters*, vi (1979), 445. See also Brian Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture in Eighteenth-Century England*, Woodbridge, 2006, 10-11.

¹¹⁸ John Playford, *The Second Book of the Pleasant Musical Companion*, London, 1686, 'Preface'.

¹¹⁹ Temperley, 'Playford and the Metrical Psalms', 357.

Table 2.4 Printed Devotional Song Book Anthologies, 1650-1700

Date	Short Title	Principal Publisher
1662-1674	<i>Cantica Sacra</i>	John Playford
1671	<i>Psalms & Hymns in Solemn Musick</i>	John Playford
1677	<i>The Whole Book of Psalms</i>	John Playford
1688-1693	<i>Harmonia Sacra</i>	Henry Playford
1695	<i>Three Elegies</i>	Henry Playford
1700	<i>Two Divine Hymns</i>	Henry Playford
1700	<i>The Divine Companion</i> (lost) ¹²⁰	Henry Playford

was received with good acceptance among many true Lovers of Divine Musick: ... the only exception that ever I heard against it, was that the largeness of the Volume, and the not having the *Psalms* in their order, made it not so useful to carry to Church.¹²¹

Playford abandoned the domestic market for his subsequent book, *The Whole Book of Psalms in Three Parts* (1677), which catered for church congregational use.

John Playford's *Cantica Sacra* series comprised two books: the first, dedicated by the stationer to Queen Henrietta Maria and published in 1662, is a single-composer posthumous collection of Richard Dering's Latin sacred vocal music in four part books. Jonathan Wainwright has recently highlighted Playford's importance in the dissemination of Dering's motets for the domestic devotional market. Not only did the printed collections of 1662 and 1674, printed after the Restoration, appeal to the printed music market of 'modern-style, small-scale Italianate music... composed by an Englishman',¹²² but a number of surviving manuscript sources suggest manuscript publication of a selection of Dering's motets in the 1650s, providing music for the musically-educated amateur. Playford's own personal interests as a Roman Catholic and a Royalist undoubtedly influenced the stationer's promotion of Dering's works, which also comprised a significant proportion of the repertory of Royalist circles in the 1640s.¹²³

The second book of *Cantica Sacra* (1674) was dedicated to Charles II and comprised both Latin and English songs by, among others, Benjamin Rogers,

¹²⁰ Tilmouth, 'A Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers published in London and the Provinces, 1660-1719', i, 36.

¹²¹ John Playford, *The Whole Book of Psalmes*, 1677, Preface. Quoted in Temperley, 'Playford and the Metrical Psalmes', 358.

¹²² Wainwright, 'Richard Dering's Few-Voice "Concertato" Motets', 187. See also, Jonathan P. Wainwright, ed., *Richard Dering: Motets for One, Two or Three Voices and Basso Continuo*, Musica Britannica, lxxxvii, London, 2008.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 185.

Christopher Gibbons, Matthew Locke, and attributed to Dering.¹²⁴ In the preface Playford states that he had

(to the best of my skill) contriv'd it both for publick and private use, as will appear not only by the Fewness of Parts, but the CANTUS Parts are all Printed in the *G sol re ut* Cliffe, and may properly be Sung by Men as well as Boyes or Weomen (to avoid the late Complaint against our use of so many various Cliffs.) And the English Anthems have often been Sung in severall Cathedral Churches and Colledge Chappels where there are two eminent Voices.¹²⁵

Henry Playford's *Harmonia Sacra* series, comprising two books of around 20 songs published in 1688 and 1693 and the supplement *Two Divine Hymns* (1700), depicts the style and layout of the folio accompanied-song anthologies as opposed to John Playford's sacred part books, coupled with the typically general statement on the title page, 'Composed by the Best Masters of the last and Present Age'. Both books contain dedications to men of publicly religious standing with strong musical skill, the first to Thomas Ken, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, the second to Henry Aldrich, Dean of Christ Church and Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University.¹²⁶ Henry Playford invited subscriptions for both volumes prior to their production, suggesting that the stationer was not confident of the commercial viability of the series.

These devotional songs were probably sung alongside secular songs in informal music gatherings. Thomas Mace and Roger North both referred to the performance of domestic sacred music, which Alan Howard has described as having been 'performed by small groups of educated amateurs together with professional musicians apparently without an audience'.¹²⁷ Devotional songs sit alongside secular songs in many contemporary manuscripts: Mr MS 1407 (the 'Tabley House Song Book'), for example, contains a reading of Matthew Locke's 'Then from a Whirlwind' among the manuscript contents of the book, which mostly comprise secular songs by Henry Lawes. John Playford's preface to *Cantica Sacra... The Second Sett* (1674) proposes the performance 'by Men as well as Boyes or Weomen', and the similar format and layout of Henry

¹²⁴ In the preface, Playford notes that 'those at the beginning...are much of Mr. Dering's Way, yet by some believed not to be his'. John Playford, *Cantica Sacra... The Second Sett*, London, 1674, 'To all judicious Lovers and Understanders of Musick', sig. [Av].

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 'To all judicious Lovers and Understanders of Musick', sig. [Av].

¹²⁶ William Marshall, 'Ken, Thomas', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15342> (Last Accessed 02 November 2010); Stuart Handley, 'Aldrich, Henry', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/314> (Last Accessed 02 November 2010).

¹²⁷ Alan Howard, 'Composition as an Act of Performance: Artifice and Expression in Purcell's Sacred Partsong *Since God so tender a regard*', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, cxxxiii (2007), 37-38.

Playford's *Harmonia Sacra* with the secular vocal Playford anthologies – in folio, with a treble clef in the voice part and accompanied by a single instrumental bass line – suggests that these books were intended to appeal to both male or female amateurs for domestic performance.

Instrumental Beginner Lessons

Instrumental tutor books designed for the beginner amateur musician were clearly recognized by publishers as financially-beneficial investments, responding to the demands of cultural fashion despite the limited amount of results possible by musically-unedicated amateurs without the supervision of a teacher.¹²⁸ Most instrumental beginner books contained popular tunes for the most readily-available instruments, and provided rudimentary directions for self-instruction (see Table 2.5). John Playford supplied such books for lyra viol, cittern, gittern, harpsichord and violin. The first part of Playford's miscellany, *A Muscicall Banquet* contained *New Lessons for the Lyra Viol, set to severall New Tunings*. Recently argued as serving the aristocratic taste of viol and viol consort,¹²⁹ the printed lyra viol section and its later *Musick's Recreation on the Viol, Lyra-Way* series with 'New and Excellent Lessons....both easie and delightfull for all yong Practitioners' mostly consisted of dances, popular song tunes (without text), and instrumental works.¹³⁰ Similar in style to the lyra viol book, *A Booke of New Lessons for the Cithren and Gittern* (1652) and its later equivalent *Musick's Delight* (1666) contained 'New and Excellent Tunes' including dances and ballads found in the *Dancing Master* and *Musick's Recreation*. *Musicks Hand-maide* provided the first (engraved) publication of keyboard music since *Parthenia* (c. 1613), offering 'late Tunes and Dances set to the Virginals and are so composed that the Treble Violin may play the Tunes along with the Virginals, which will be a pleasant Consort' notably for 'the Delight of many young Ladies and Gentlewomen'. The first edition (1663) does not contain rudimentary instructions and neither does it state as much on the title page or preface, where

¹²⁸ Leppert, *Music and image: Domesticity, ideology and socio-cultural formation in eighteenth-century England*, 68.

¹²⁹ Jocoy Houck, 'Decoding Musical Resistance: English Vocal Music in the Service of the King, 1625-1660', 412.

¹³⁰ Alison Crum and Sonia Jackson, *Play the Viol: The Complete Guide to Playing the Treble, Tenor, and Bass Viol*, Oxford, 1989, 107.

Table 2.5 Printed Beginner Instrumental Lesson Books, 1650-1700

* = Lost Works

Date	Short Title	Principal Publisher	Instrument
1652	<i>A Booke of New Lessons for Cithren & Gittern</i>	John Benson and John Playford	cithren/gittern
1652	<i>The Lutes Apology, for Her Excellency</i>	Livewell Chapman	French lute
[1652]-1682	<i>Musick's Recreation on the Viol, Lyra-Way</i>	John Playford	lyra viol
pre-1657	<i>Directions for the Flagellet</i> ¹³¹	?Richard Pawlett	flageolet
1663-1689	<i>Musick's Handmaide</i>	John Playford and Henry Playford	virginals/harpsichord
1666	<i>Musick's Delight on the Cithren</i>	John Playford	cithren
c. 1669-1701	<i>Apollo's Banquet</i>	John Playford and Henry Playford	violin
1671	<i>Lessons for the basse-viol</i>	John Playford	bass viol
1667-1683	<i>The Pleasant Companion</i>	John Playford	flageolet
1673	<i>Melothesia</i>	John Carr	harpsichord/organ
1679	<i>A Vade Mecum</i>	John Hudgebut	recorder
1681	<i>The Most Pleasant Companion</i>	John Hudgebut	recorder
1683	<i>The Genteel Companion</i>	Richard Hunt and Humphrey Salter	recorder
c. 1681-1686	<i>The Delightful Companion</i>	John Playford and John Carr	recorder
pre-1690-1697	<i>Youth's Delight on the Flagelet</i>	John Clarke/ John Hare	flageolet
*1693	[<i>New Ayres Composed for the Flute</i>] ¹³²	Thomas Cross	recorder
1693-1694	<i>The Gentleman's Diversion</i>	[unknown]	violin
1695	<i>Nolens Volens</i>	Humphrey Salter, John Young and John Hare	violin
1695	<i>The Sprightly Companion</i>	Henry Playford	hautboy
1695-1697	<i>Complete Flute Master</i>	John Hare and John Walsh	recorder
1695-1700	<i>The Self Instructor on the Violin</i>	John Hare	violin
1695-1700	<i>The Compleat Instructor to the Flute</i>	[John Young]	recorder
*1695	[<i>The Innocent Recreation</i>] ¹³³	[J. Miller']	flageolet

¹³¹ Fragments survive only in the Bagford Collection, British Library. Frontispiece picture is identical with *The Pleasant Companion* (1682).

¹³² Tilmouth, 'A Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers published in London and the Provinces, 1660-1719', i, 13.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 16.

*1696	[<i>The Gentleman's Tutor to the Flute</i>] ¹³⁴	John Hudgebut	recorder
1697-1700	<i>The Harpsicord Master</i>	John Walsh and John Hare	spinet/harpsichord
*1698- *1699	[<i>A Collection of Ayers fitted for the... Mock Trumpet</i>] ¹³⁵	John Walsh	[clarinet]
1699	<i>The Compleat Tutor to the Violin</i>	John Young	violin
[1699]	<i>The Compleat Violist</i>	John Hare	viol
*1699	[<i>The Second Book of Military Musick, or the Art of Playing on the Hautboys improv'd</i>] ¹³⁶	John Hare	oboe
*1699	[<i>The Gentleman's Companion</i>] ¹³⁷	John Hare	recorder
*1699	[<i>Youth's Diversion</i>] ¹³⁸	John Young	flageolet
*1699- *1700	[<i>The New Flute Master</i>] ¹³⁹	John Walsh	recorder
1700	<i>A Choice Collection of Ayres for the Harpsichord or Spinet</i>	[John Young]	spinet/harpsichord

beginners are directed to a teacher:

as for the true Fingering and severall graces used in the playing on this Instrument, it cannot be set down in words, but is to be obtained by the help and Directions of the Skilfull Teachers, and the constant practice of the Learner, for it is the Practick part crowns the Work. And if these my first Endeavours of this kind prove useful and acceptable to any, it will encourage me hereafter to publish a second of this kind.¹⁴⁰

The lack of directions was evidently inadequate, the second edition appearing in 1678 with '*Instructions for the Learner on the Virginal or Harpsichord to Play by Book*', for

*Many of those that bought of the former Impressions of Musicks Hand-maid, were not well satisfied, (especially such who dwelt in the Country remote from an able Master) because she brought not with her some Rules and Directions for playing those Lessons contained therein... For the satisfaction of the aforesaid persons, and likewise for the ease of such Teachers, who account it too much pains to write down all that is necessary for their Scholars, I have in this new Edition adventured to publish the following Instructions.*¹⁴¹

Between these two editions beginners could refer to *Melothesia: Or, Certain General Rules for Playing upon a Continued-Bass* reviewed by Matthew Locke and published in 1673,

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 18.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 28; Thurston Dart, 'The Mock Trumpet', *The Galpin Society Journal*, vi (1953), 35-40.

¹³⁶ Tilmouth, 'A Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers published in London and the Provinces, 1660-1719', i, 28.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 26.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 29.

¹³⁹ Smith, *A Bibliography of the Musical Works Published by John Walsh during the Years 1695-1720*, 8.

¹⁴⁰ John Playford, *Musicks Hand-maide*, London, 1663, 'To all Lovers of Musick'.

¹⁴¹ John Playford, *Musicks Hand-maid*, London, 1678, 'The Preface', sig. A2.

which included ‘General Rules for Playing on a Continued Bass’. Playford’s earlier announcement to his customers to find adequate supervised instruction was clearly an oversight by the stationer and this was readily amended in the second edition. Private lessons for less musically-educated amateurs were a further cost, and self-instruction through the use of printed directions was undoubtedly an economic issue for many amateurs.¹⁴² *The Second Part of Musick’s Hand-maid* appeared in 1689 in order to supplement the previous editions with new tunes, ‘the *Theorick* having been... sufficiently directed in the former’.¹⁴³

Apollo’s Banquet offered ‘New Tunes, Ayres, [and] Jiggs’ for the violinist, ‘this Choice Banquet (being first Collected by Mr. John Playford)’.¹⁴⁴ The violin in particular rose in popularity after the Restoration, helped by the establishment of the Twenty-Four Violins at Charles II’s court and their subsequent performance in the Privy Chamber, Chapel Royal and public theatres.¹⁴⁵ Anthony Wood’s visits to William Ellis’s weekly meetings in Oxford clearly demonstrate the rising popularity of the violin, influenced by the visits of the professional violinists, Davis Mell and Thomas Baltzar: in 1656 Wood listed eighteen amateurs and professionals playing viols, lute and keyboard at the meeting, remarking that ‘viols began to be out of fashion and only violins used, as treble violin, tenor and bass violin’, and at another meeting in March 1659, five out of the seventeen amateurs listed played the violin.¹⁴⁶ Peter Holman highlights that John Playford began to include ‘Instructions for the Treble Violin’ in *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick* from 1658, and later editions included tunes in tablature and staff notation, and instructions on ornamentation.¹⁴⁷ By the 1690 edition of *Apollo’s Banquet*, Henry Playford was attempting to cast a wider net of customers advertising that the contents ‘may properly be played also on the Flagelet, by such as are skill’d in the knowledge of pricking Tunes by Notes’, and in 1691 its contents were ‘within the Compass of the Flute and Flagelet’. However, anthologies of popular tunes for the violin continued to be published at the turn of the century (see below).

¹⁴² Leppert, *Music and Image: Domesticity, Ideology and Socio-Cultural Formation in Eighteenth-Century England*, 68.

¹⁴³ Henry Playford, *The Second Part of Musick’s Hand-maid*, London, 1689, ‘To the Reader’

¹⁴⁴ Henry Playford, *Apollo’s Banquet... The sixth edition*, London, 1690, ‘To all Ingenious Lovers and Practitioners of Musick’, sig. A2.

¹⁴⁵ Peter Holman, ‘London: Commonwealth and Restoration’, in Curtis Price, ed., *The Early Baroque Era*, London, 1993, 313. See also Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court 1540-1690*.

¹⁴⁶ Cited in Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court 1540-1700*, 268.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 268.

Playford also published Thomas Greeting's book for the flageolet. The flageolet was particularly useful as 'an instrument of limited resources',¹⁴⁸ suitable for the novice with its music written in a method of dot tablature indicating finger positions. The flageolet player was well served by Greeting's *The Pleasant Companion* probably from as early as the mid 1660s,¹⁴⁹ and went through at least seven editions. Another flageolet tutor, *Directions for the flagellet*, for which only fragments have survived, appeared around 1657 attributed to a gentleman, Thomas Swain, and sold by the political pamphleteer Robert Pawlett.¹⁵⁰ Greeting's *Pleasant Companion* series consisted of popular tunes, dances and theatre tunes, and the directions for holding and playing the instrument begins with the statement, 'The Flagelet is an instrument that may very fitly be termed *A Pleasant Companion*, for it may be carried in the pocket'.¹⁵¹ Publications for the recorder flourished after John Banister's 1681 *The Most Pleasant Companion; or, Choice New Lessons for the Recorder or Flute*, which evidently intended to rival Greeting's series. John Hudgebut had already produced an instruction book, *A Vade Mecum for the Lovers of Musick, Shewing the Excellency of the Rechorder* (1679) and was followed by Salter's *Genteel Companion* (1683), Carr's *The Delightful Companion* (1686), and John Young's *The Compleat Flute-Master* (1695) into the early eighteenth century. These books consisted of popular tunes in the same dot notation as the flageolet books. Salter's *Genteel Companion* is worth noting for its mixture of dot tablature and staff notation. In the preface, Salter explained that he had 'Carefully Composed and Gathered' the contents and that 'for the advantage of Beginners, that have not the help of a Master to Instruct them, I have placed in the beginning some easy Tunes with Dots under the Violin Notes, by which means they may confirm themselves in the manner of Playing every note'.¹⁵² Robert Carr's *Delightful Companion* similarly combined the two types of notation for the first few pieces before giving way to staff notation. Recorder duets were also catered for in Hudgebut's *Thesaurus Musicus* series (1693-95) of theatre and concert songs, in staff notation, and recorder ensembles were accommodated in books such as Carr's *The Delightful Companion*.

¹⁴⁸ Richard Lockett, 'Music', in Robert Latham and W. Matthews, eds., *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, x: *Companion*, London, 1983, 273.

¹⁴⁹ Godman, 'Greeting's "Pleasant Companion for the Flagelet"', 20-26.

¹⁵⁰ Lbl Harley MS 5936, f. 131. See A. Hyatt King, 'Fragments of Early Printed Music in the Bagford Collection', *Music & Letters*, xl (1959), 272.

¹⁵¹ Thomas Greeting, *The Pleasant Companion*, London, 1675, 'Directions for Playing on the Flagelet', sig. A2.

¹⁵² Humphrey Salter, *The Genteel Companion*, London, 1683, 'To all Ingenious Lovers of MUSICK'.

John Playford also sold John Moss's *Lessons for the basse-viol* (1671). Moss replaced John Jenkins in the King's Private Musick in 1678.¹⁵³ The *Lessons* were printed 'for the Author' and consisted of 104 pieces in tablature and arranged to take the player through 'all [the] Keys usually play'd on in the scale'. Dedicated to his father, Moss presented the book with an address to his scholars, 'this way to ease myself of so many tedious Transcripts'.¹⁵⁴ The implication that this book was primarily intended for pupils follows a pattern begun with Playford's publication of Locke's *Little Consort* and culminating in the engraved teaching pieces by Nicola Matteis and others in the 1670s.

A few other beginner instrumental books were published contemporary with, but separate to, Playford's tutor book ventures. Playford never produced a printed volume dedicated to solo lute music, probably because of the failure of Richard Mathew's *The Lutes Apology for her Excellency* (1652), despite Mathew borrowing many of the popular tunes used by Playford in other anthologies.¹⁵⁵ Thomas Mace's *Musick's Monument* (1676) was later published with advocacy of the instrument and in a spirit of reaction against contemporary trends of its unpopularity. Playford also failed to produce a printed volume dedicated to the five-course guitar, which saw an upsurge in interest at the Restoration.¹⁵⁶ The fashion for the guitar owed much to the Italian guitar virtuoso Francesco Corbetta, who visited England sometime after 1660.¹⁵⁷ His *Easie Lessons on the Guittar* was published in the 1670s, but is now lost, which was followed in 1682 by Nicola Matteis's continuo treatise for the guitar, *The False Consonances of Musick*.

Later in the century, successors of Playford's publishing ventures issued similar collections for harpsichord, violin, recorder/flute and hautboy. These continued to be pitched as manuals for self-instruction and with the 'newest lessons with easier directions'.¹⁵⁸ The later keyboard anthologies, *The Harpsichord Master* (1697) and *The Second Book of the Harpsichord Master* (1700), included 'Rules for Graces'. This was duplicated along with an introduction in the 1699 edition of Henry Purcell's posthumous keyboard collection *A Choice Collection of Lessons for the Harpsichord or Spinnet* (1696).¹⁵⁹

¹⁵³ Michael Tilmouth and Andrew Ashbee, 'Moss, John', in Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell, eds., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians: Second Edition*, London, 2001, xvii, 185.

¹⁵⁴ John Moss, *Lessons for the basse-viol*, London, 1671, 'To his Present and Quondam Scholars'.

¹⁵⁵ Matthew Spring, *The Lute in Britain: A History of the Instrument and its Music*, Oxford, 2001, 343.

¹⁵⁶ James Tyler, *The Early Guitar: A History and Handbook*, London, 1980, 44-5.

¹⁵⁷ Spring, *The Lute in Britain*, 413.

¹⁵⁸ Anon., *Youth's Delight*, London, 1690, Title page.

¹⁵⁹ Herissone, *Music Theory in Seventeenth-Century England*, 22-24.

Other Instrumental Anthologies

The third section of Playford's 1651 *A Muscicall Banquet, Musica Harmonia*, was enlarged into its own publication in 1655 entitled *Court-Ayres*, and later followed by *Courtly Masquing Ayres* (1662). The books, comprising treble and bass part books, provided capable amateurs with a significant amount of repertory by former Stuart court composers for consort performance. These books were not intended for the self-instruction of beginner amateurs as those discussed earlier, but appear to have been aimed at providing popular dance tunes to the informal, instrumental music amateur gatherings. The title pages of both publications highlight the flexibility of performing forces, similar to the printed books of the late sixteenth century: *Court-Ayres* was intended 'for Viols or Violins. Which may be performed in Consort to the Theorbo Lute, or Virginals' and *Courtly Masquing Ayres* was for 'Viols or Violins'. A further consort music book was published in 1677 by John Carr. *Tripla Concordia* presented a collection of 'new airs' in three part books for treble and bass violins, apparently offered to the stationer for free by the composers.¹⁶⁰ These consort music books were further supplemented by single-composer collections including a reprint of Michael East's *Fantazies of Two, Three and Four Parts, for Viols* issued by Playford around 1655 (see Table 2.6). Another reprint of an early seventeenth-century publication was the keyboard anthology, *Parthenia*, which appears to have been reissued at least three times in the 1650s.

Playford's *Dancing Master* was published numerous times from 1651 and continued well into the eighteenth century, providing a dance manual. From the second edition in 1652, title pages named the treble violin as the preferred instrument, although the title-page picture kept the image of a cupid playing the theorbo until the seventh edition of 1686 when the picture was changed to show more fashionable costume and a violin. The 1690s saw a number of violin music anthologies published, including John Walsh's *Theater Musick* (the second and third books of which included directions to 'attain to a Perfection in Musick') and Henry Playford's *A Collection of Original Scotch Tunes* (1700).

¹⁶⁰ John Carr, *Tripla Concordia*, London, 1677, 'To the Lovers of Musick'.

Table 2.6 Printed Instrumental Music Anthologies, 1650-1700

Date	Short Title	Principal Publisher
1651-1698	<i>The Dancing Master</i>	John Playford and Henry Playford
1651-1659	<i>Parthenia, or the maiden-head</i>	[John Clarke]
1655	<i>Court-Ayres</i>	John Playford
1662	<i>Courtly Masquing Ayres</i>	John Playford
1677	<i>Tripla Concordia</i>	John Carr
1691	<i>A Collection of Musick in Two Parts</i>	John Banister
1692	<i>A Consort of Music in Three Parts; Composed By John Lenton & Tho. Tollett</i>	R. Brett
1698-1700	<i>Theater Musick Being A Collection of the newest Ayers for the Violin</i>	John Walsh
1699	<i>Country Dances</i>	Thomas Bray
1700	<i>A Collection of Original Scotch Tunes (Full of the Highland Humours) for the Violin</i>	Henry Playford
1700	<i>Six Sonatas or Solos... Compos'd by Mr Wm Crofts & an Italian Mr.</i>	John Walsh and John Hare

Single Composer Collections

Table 2.7 lists known single-composer collections published in England between 1650 and 1700, incorporating self-published works as well as collections published by music stationers and other publishers. The list comprises a variety of genres, formats and repertory, but it is clear from Table 2.7 that the largest single genre category is secular vocal music. Single-composer song collections were remarkably absent from music stationers' printed output until the 1690s: John Playford published three books of Henry Lawes's songs in the 1650s, and three further song books of John Gamble were also issued. It was not until William King's self-published *Poems of Mr Cowley and Others*, printed in Oxford, that single-composer song collections began to steadily appear. These seem to have followed the trends of the song anthologies outlined above, with edited collections of a single repertory designed for domestic amateur performance being joined by collections of songs from a single theatre production, beginning with Purcell's *Some Select Songs as they are Sung in the Fairy Queen* (1692). An increase in the production of single-composer song collections in the output of stationers in the 1690s undoubtedly reflects the development in cheaper engraving techniques. The printing liberties provided by engraved plates meant that individual songs could be printed and

sold as single sheets, collected together as a multi-composer anthology or formed into a single-composer collection of repertory, without the necessity of resetting type. This range of possible outputs of dissemination undoubtedly was attractive for both composers and publishers, and encouraged composers to print their teaching material: Matteis' and Diesineer's printing of vocal and instrumental pieces was intended for their scholars (see Chapter 3).

The single-composer collections are characterised by their inclusion of the compositional output of a single genre. Compilations of consort music, keyboard music and recorder duets are among the genres represented, and were all types of repertoires and genres that stationers used for their anthologies (see above). In contrast, a handful of full operatic and one-off performance scores were printed. Three operatic scores, all self-published, were issued in England in the second half of the seventeenth century. Along with Grabu's *Pastoralle*, these three publications – Locke's *The English Opera* (1675), Grabu's *Albion and Albanus* (1687), and Purcell's *The Vocal and Instrumental Musick of the Prophetess, Or The History of Dioclesian* (1691) – appear to have been produced without consideration of their practical use for the public print market, in imitation and emulation of Lully's opera publications in France.¹⁶¹ Rebecca Herissone has recently assessed the functions of these printed books, concluding that the printing of the operatic scores was a medium through which to make statements and to promote the reputation and posterity of the composer and their work.¹⁶² A handful of publications containing the music of a specific performance were also published during this period, notably two St Cecilia Day odes as *A Musical Entertainment* (1684) and *A Second Musical Entertainment* (1685), both of which were probably financially backed by the Musical Society. In addition, Purcell's *Te Deum and Jubilate* was published in two rival publications following the performance at the Festival of the Sons of the Clergy at St Paul's in 1697. These volumes undoubtedly served as commemorative publications marking the special event, rather than intended for performance use by the print market.

¹⁶¹ White, "'Studying a little of the *French Air*', 16; Curtis Price, *Henry Purcell and the London Stage*, Cambridge, 1984, 263.

¹⁶² Herissone, 'Playford, Purcell and the Functions of Music Publishing in Restoration England', 275.

Table 2.7 Printed Single-Composer Collections, 1650-1700

Date	Short Title	Composer	Principal Publisher	Place of Publication	Comments^a
1653	<i>Ayres and Dialogues</i>	Henry Lawes	John Playford	London	
1655	<i>The Second Book of Ayres and Dialogues</i>	Henry Lawes	John Playford	London	
[c.1655]	<i>Fantazies of Two, Three and Four Parts, for Viols</i>	Michael East	[John Playford]	London	Reprint of <i>The Seventh Set of Bookes</i> (1638). Engraved.
1656	<i>Ayres and Dialogues</i>	John Gamble	John Gamble	London	Self publication.
1656	<i>Little Consort of Three Parts</i>	Matthew Locke	John Playford	London	
1657	<i>Mottets of Two Voyces</i>	Walter Porter	Walter Porter	London	Self publication.
1657	<i>Psalterium Carolinum</i>	John Wilson	John Martin & James Allestry	London	
1657	<i>Ayres and Dialogues</i>	John Gamble	Humphrey Moseley	London	
1658	<i>The Third Book of Ayres and Dialogues</i>	Henry Lawes	John Playford	London	
1659	<i>Ayres and Dialogues</i>	John Gamble	Nathaniel Ekin	London	
1668	<i>Poems of Mr Cowley and Others</i>	William King	William King	Oxford	Self publication.
1668	<i>Musica Deo Sacra</i>	Thomas Tomkins		London	Posthumous volume.
1671	<i>Lessons for the basse-viol</i>	John Moss	John Moss	London	Self publication. Sold by John Playford.
1675	<i>The English Opera</i>	Matthew Locke	Matthew Locke	London	Self publication. Sold by John Carr.
[1677]	<i>Songs of One, Two and Three Voices</i>	Henry Bowman		Oxford	Engraved.
1678	<i>Songs of One, Two and Three Voices</i>	Henry Bowman		Oxford	Engraved.
1679	<i>Songs of One, Two and Three Voyces.. The Second Edition</i>	Henry Bowman	Ric. Davis	Oxford	Engraved.

1680	<i>Songs</i>	Pietro Reggio	[Pietro Reggio]	[London]	Probable self publication. Subscription volume. Engraved.
[c.1680]	[<i>Instrumental Ayres in Three, and Four Parts</i>]	[Gerhard Diesineer]			Title page missing. Advertisements indicate self publication. Engraved. See <i>Tilmouth</i> , i, 5. ^b
[1682]	<i>The False Consonances of Musick</i>	Nicola Matteis		[London]	No publication details on title page. Published by John Carr, according to <i>Tyler</i> , iii-iv. ^c
1683	<i>Sonnata's of III Parts</i>	Henry Purcell	Henry Purcell	London	Self publication. Subscription volume. Engraved.
1684	<i>Pastoralle</i>	Louis Grabu			No publication details on title page. Possible self publication. Engraved.
1684	<i>A Musical Entertainment</i>	Henry Purcell		London	Probably financed by The Musical Society.
1684	[<i>Kitharpaedia</i>]	Gerhard Diesineer	[Gerhard Diesineer]		Lost. Probable self publication. See <i>Tilmouth</i> , i, 7.
1685	<i>A Second Musical Entertainment</i>	John Blow		London	Probably financed by The Musical Society.
[1686]	[<i>A Consort of Musick</i>]	Thomas Farmer	[Thomas Farmer]	[London]	Lacks title page. Advertisement indicates self publication. See <i>Tilmouth</i> , i, 8.
1686	[<i>Recorder Duets</i>]	[Raphael Courteville]	John Banister & John Carr	London	Unknown if printed. Subscriptions invited. See <i>Tilmouth</i> , i, 7.
1687	<i>Albion and Albanus: An Opera</i>	Louis Grabu	Louis Grabu	London	Self publication. Subscription volume.

1687	<i>Ayres for the Violin</i>	Nicola Matteis	[?Nicola Matteis]	[London]	Possibly self publication. Engraved.
1688	<i>A Collection of Several Simphonies and Aires</i>	[Louis Grabu]	William Nott	London	Anonymous. No prefatory material.
1690	<i>Remedium Melancholiae, Or The Remedy of Melancholy</i>	John Wolfgang Franck		London	Possible self publication, 'to be sold by the Author'.
[1690?]	<i>Sonate de camera or chamber musick</i>	Matthew Novell	Mathew Novell	London	Self publication. Engraved.
1691	<i>The Vocal and Instrumental Musick of the Prophetess, Or The History of Dioclesian</i>	Henry Purcell	Henry Purcell	London	Self publication. Subscription volume.
1692	<i>Some Select Songs as they are Sung in the Fairy Queen</i>	Henry Purcell	Henry Purcell	London	Self publication.
[1692]	<i>Songs for One, Two and Three Voices</i>	Robert King	[Robert King]	[London]	Probable self publication. Engraved.
[c.1695]	<i>A Second Book of Songs</i>	Robert King	[Robert King]	[London]	Probable self publication. Engraved.
1695	<i>The Songs in the Indian Queen</i>	Henry Purcell	John May & John Hudgebut	London	
1696	<i>The Single Songs, With the Dialogue, Sung in the New Opera, Call'd Brutus of Alba</i>	Daniel Purcell	Henry Playford & Samuel Scott	London	
1696	<i>An Ode on the Death of Mr. Henry Purcell</i>	John Blow	Henry Playford	London	Posthumous volume.
1696	<i>A Collection of New Songs</i>	Nicola Matteis	John Walsh	London	Engraved.
1696-	<i>A Choice Collection of Lesson for the Harpsichord or Spinnet</i>	Henry Purcell	Frances Purcell	London	Posthumous volume. Engraved.
[1699]					
1697	<i>Te Deum et Jubilate</i>	Henry Purcell	John Walsh	London	Posthumous volume. Engraved.
1697	<i>Te Deum et Jubilate</i>	Henry Purcell	Frances Purcell	London	Posthumous volume.
1697	<i>A Collection of Ayres, Compos'd For the Theatre</i>	Henry Purcell	Frances Purcell	London	Posthumous collection. Subscription volume.

1697	<i>Ten Sonatas in Four Parts</i>	Henry Purcell	Frances Purcell	London	Posthumous collection. Subscription volume.
1697	<i>The Single Songs in the New Opera, Call'd, The World in the Moon</i>	Daniel Purcell	Henry Playford	London	
1697	<i>Songs in the New Opera, Call'd The World in the Moon</i>	Daniel Purcell	John Walsh & John Hare	London	Engraved.
1697	<i>A New Book of Songs</i>	Richard Leveridge	John Walsh & John Hare	London	Engraved.
1697	<i>A Collection of new Songs</i>	Thomas Morgan	John Walsh & John Hare	London	Engraved.
1698	<i>The Songs in Phaeton: Or, The Fatal Divorce</i>	Daniel Purcell	Samuel Scott	London	
1698	<i>Orpheus Britannicus</i>	Henry Purcell	Henry Playford	London	Posthumous collection. Subscription volume.
1698	<i>A Collection of New Songs</i>	Jean-Claude Gillier	Henry Playford	London	
1698	<i>Six Sonatas or Solos</i>	Daniel Purcell	John Walsh & John Hare	London	Engraved
[1698]	<i>A Choice Collection of Lessons</i>	John Blow	Henry Playford	[London]	Engraved.
1699	<i>A Second Book of Songs</i>	Richard Leveridge	John Walsh, John Hare & John Young	London	Engraved.
[1699]	<i>A Collection of new Songs... The Second Book</i>	Nicola Matteis	John Walsh	London	Engraved.
[1699]	[<i>A Collection of Songs</i>]	[William Robart]	[Thomas Cross]	[London]	Lost. Advertised 5-8 th August 1699, <i>Flying Post</i> .
1700	<i>Amphion Anglicus</i>	John Blow	John Blow	London	Self publication. Subscription volume.
1700	<i>Songs in the New Opera, Call'd the Grove or Love's Paradise</i>	Daniel Purcell	John Walsh	London	Engraved.
1700	<i>A Collection of New Songs</i>	Daniel Purcell	John Walsh	London	Engraved.

1700	<i>Six new Sonatas</i>	William Williams	William Williams	London	Self publication. Engraved.
[1700]	[<i>A Set of Ayres, in four Parts</i>]	James Paisible	[John Walsh]	[London]	Lost. Advertised 24-6 October 1700, <i>Post Boy</i> .
[1700]	[<i>Harmonia Lenis, the First Part</i>]	[John Bishop]	[John Bishop]	[London]	Lost. Advertisement indicates self publication, 19-21 December, 1700, <i>Post Boy; Flying Post</i> .

^a Comments incorporate information given in Rebecca Herissone's forthcoming table of single-composer self-publications and subscription volumes issued in England, 1640-1700. Herissone, 'Playford, Purcell and the Functions of Music Publishing in Restoration England', forthcoming.

^b Tilmouth references refer to Michael Tilmouth, 'A Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers Published in London and the Provinces (1660-1719)', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, i (1961); ii (1962), 1-15.

^c James Tyler, *Nicola Matteis: The False Consonances of Musick (1682): Complete facsimile edition*, Monaco, 1980.

Treatises

The music treatises published in seventeenth-century England have been examined in depth elsewhere,¹⁶³ and the following short introduction here provides significant consideration of those treatises devoted to providing rudimentary instruction to the beginner, in order to highlight another aspect of the music-publishing industry aimed at the amateur musician in England during the second half of the seventeenth century. Rebecca Herissone provides a comprehensive list of published music treatises in England from c.1592 to c.1728 in her book-length study of seventeenth-century English music theory,¹⁶⁴ and Table 2.8 records those manuals dating between 1650 and 1700 printed primarily for pedagogical instruction for the beginner amateur musician. John Playford's *Introduction to the Skill of Musick* dominated the market with nineteen editions appearing between 1654 and 1730. Consisting of rudiments of music, a manual for bass viol and treble violin, and directions for composition,¹⁶⁵ the *Introduction* was probably aimed at beginner music amateurs in order to increase the market for Playford's other music books. Christopher Simpson's *Compendium* was similarly intended for beginners, written in a style that assumed no prior knowledge. Other books provided detailed musical basics concerning one specialist area, for instance, *The Division-Viol* (1659) and *Plain and Easie Directions for Psalm-Singing* (1700).

¹⁶³ The most notable discussion of music treatises during this period is in Herissone, *Music Theory in Seventeenth-Century England*.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, Appendix A and B, 229-252.

¹⁶⁵ Detailed changes between editions and the sources used by Playford to compile the book are provided in *Ibid.*, Appendix C and D, 253-296.

Table 2.8 Printed Music Treatises with Notation, 1650-1700

Date	Short Title	Principal Author	Principal Publisher
1654-1700	<i>Introduction to the Skill of Musick</i>	[John Playford]	John Playford and Henry Playford
1659	<i>The Division Violist</i>	Christopher Simpson	-
1665	<i>The Division-Viol</i>	Christopher Simpson	Henry Brome
1665	<i>The Principles of Practical Musick</i>	Christopher Simpson	Henry Brome
1667-1732	<i>A Compendium of Practical Music in Five Parts</i>	Christopher Simpson	Henry Brome
1676	<i>Musick's Monument</i>	Thomas Mace	Thomas Mace
1677	<i>The Art of Singing</i>	Pietro Reggio	Pietro Reggio
1680	<i>Synopsis of Vocal Musick</i>	A.B.	Dorman Newman
1686	<i>A New and Easie Method to Learn to Sing by Book</i>		William Rogers
1700	<i>Plain and Easie Directions for Psalm-Singing</i>	Samuel Porter	

*

Through an exploration of the printed music books produced in England in the second half of the seventeenth century, this chapter provides an overview of the different repertoires and genres published. The production dimension of the music-publishing industry heavily relied upon networks of stationers, composers, text authors, musicians, and printers. The prevalence of multi-composer anthologies over single-composer publications, and the variable personal links between different publishers and composers has a bearing on the extent to which composers had input into the publication process of their works during this period as well as how important the authority of the composer was within the context of print and its purchasers. Chapter 3 explores the presence of the composer, among other marketing strategies, in the promotion of the printed music book in order to determine what aspects of the books were important in enticing customers to purchase a volume, which in turn contextualises the selection process of what to print. The different types of anthologies identified appear to reflect distinctive amateur markets: the vocal anthologies indicate an expected level of musical literacy as opposed to the beginner instrumental lesson books with pedagogical instruction. The differences of format and difficulty of the musical material between these vocal and instrumental music anthologies has a bearing on the authority of the composer and subsequently the impact of music printing on compositional creativity.

Advertising and Marketing: Strategies for Dissemination

This chapter examines the advertising and marketing strategies employed for the promotion of printed music books in England between 1650 and 1700. Advertisements are a unique source for understanding the music-book trade and consumer practices. If we, like Roger Chartier, consider that ‘publishing strategies depend largely upon the extent and character of the public that constitutes the bookmaker’s potential clientele at a given moment in history’,¹ exploring the strategies of promotion informs us about the contemporary importance of authorship in the medium of print, and subsequently enhances our understanding of the relationship between composers, publishers and the amateur market. This survey is divided into two sections. The first examines the different types of advertisement available to promote printed material and the importance placed upon advertising by different publishers (including composers). The second explores the strategies employed in marketing printed music books, including features such as the importance placed on the status of the composer, the amount of attribution, genre, new material, duplication, the role of the editor and attributing credit to the stationer. My approach draws on the work of Martha Feldman and Susan Lewis Hammond, who have both recently made significant contributions exploring the marketing of printed music books in early modern Europe.²

3.1 Advertisements

Advertisements can provide information that is often not available elsewhere, including details of reprints, book retail prices and subscription proposals. They can also tell us about book-trade strategies in the marketing and promotion of printed texts, as advertisements were used to launch texts into the market domain. Advertisements in seventeenth-century England encompassed a range of media. Title pages and prefatory material of the books themselves, as well as the actual pages of the musical contents, provide space for the publisher to share information with the reader. Other

¹ Roger Chartier, *The Cultural Uses of Print in Early Modern France*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane, Princeton, 1987, 145.

² Feldman, ‘Authors and Anonyms: Recovering the Anonymous Subject in *Cinquecento* Vernacular Objects’; Hammond, *Editing Music in Early Modern Germany*.

advertisements, separate from the book itself, appeared in other printed volumes, newspapers, individual catalogues and term catalogues. The latter, first published in 1668, were ‘quarterly lists of recently published books which were intended primarily for the use of retail booksellers both in London and in the provinces’.³ These catalogues were not released for the use of the public print market (i.e. the customers) and consequently are not part of this survey.

Advertisements of seventeenth-century English music books have begun to gain increased scholarly attention since Michael Tilmouth’s pioneering survey of newspaper advertisements between 1660 and 1719 at the start of the newspaper era; a valuable bibliographical contribution to this wealth of surviving information.⁴ Tilmouth’s catalogue augments the various references concerning newspaper announcements found in Day and Murrie’s *English Song Books* and Smith’s catalogue of John Walsh’s publications.⁵ Lenore Coral and William Smith have drawn attention to the separate sales catalogues published by John and Henry Playford between 1653 and 1697.⁶ Advertisements found within the music books themselves however have motivated little interest, and up until now they have not been considered collectively: most references refer to individual advertisements, particularly the well-known announcements regarding Mrs Playford’s dancing school, a list of able music teachers in London, and a manuscript copying service, none of which involve advertising the printed music books.⁷ Furthermore, title pages, paratexts and the books’ contents and layout have received little attention despite recent scholarship focussed on the printed music book in England in the late-sixteenth century.⁸

³ John Feather, *A History of British Publishing*, London, 1988, 61. See also Edward Aber, *The Term Catalogues, 1668-1709 A.D.*, 3 vols., London, 1903-1906.

⁴ Tilmouth, ‘A Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers published in London and the Provinces, 1660-1719’, i, 1-107; ii, 1-15. See also the 17th and 18th Century Burney Collection Newspapers online.

⁵ Day, *English Song Books, 1651-1702*; Smith, *A Bibliography of the Musical Works Published by John Walsh during the years 1695-1720*.

⁶ Leonore Coral, ‘A John Playford Advertisement’, *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, v (1965), 1-12; William C. Smith, ‘Playford: Some Hitherto Unnoticed Catalogues of Early Music’, *The Musical Times*, lxxvii (1926), 636-639 and 701-704. See also Margaret Dean-Smith, ‘A John Playford Advertisement: A Letter from Miss Margaret Dean-Smith, F.S.A. to the Editor’, *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, vi (1966), 1-2.

⁷ Thompson, ‘Manuscript Music in Purcell’s London’, 605-18; Lindenbaum, ‘John Playford: Music and Politics in the Interregnum’, 124-138; Coral, ‘A John Playford Advertisement’, 1-12; Smith, ‘Playford: Some Hitherto Unnoticed Catalogues of Early Music’, 636-639 and 701-704.

⁸ Gibson, ‘“How hard an Enterprise it is”: Authorial Self-Fashioning in John Dowland’s Printed Books’, 73-74; Hammond, *Editing Music in Early Modern Germany*, 13-44.

Book advertisements were still a relatively new phenomenon in seventeenth-century England. The earliest book advertisements were in the form of broadsides, printed in the late 1460s in Germany and the Low Countries, and in Italy by German printers.⁹ The only known English advertisements before the sixteenth century are those by William Caxton and the Italian publisher Aldus Manutius.¹⁰ Caxton's advertisement is missing the printer's name, date or place, but probably appeared around 1476-7,¹¹ and is the 'first broadside known to have been printed in England'.¹² Broadsides were replaced by book-catalogues in early sixteenth-century Europe, but England was slow to catch up.¹³ Title pages were not used to their full advantage until the Elizabethan period and booksellers' catalogues in England were unknown before 1595.¹⁴ These advertisements are 'early and tangible evidence of printers' and publishers' concern with the sale of their product wherever buyers could be found, and not just to local customers'.¹⁵ In England however, there was little advertising until the mid-seventeenth century.¹⁶

The above history refers to the general book trade and not specifically music, but a survey of 58 English music publications of the latter sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries clearly indicates the absence of advertisements within music books. This is undoubtedly due to the lack of a commercial nature of the industry before Playford's ventures: music publication is characterised by patronage rather than commercialism during this period, with little more than a handful of music books produced by a single publisher. Not all advertisements were placed in books however, and there is evidence of sale catalogues of music publications prior to John Playford's 1653 catalogue. Robert Martin, a London bookseller in the first half of the seventeenth century issued six printed catalogues between 1633 and 1650, of which five contain a list of Venetian music purchased from abroad.¹⁷ Edward Rimbault, while referring to a

⁹ Rudolf Hirsch, *Printing, Selling and Reading, 1450-1550*, Wiesbaden, 1967, 63-65.

¹⁰ For the Caxton advertisement (Burger 21) see Konrad Burger, *Buchhändleranzeigen des 15. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig, 1907, 10.

¹¹ Catalogue number B98 of N. F. Blake, *William Caxton: A Bibliographical Guide*, London, 1985, 52.

¹² Edward W. B. Nicholson, *Caxton's Advertisement*, London, 1892, 7.

¹³ Hirsch, *Printing, Selling and Reading*, 65.

¹⁴ Marjorie Plant, *The English Book Trade: An Economic History of the Making and Sale of Books*, London, 1939, 2nd ed., 1965, 248.

¹⁵ Hirsch, *Printing, Selling and Reading*, 65.

¹⁶ Plant, *The English Book Trade*, 248.

¹⁷ Donald W. Krummel, 'Venetian baroque music in a London bookshop: the Robert Martin catalogues, 1633-50', in Oliver Neighbour, ed., *Music and Bibliography: Essays in honour of Alec Hyatt King*, New York, 1980, 1-27. Jonathan Wainwright suggests that not all the prints listed in Martin's catalogues were 'actually

publication, *Ayres for four Voyces* (1599),¹⁸ mentions a ‘catalogue of “Musick bookes printed in England”’, and published by Thomas Este, 1609’.¹⁹ Smith argues that the layout of this missing broadsheet may have been what John Playford copied for his 1653 sale catalogue.²⁰ Rimbault’s information is misleading, however, as East died in 1608, and there is no other evidence that the 1609 catalogue existed. Rimbault states that East’s catalogue was later included in Robert Clavell’s ‘General Catalogue of Books printed in England since the dreadful Fire of London 1666’ issued in 1675, 1680 and 1696.²¹ However, Smith’s examination of Clavell’s catalogues indicates that ‘the music sections of them were all based on the Playford catalogue of 1653’,²² rendering Rimbault’s statement suspicious. The advances in advertising in England in the latter half of the seventeenth century were therefore an exciting period for the public promotion of printed English music and the print persona of the composer.

Title Pages

By the latter half of the seventeenth century, title pages in English music books had evolved to the stage of becoming ‘more definitely an advertisement of the book designed to attract purchasers’.²³ Ronald McKerrow contends that throughout the seventeenth century the title page was the production of the printer or publisher, as an ‘explanatory label affixed to the book’.²⁴ It visually reflected aspects of the book deemed important by the publisher to entice customers. Titles themselves were significant marketing tools, prominently displayed and typically short and catchy, in a larger size font (and sometimes a different type of font), and were used as the ‘primary identification tag’ in sales catalogues and newspaper advertisements. As discussed further below, titles were followed by descriptions of the book’s contents, including such information as genre, composer, text author, and editor, and claims of authority and reliability were reinforced in prefatory material.

on the shelves in Martin’s shop. Perhaps the catalogues simply indicated that he was able to get hold of a print if a customer ordered it’. Wainwright, *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England*, 29.

¹⁸ It is unclear what publication Rimbault is referring to. It may be Michael Cavendish’s first madrigal volume of 1598, but the exact title is unknown due to the survival of an incomplete title page.

¹⁹ Edward F. Rimbault, *Bibliotheca Madrigaliana*, London, 1847, 14.

²⁰ Smith, ‘Playford: Some Hitherto Unnoticed Catalogues of Early Music’, 636.

²¹ Rimbault, *Bibliotheca Madrigaliana*, 14.

²² Smith, ‘Playford: Some Hitherto Unnoticed Catalogues of Early Music’, 636.

²³ Ronald B. McKerrow, *An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students*, Oxford, 1927, 89.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 91.

Prefatory Material

Prefatory material provided space to convince a reader of the book's worth, and as Susan Lewis Hammond describes, 'prefaces contextualised music books by positioning them within the social, economic, and cultural milieu of their time'.²⁵ Over 80% of music books printed in England between 1650 and 1700 contain prefatory material addressed to an individual or group as a verbal introduction to the printed book. The most frequent type of preface was that addressed to the reader, appearing in over 50% of the examined books, and signifying the shift to commercial publishing during this period. Typically addressed 'To all Lovers of Musick' or more generally, 'To the Reader', these prefaces are attributed to the musician, editor or publisher who assumed the role of primary architect of the volume's creation. Within this authorial role, the writer of the preface was given space to explain their motivation for printing and as such, these prefaces reveal important information about the compiler's attitude towards the printed repertory, awareness of the book's reception, how sources were acquired, and how the contents should be performed. Statements divulging the compiler's reasons for printing were common, including allegations of piracy – Robert King was apparently forced to print authoritative versions of his songs published in 'Common Printed Books about Town' (see Chapter 2) – or for making statements, as, for instance, Locke's *The English Opera* (see Chapter 4). Playford often credited the publication to the request of friends or to contest a supposedly unauthoritative volume of published music. The following extract from the preface of Playford's *Choice Ayres and Songs* (1684) provides an example of both strategies.

This Fifth Book of *New Songs and Ayres* had come sooner (by three Months) to your hands, but the last dreadful Frost put an Embargo upon the Press for more than ten Weeks; and, to say the truth, there was a great unwillingness in me to undertake the pains of publishing any more Collections of this nature: But at the request of Friends, and especially Mr. *Carr*, who assisted me in procuring some of these Songs from the Authors, I was prevailed with: Yet indeed the greatest Motive was, to prevent my Friends and Country-men from being cheated with such false Ware as is daily published by ignorant and mercenary person, who put Musical Notes over their Songs, but neither minding *Time* nor right places, turn Harmony into Discord: Such Publications being a Scandal and Abuse to the Science of *Musick*, and all Ingenious Artists and Professors thereof. This I conceive I was bound to let my Reader understand.²⁶

²⁵ Hammond, *Editing Music in Early Modern Germany*, 35.

²⁶ John Playford, *Choice Ayres and Songs*, London, 1684, 'To all Lovers and Understanders of Musick', sig. A2. Playford may be referring to *The Newest Collection of the Choicest Songs, As they are Sung at Court, Theatre, Musick-Schools, Balls, &c. With Musical Notes*. London, Printed by T. Haly, for D. Brown...and T. Benskin...1683. See also below, page 142.

Prefaces were used by stationers to market their connections with composers (see Chapter 2) and the contribution of reputable composers to the volume: Henry Playford employed this particular strategy by advertising connections to Purcell and Blow (see below). Prefatory material was an important part of the published book to lay an authoritative foundation for its credibility. As Adrian Johns has highlighted, ‘those making use of it [print] needed to develop new tactics to construct and maintain their claims to truth’, to guarantee the value of what was produced.²⁷ Beginner instrumental music lesson books provided directions for learning music notation and performing on the instrument in question. Thomas Greeting’s *The Pleasant Companion* (1675), for example, contained ‘Directions for Playing on the Flagelet’, which provided instructions on how to hold and play the instrument, an introduction to music notation, and details concerning graces and transposition.

Dedications appear in 25% of printed music books during this period. Providing a visual impact with the publicizing of a dedicatee’s name and status, these dedications characteristically offer declarations of servitude and appreciation to the patron by a composer presenting their musical work in public. A small handful of these books however, do not follow this convention. Six books are dedicated by the compiler rather than composer: four posthumous volumes of Henry Purcell’s music were offered by his widow, and two books of songs were published, with dedications, by John Walsh. These latter two were both single-composer collections of secular vocal repertory by Nicola Matteis, of which the second book, *A Collection of new Songs* ([1699]) was dedicated by Walsh to the composer, acknowledging Matteis’s assistance in preparing the collection that was originally set to be an unauthoritative edition:

Having the good Fortune to meet with some new Songs of your composing & being pressed with great Importunity to give out written Copy’s of them I hoped that since such a Treasure cou’d no longer lye hid, and ye publishing them in that manner might have rendr’d them liable to many Errors, you wou’d pardon my presumption in putting them in Print; I was not deceiv’d but must with highest Gratitude acknowledge your goodness, not only to permit my going on with this Designe, but also to afford me your favourable assistance in perusing and Correcting the sheets.²⁸

Another 27 publications with dedications are surprisingly anthologies, 21 of which also contain an address to the reader. These books noticeably mark the publication of a new venture by the publisher – such as Henry Playford’s *Theater of Music... The First Book* (1685) or John Hudgebut’s *Thesaurus Musicus... The First Book* (1693) – and the

²⁷ Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making*, 174.

²⁸ John Walsh, *A Collection of new Songs Set by Mr Nicola... The second Book*, London, [1699], ‘To Mr Nicola’.

dedications may have been included more for authorial support than financial reward. A significant 34% of examined copies in this study contain no prefatory address, although some do contain instructions for beginner instrumental books. The majority of these volumes are dated towards the end of the century and are characteristically printed using engraved plates, such as *The Harpsicord Master* (1697). The absence of prefaces, either dedications or addresses to the reader, suggests a shift in the music-publishing industry: a removal of the authorial figure of the volume's creator (composer, publisher, patron etc.), leaving the musical contents unadorned.

Other components of printed books' prefatory material included tables and indices, providing the reader with a 'visual snapshot' of the book's content.²⁹ As Hammond highlights, the inclusion of this information 'presents a strong point of continuity with manuscript practices'.³⁰ Such material was evidently an essential guide to the book's contents, as a number of examined copies in this study include manuscript additions in the form of contents lists – see, for instance, the British Library copy of Henry Bowman's *Songs for one, two & three voices* (1677).³¹ The alphabetical listing of songs by first line in volumes such as *Catch that Catch can* and *Choice Ayres, Songs and Dialogues* may indicate that consumers were knowledgeable about much of the repertory, and that this knowledge was primarily based on the texts rather than the composers.

Advertisements in Music Books

Advertisements in music books appear in a variety of forms and in different locations – a full-page catalogue at the back of a volume in contrast to a short clause placed on the contents page, for example – but their purpose is the same: promoting the products of the stationer. Of 159 titles examined, over 70% have an advertisement within the book, 65% refer to the advertising of music books. Figure 3.1 provides an example of a typical advertisement. Advertising in the books themselves was a principal method of promotion of the booksellers' stock, particularly as they were dependent on sales for financial success. Three quarters of both John and Henry Playford's publications, and almost all of John Carr's volumes contain advertisements listing other printed books in

²⁹ Hammond, *Editing Music in Early Modern Germany*, 35.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 35.

³¹ Lbl Music Collections H. 36.

their stock. This method of advertising was evidently an important source, and an analysis of the contents of these advertisements can tell us about the features of the printed music book that were used for marketing.

As Figure 3.1 illustrates, vocal and instrumental music books tend to be divided into different categories in the Playford advertisements. Printed instrumental music books tend to dominate John Playford's advertisements, occupying half of the advertising space. These items primarily comprise Playford's anthology collections of beginner lessons for a variety of different instruments, frequently advertised as new editions or reprints. Vocal music items tend to begin with devotional publications including psalms and hymns, and followed by secular vocal music. The dominance of instrumental music-book advertising corresponds to this genre comprising 43% of Playford's overall known published output compared with secular vocal music constituting 34%. The prominence of sacred vocal music books is however, unrepresentative of Playford's output, and the emphasis on these particular types of books may relate to Playford's personal interests in sacred music (see Chapter 2) as well as the popularity of psalm books throughout the century. Taking up very little advertising space but a consistent item in Playford advertisements is the theory book, *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick*, which appears in over 80% of these advertisements.

The layout of Henry Playford's advertisements follow his father's, with the consistent advertising of the *Introduction* and the primary listing of devotional music. There is less of a predominance of instrumental music items in Henry Playford's advertisements, with more advertising space given to secular vocal music books than by John Playford. This new emphasis reflects Henry Playford's overall known published output, 60% of which comprised secular vocal music books. These latter publications are dominated by theatre-song anthologies, and an emphasis on this popular repertory was undoubtedly due to rising competition in the trade (see Chapter 2). John Carr's advertisements in his music books are not as extensive as the Playfords', as Carr's known published output is much smaller: only fifteen books name Carr as a publisher, and an additional 25 books identify Carr as a bookseller. Carr's advertisements are dominated by instrumental music publications that he either published or sold, although his overall known *published* output comprised only three instrumental books – *Melothesia* (1673), *Tripla Concordia* (1677) and *The Delightful Companion* (1686) – compared with twelve secular vocal anthologies. The emphasis on instrumental books in Carr's

Figure 3.1 A typical Playford advertisement

Source: John Playford, *Select Ayres and Dialogues*, London, 1659.

A Catalogue of MUSICK Books sold by *John Playford* at his Shop in the *Temple*.

Books for Vocal M <u>U</u> S <u>I</u> C <u>K</u> .	Books for Instrumental M <u>U</u> S <u>I</u> C <u>K</u> .
1. <i>Mr. Wilby's Madrigals of 3, 4, 5 and 6 Voyces.</i>	1. <i>Mr. Hall Set of Fancies for Viols, containing 6 Fantakes for two Bass-Viols, 9 Fantazies for two Trebles and a Bass, and 12 Fantazies of 4 parts.</i>
2. <i>Orlando Gibon's 5 Parts for Viols and Voyces.</i>	2. <i>Court Ayres, of two parts, Bass and Treble, Viols or Violins, containing 245 Ayres, Corants and Sarabands, Composed by Dr. Coleman, Mr. William Lawes, Mr. John Jenkins, Mr. Ben. Rogers of Windsor; Mr. Christopher Symphon, and others: Printed 1656.</i>
3. <i>Dr. Champian's Ayres for 1, 2, or 3 Voyces.</i>	3. <i>Mr. Matthew Lock his Little Confort of Three parts, Pavans, Almains, Corants and Sarabands, for Two Trebles and a Bass, for Viols or Violins: Printed 1657.</i>
4. <i>Mr. Walter Potter's first set of Ayres and Madrigals for 2, 3, 4, and 5 Voyces, with a Through Bass; for the Organ or Theorbo Lute, the Italian way: Printed 1639.</i>	4. <i>Musicks Recreation on the Lyra Viol, Containing 100 Lessons, viz, Preludiums, Almains, Corants, Sarabands, and several new and pleasant Tunes for the Lyra Viol, with Instructions for beginners: printed 1656.</i>
5. <i>Mr. Walter Potter's second Set of Psalms or Anthems for two voyces to the Organ or Theorbo-Lute: Prin. ed 1657.</i>	5. <i>A Book of New Lessons for the Cithren and Gittern, containing many new and pleasant Tunes, with plain and easie Instructions for Beginners thereon: Printed 1659.</i>
6. <i>Mr. William Child (late Organist of his Majesties Chappel at Windsor) his Psalms for three voyces, after the Italian way, to be sung to the Organ, the which are Engraven on Copper plates: Printed 1656.</i>	6. <i>The Dancing Master, containing 112 New and Choice Country Dances, Directing the Learner the manner how to understand the several Figures and Movements thereof; Also the Tunes set over each Dance, very usefull to such as Practise on the Treble Violin; In which Book is added 42 French Corants, and other Tunes to be plauid on the Treble Violin: printed 1657.</i>
7. <i>Select Ayres and Dialogues by Dr. Wilton, Dr. Colman, Mr. Henry Lawes, and others: Reprinted with large Additions 1659.</i>	
8. <i>Ayres and Dialogues set forth by Mr. H. Lawes, { First Book fol. Printed 1653. } viz, his { Second Book fol. Printed 1655. } { Third Book fol. Printed 1658. }</i>	
9. <i>Mr. John Gamble his first and second book of Ayres and Dialogues, first printed 1657, second 1659.</i>	
10. <i>A Book of Catches and Rounds collected and published by John Hilton 1651, and now with large additions by John Playford, newly Reprinted 1658.</i>	
11. <i>An Introduction to the Skill of Musick, Vocall and Instrumentall, with Instructions for the Violin by J. Playford, newly Reprinted 1658.</i>	
12. <i>The Art of Descant, or composing Musick in parts, written by Dr. Champian, and enlarged by Mr. Christopher Simpson, printed 1655.</i>	
	<i>All sort of Rul'd Paper for Musick ready Ruled, also Books of several Sizes ready bound up of very good Ruled Paper; Also very good Inke to prick Musick.</i>

Musick Books shortly to come forth.

A most Excellenc Treatise of Musick, Entituled, *The Violist, or an Introduction to play Division to a Ground*, Teaching all things necessary to the Knowledge of the *Viol*, as also the Rudiments of *Composition* by a Method more short and easie then hath been heretofore delivered. Written by the most Knowing Master of that Instrument, *Mr. Christopher Simpson*.

Also a Book for the *Virginals*, containing variety of new and choice *Lessons*, also *Toys*, and *Jigs*, Fitted for the practice of young Learners.

advertisements may be due to the stationer's pursuits as an instrument seller (see Chapter 2), and the fact that ten of the vocal anthologies were published jointly with other stationers, including John Playford, Henry Playford and Samuel Scott. Despite Carr's involvement in the publishing of these vocal books, his primary concern is the advertising of his musical instruments and printed instrumental books. The focus on publications related to Matthew Locke in Carr's advertisements highlights the composer's business relationship with this particular stationer (see Chapter 4).

It was also typical for the Playfords and Carrs to include their advertisements in books for which they were only acting as selling agents rather than publishers. The self-published music books *The English Opera* (1675), *The History of Dioclesian* (1691) and *Amphion Anglicus* (1700) all contain advertisements by the booksellers identified on the title pages. It is unknown what the financial relationship between composer and bookseller was for selling these self-published collections but it presumably involved an agreement between the fee paid by the composer to the bookseller for the public exposure of the book in shops, and the fee paid by the bookseller for including an advertisement of their stock in the book in question. What is clear from surviving copies of these books is that composers were in negotiation with the booksellers before the issuing of the publication onto the market-place, as the stationers' advertisements are integral to the make-up of the volume, printed either on the recto or verso of other pages of the book.³²

The nature of such transactions between composers and booksellers appears to have been individual. John Carr repeatedly advertised Locke's self-published *The English Opera*. On the other hand, Purcell's *Sonnata's of III Parts* was advertised once by the selling agents (John Playford and John Carr) in their joint publication of *Choice Ayres and Dialogues* (1684):

There is now Published those excellent *Sonnata's* of three Parts, for two *Violins* and *Bass-Viol*, with a *Through-Bass* for the *Organ* or *Harpsichord*; composed by that great Master of Musick Mr. *Henry Purcell*, Composer in Ordinary to His Sacred Majesty, and Organist of His Chappel-Royal, containing four Books; all fairly Engraven upon Copper Plates, and true and well printed, for the Author, and are sold by *John Playford* and *John Carr*, at their Shops near the *Temple Church*, and at the *Middle-Temple Gate*.³³

³² John Carr's advertisement in Purcell's *History of Dioclesian* (1691) appears on the verso of Purcell's own advertisement to the reader concerning the publication delays, and was probably added to the volume towards the end of production.

³³ John Playford and John Carr, *Choice Songs and Ayres*, London, 1684, Advertisement.

Neither John Playford's nor John Carr's later advertisements list Purcell's self-publication, although the book was clearly still in stock as Henry Playford began advertising it from 1688.³⁴ This reliance on booksellers recedes towards the end of the century with the increase in engraving: engraved plates could be re-used if an initial print run sold well, providing an opportunity for composer-publishers to control the flow of their book's dissemination in contrast to the incentive to overproduce and therefore ensure a certain amount of sales when printing from moveable type.³⁵

Those advertisements referring to non-music books indicate the diversity of the stock of seventeenth-century music stationers. John Playford began as a publisher of political tracts and continued to issue these books throughout his career.³⁶ His advertisements demonstrate the varied items for sale in his shop, from political and religious tracts to chapbooks and poetry, and from art to 'sympathetical powder'.³⁷ A bill addressed to Sir William Clarke (1623/4-1666), a military administrator and book collector, on 26 March 1661 from Playford states that Clarke had bought a number of books from the stationer, including Dugdale's *History of St. Paul's* and a volume of 'fourteen plays of different sorts'.³⁸ Henry Playford continued with the variety of stock, particularly advertising chapbooks previously in his father's stock. The younger Playford also advertised political books along with poetry, chapbooks and art throughout his career, culminating in a whole section on books of 'Divinity, Physick, Law, and History Books, both English, Latin, Dutch, and French' in his 1691 sale catalogue.³⁹

Music items listed in these advertisements were not limited to printed books: the Playfords and Carrs regularly advertised 'all sorts of Rul'd Paper, and Rul'd Paper Books ready bound up', 'very good Black Ink for Pricking of Musical Lessons',⁴⁰ and 'stationary ware'. John Playford provided names of instrument sellers, implying he did

³⁴ Henry Playford advertises Purcell's *Sonnata's of III Parts* in *Banquet of Music... The Second Book* (1688) and *Harmonia Sacra* (1688).

³⁵ Thompson, 'The Music: Sources and Transmission', forthcoming.

³⁶ Lindenbaum, 'John Playford: Music and Politics in the Interregnum', 124-138.

³⁷ John Playford, *Select Ayres and Dialogues... The Second Book*, London, 1669; *Dancing Master*, London, 1670; *Choice Songs and Ayres*, London, 1673.

³⁸ McKenzie, *A Chronology and Calendar of Documents Relating to the London Book Trade, 1641-1700*, i: 1641-1670, 455; Frances Henderson, 'Clarke, Sir William (1623/4-1666)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5536> (Last Accessed 12 May 2010). Clarke was a student at the Inner Temple in the late 1640s and early 1650s. His book collection is held at Worcester College, Oxford.

³⁹ Lbl Harley MS 5936/147.

⁴⁰ John Playford, *Musick's Delight on the Cithren*, London, 1666, 'Musick Books sold by John Playford at his Shop in the Temple'.

not sell them himself.⁴¹ John Carr's advertisements included a general statement concerning his collection of 'all Sort of Musical Instruments and Strings' for sale. In addition, Robert Thompson has highlighted advertisements of a type of manuscript copying service. In 1675, Carr advertised 'All sort of Books, and Ruled Paper, Songs, and Airs Vocal and Instrumental ready prickt'.⁴² This was followed by John Playford's advertising of the service in *Choice Ayres and Songs... The Third Book* (1681):

all such as desire to be accommodated with such choice Consorts of *Musick* for *Violins* and *Viols*, as were Composed by Dr. *Colman*, Mr. *William Laws*, Mr. *John Jenkins*, Dr. *Benjamin Rogers*, Mr. *Matthew Locke*, and divers others, may have them fairly and true Prick'd.⁴³

Henry Playford continued in the 1690s, advertising 'all Sets of MUSICK, and Single SONGS and TUNES fairly Prick'd, are sold at the same place'.⁴⁴ Thompson suggests that the advertising of 'single songs fairly prick'd' appears to promote 'a kind of seventeenth-century rapid-copy service'.⁴⁵ Certainly the quantity of music in manuscript for sale in Henry Playford's sale catalogues of the 1690s implies that professionally-copied music in manuscript was in ample supply in the music stationers' stock, and was an important aspect of the music stationers' business. Manuscript-copying services have implications for the contemporary circulation of individual forms of particular pieces. Matthew Locke's *Little Consort*, for example, has survived in a range of sources including manuscript- and print-publications, and Alan Howard's recent analysis indicates that different forms of the work were transmitted, militating against the idea of fixity.⁴⁶

Advertising in printed music books was an important method of publicising the exclusive stock of an individual stationer, and was used extensively in the second half of the seventeenth century. For music stationers in particular such commodities included equipment required for musical activities in the home: manuscript and printed music, manuscript paper, ink, and instruments. In addition, Playford listed a number of music teachers available in London, printed in 1651.⁴⁷ Advertisements in music books were the principal source for promoting a stationer's stock and, as such, are important sources contextualising the printed music book in its market-place.

⁴¹ John Playford, *Introduction to the Skill of Musick*, 1664 and 1672; *Dancing Master*, 1670.

⁴² John Carr, *Tripla Concordia*, London, 1675.

⁴³ John Playford, *Choice Ayres and Songs... The Third Book*, London, 1681, 'Advertisement', 52.

⁴⁴ *Banquet of Musick... The Sixth Book* (1692), *Harmonia Sacra... The Second Book* (1693), *Thesaurus Musicus... The Second Book* (1694).

⁴⁵ Thompson, 'Manuscript Music in Purcell's London', 615.

⁴⁶ Alan Howard, 'Manuscript Publishing in the Commonwealth Period', 36 and 57-62.

⁴⁷ John Playford, *A Musically Banquet*, London, 1651, sig. [A4].

Individual Catalogues

Four catalogues distributed separately from the publications as auction or general sale catalogues have survived as part of the Bagford Collection in the British Library.⁴⁸ These are thought to have been issued in 1653, 1690, 1691 and 1697 respectively, and all are attributed to the Playford family.⁴⁹ The 1653 catalogue of ‘all the Musick-Bookes That have been Printed in *England*, either for Voyce or Instruments’ and printed for John Playford is a single-sheet folio dominated by pre-1650 music publications. The history behind Playford’s acquisition of this stock is unknown, but he clearly had at least part of the stock by 1650: in *A Muscicall Banquet* (1651), five titles of early seventeenth-century printed music books were advertised.⁵⁰ In addition, Playford’s first music book issued was a reprint of William Child’s engraved *Psalmes* (1639) indicating that Playford was in the possession of the original plates, or had a connection with William Child, possibly through their mutual friendship with Charles Coleman (see Chapter 2), or the original printer James Reave, possibly through Thomas Harper.⁵¹ The advertisements issued in Playford’s publications of the 1650s mostly contain pre-1650 items. Playford may have obtained the music stock through connections made with members of the London music-book trade during his apprenticeship (see Chapter 1). This early stock disappears from Playford’s advertisements after 1669 but returns in the later sale catalogues of Henry Playford, highlighting that this stock still constituted a large proportion of the Playford book store.⁵²

The individual catalogues issued in the 1690s attributed to Henry Playford are in a different format from the 1653 list. Smith has provided a description of the contents of each catalogue highlighting in particular rare or unknown publications.⁵³ The 1697 catalogue is similar in style to the 1653 general list, indicating available stock. A large single folio sheet, the list is divided by genre and book size, i.e. ‘*Vocal Musick*, Folio’, ‘*Vocal Musick*, Quarto’, ‘*Instrumental Musick in Folio*’, and so on. The other two catalogues of the 1690s relate to specific sales or auctions, the [1690] catalogue’s

⁴⁸ British Library, Bagford Collection MS., Harl. 5936/147, 419-420, 421 and 422-428.

⁴⁹ Smith, ‘Playford: Some Hitherto Unnoticed Catalogues of Early Music’, 636-639 and 701-704; Coral, ‘A John Playford Advertisement’, 1-12; Dean-Smith, ‘A John Playford Advertisement: A Letter’, 1-2.

⁵⁰ Playford’s advertisement is bound with the Bodleian Library copy of *Musick and Mirth*, the fourth section of *A Muscicall Banquet* (1651).

⁵¹ Nothing is known of James Reave. Unfortunately no engraver or printer is named on the title page of John Playford’s later reissues of Child’s psalms.

⁵² Humphries, *Music Publishing in the British Isles*, 7.

⁵³ Smith, ‘Playford: Some Hitherto Unnoticed Catalogues of Early Music’, 636-639 and 701-704.

collection was advertised ‘to be sold by *Henry Playford*, at his House’.⁵⁴ The catalogue is a random mixture of manuscript and printed music books, - clearly described as either ‘prick’d’ or ‘printed’ – including pre-1650 stock and ready-bound books of blank manuscript paper. The 1691 *Catalogue of Ancient and Modern Musick Books*, attributed to Henry Playford due to an advertisement placed at the end, is a listing of books to be auctioned at a coffee house. The catalogue is divided again by book size, and by subject as opposed to genre: the final section lists books of ‘Divinity, Physick, Law, and History Books, both English, Latin, Dutch, and French’. There is a large quantity of European music prints listed as well as pre-1650 English printed music. In addition, titles were sold in bulk with twenty sets of *Cantica Sacra* and *Banquet of Musick*, among others, sold as single lots. These separate catalogues, alongside the advertisements found in the books themselves, are important sources providing opportunities to gauge how well individual items sold. The titles sold in bulk in the sales catalogues of the 1690s include Locke’s *The English Opera* (1675) and Carr’s *Tripla Concordia* (1677).

Newspaper Advertisements

It is in the interest of the publisher and bookseller to advertise the present availability of a book as widely as possible, and the advent of regular newspaper circulation in England in the latter half of the seventeenth century provided, for a fee, another possible method of advertising stock. According to Tilmouth, the earliest newspaper advertisement concerning a printed music book is in 1670 for *Musica Deo Sacra*.⁵⁵ Newspapers were used regularly for advertising by both composers, for their self-published books, and by stationers to advertise subscription proposals and publication announcements. Nicola Matteis particularly used this medium to advertise his publications in 1676, 1677, 1682 and 1685 and combined publication announcements with advertising composition and violin lessons.⁵⁶ From the 1680s, newspaper advertisements appear to have been a necessary financial expense of self-publication to announce subscription proposals and the sale of the volume. This method of advertising further allowed the financial conditions to remain with the composer, with

⁵⁴ Henry Playford, *A Curious Collection of Musick-Books*, London, [1690], Lbl Harl. 5936/419.

⁵⁵ January 6, 1670, the *London Gazette*. See Tilmouth, ‘A Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers published in London and the Provinces (1660-1719)’ i, 2.

⁵⁶ Jones, ‘The legacy of the “stupendious” Nicola Matteis’, 559.

publications often advertised for sale from the author's house. However, many advertisements of these composer-published books retain booksellers' names, suggesting that composers relied upon booksellers for public exposure of their book: in 1696, for example, subscriptions were invited for William Williams' *Six new Sonata's* with 'proposals at any music shop in London', but the subsequent publication was printed 'for the Author' in 1700 and sold 'at the Surgeons Arms a China and Toy Shop'.⁵⁷ Blow's *Amphion Anglicus* was printed 'for the Author' but subscription proposals were invited by both John Blow and Henry Playford.⁵⁸

Henry Playford was the most prolific music stationer to use newspapers as an avenue for publicity. According to Tilmouth's survey of music advertisements in English newspapers between 1660 and 1719,⁵⁹ Henry Playford utilised this medium to advertise far above any other music publisher. Few other music publishers used this medium before the eighteenth century: John Walsh was to utilize this form of advertising effectively in following decades, with his first advertisement appearing in 1693.⁶⁰ Publishers' advertisements in newspapers are dominated by the announcement of new editions of their anthologies, particularly those of beginner instrumental lessons. According to Tilmouth's catalogue, few theory and devotional music books were advertised in this medium – the subscription proposals of Henry Playford's *Harmonia Sacra* is one of the exceptions – and there were twice as many instrumental music books advertised by Henry Playford than secular vocal anthologies in this medium. The dominance of beginner instrumental music advertisements in newspapers contradicts the stationer's overall known published output, as this genre comprised only 13% of Playford's known printed music output. Playford's advertising strategy in newspapers appears to be opposite to his approach in advertisements printed in the music books themselves (see above), and seems to suggest a marketing strategy to attract new customers to learn a musical instrument from the broader audience reached by public newspapers. Other publishers also focused on advertising instrumental music books in

⁵⁷ 24 December, 1696 in *The Post Boy* and 20 January, 1700 in *The Post Man*. Tilmouth, 'A Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers published in London and the Provinces (1660-1719)', i, 18 and 31.

⁵⁸ 22, May 1699 in the *London Gazette*. *Ibid.*, i, 28. A receipt for the first payment of the subscription volume of *Amphion Anglicus* bearing Blow's signature has survived, identifying that Blow took charge of the financial aspects of his self-published volume. See the anonymous article, 'Dr. John Blow: Bicentenary of His Death', *The Musical Times*, xlix (1908), 705.

⁵⁹ Unfortunately Tilmouth's catalogue does not include repetitions of advertisements even if they appeared in different newspapers. See Tilmouth, 'A Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers published in London and the Provinces (1660-1719)', i, iii.

⁶⁰ In *A Collection for the Improvement of Husbandry and Trade* on 13 October 1693, John Walsh along with T. Cross, J. Man and J. Crouch announced the publication of *New Ayres Composed for the Flute*. *Ibid.*, i, 13. Walsh also ran a musical supplement for the newspaper *The British Apollo* in the eighteenth century.

newspapers, for example, John Hare's *Youth's Delight* in 1695,⁶¹ and John Walsh's lost *Second Book for the Mock Trumpet* in 1699.⁶² The predominance of instrumental music book advertisements in newspapers corresponds with the different amateur markets (i.e. that of complete beginners) as distinguished in Chapter 2.

Advertising was evidently an important strategy in the selling of printed music books in England in the second half of the seventeenth century. Various outlets were available for stationers to advertise their stock, the most extensively used was in the form of lists in the music books they either published or sold: that is, freely advertising other titles to existing customers. The only viable method of advertising available for composers was through the fee-paying newspaper medium, but composers were still largely reliant, during the late seventeenth century, on booksellers – whose shops served as network centres – for the majority of the public exposure of their self-published books. This medium was apparently not particularly reliable however, as Adrian Johns has pointed out that booksellers 'never volunteered a book of another's printing to a customer unless he had obtained it at preferential rates'.⁶³ Purcell's *Sonnata's of III Parts*, for instance, were not advertised consistently by a bookseller until Henry Playford was able to realise the financial incentive of advertising the volume given the posthumous reputation of Purcell following his early death.

3.2 Marketing

Having established the different mediums through which advertising of the printed music book was possible, the following section explores the marketing strategies of composer-publishers and stationers in order to entice sales.

Composers and Marketing

Advertising by composer-publishers was limited to title pages and prefaces of their self-published books, with notices in newspapers typically reiterating the title page. The

⁶¹ *London Gazette*, October 7, 1695. See Tilmouth, 'A Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers published in London and the Provinces (1660-1719)', i, 16.

⁶² *Flying Post*, July 18-20, 1699. See Smith, *A Bibliography of the Musical Works Published by John Walsh during the years 1695-1720*, 8-9, Item number 21.

⁶³ Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making*, 165.

primary focus of marketing for the majority of these self-published volumes is the composer and his status. Dedications to members of the royalty and aristocracy in the traditional convention of offering servitude and seeking protection abound in both type-faced and engraved self-published music books in much the same way as single-composer volumes from earlier in the century.⁶⁴ Portraits coupled with the composer's name and positions held at court or in the church loom large on title pages and frontispieces, providing authoritative weight as well as confirming the presence of the composer. Classical and biblical imagery was also used for frontispiece pictures.⁶⁵ Commendatory verses from reputable contemporaries advocated the volume's credibility in an environment of unauthorised printing and piracy. Prefatory material addressed to the reader frequently divulged the composer's reasons for printing, as described above.

Not all composer self-published books appear to have been primarily printed for the function of authority, however. Purcell's *Some Select Songs... from the Fairy Queen* (1692) seems to have been printed primarily as a commercial venture. The volume's design undoubtedly reflects an influence from the popular theatre-song anthologies that dominated the print market from the 1680s. The title page draws attention to the genre of the publication: 'Select Songs' from the 'Fairy Queen' are the principal words emphasized above the composer's name. Purcell's last self-published volume, *Some Select Songs* follows the more commercial nature particularly characteristic of engraved self-published music books of the last decades of the seventeenth century. In 1676, Nicola Matteis published his first book of airs for violin and bass, which were announced in the *London Gazette* as

The famous and long expected Musicks of Two Parts, by Nicola Matteis are now published; consisting of Ayres of all sorts, fitted for all hands, and capacities, and 190 Copper-plates; cut at the Desire and Charge of certain Well-wishers to the Work. They are to be sold by John Carr... Thomas Fisher... And also by the Author, at an Apothecaries over against Exeter street in Catherine street: Where such as desire to learn Composition, or Play upon the Violin, may be instructed accordingly.⁶⁶

Another impression appeared by 1679 with English titles and the original Italian preface replaced with an English address 'To the Reader'. Matteis was his own promoter, printing many airs which were core teaching material, and which he performed publicly:

⁶⁴ Herissone, 'Playford, Purcell and the Functions of Music Publishing in Restoration England', 248.

⁶⁵ See, for example, Henry Bowman, *Songs, for One, Two, & Three Voyces*, London, 1679.

⁶⁶ The *London Gazette* on December 11, 1676. Quoted from Michael Tilmouth, 'Nicola Matteis', *The Musical Quarterly*, xlv (1960), 23-24. See also Tilmouth, 'A Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers published in London and the Provinces (1660-1719)', i, 3.

And out of those [printed] books he used, by taking [pieces] here and there, to make out admirable sonatas or solos.⁶⁷

Matteis integrated his entrepreneurial skills of music teaching, publishing and performing with composition. Roger North recalled that Matteis had ‘found out a way of getting mony which was perfectly new. For seeing his lessons, (which were all *duos*), take with his scollars, and that most gentlemen desired them, he was at some charge to have them graven in copper, and printed in oblong octavos’.⁶⁸ This was not a new initiative by the Italian virtuoso: previous prints specifically addressed for the use of ‘scholars’ include John Moss’s *Lessons for the Basse-Viol* (1671) and Locke’s *Little Consort* (1656), but Matteis’ self-publications are advertisements of his teaching services.⁶⁹ As Richard Leppert has highlighted, ‘music teachers wrote tutors not only to augment their income from direct sales, but also in the hope of attracting new students from the books’ readership’.⁷⁰ The German composer Gerhard Diesineer similarly published his [*Instrumental Ayrs in Three, and Four Parts*] which contained music written ‘for the Use and Practice of my Scholars; and the little Consort of Music I often have at my owne House, to entertaine my Friends’.⁷¹ Pietro Reggio’s *The Art of Singing* (1677) is an example of a music book printed in Oxford, and is a treatise undoubtedly to augment his teaching services.⁷² Print was evidently perceived by a number of composers as a powerful form of publicity.

Stationers and Marketing

The commercial enterprise of the English music-book trade in the latter half of the seventeenth century required systematic and appropriate marketing strategies to ensure financial success in the environs of a very small, specialist market. A number of features of the printed music book were utilised as selling tools, and the predominance of multi-composer anthologies in the printed outputs of music stationers, as outlined in Chapter

⁶⁷ Tilmouth, ‘Nicola Matteis’, 25.

⁶⁸ Wilson, *Roger North on Music*, 356.

⁶⁹ Herissone, ‘Playford, Purcell and the Functions of Music Publishing in Restoration England’, 262-3.

⁷⁰ Leppert, *Music and image: Domesticity, ideology and socio-cultural formation in eighteenth-century England*, 67.

⁷¹ Gerhard Diesineer, [*Instrumental Ayrs in Three, and Four Parts*, London, c. 1680], ‘To all Lovers, and Understanders of Music’.

⁷² Gloria Rose and Robert Spencer, ‘Reggio, Pietro’, *New Grove Online Dictionary*, ed. Laura Macy, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com> (Last Accessed 01 November 2010).

2, saw an emphasis on the genre of a volume's contents rather than the identities of the composers represented within.⁷³

Genre

Genre was certainly the predominant marketing feature of printed music books during this period, both on the title pages as well as in advertisements. Anthology titles tended to include a reference to genre, or else in the subtitle as a descriptive label of the book's contents (see above). A typical title page of the printed music anthology comprises a short and distinct title followed by an extended sub-title clarifying the genre of the contents and its instrumentation, for example, *Select Ayres and Dialogues For One, Two, and Thre Voyces; To the Theorbo-Lute or Basse-Viol and Apollo's Banquet: Containing Instructions, and Variety of New Tunes, Ayres, Jiggs, and several New Scotch Tunes for the Treble-Violin*. This format was used in Playford's best-known collections, including *Musick's Recreation on the Lyra Viol, Catch that Catch can, Choice Ayres, Songs and Dialogues*, and *Musicks Hand-maide*, and became the standard format for other music publishers, resulting in a multitude of similar titles: *The Pleasant Musical Companion, The Pleasant Companion, The Most Pleasant Companion, The Delightful Companion, The Genteel Companion*, and *The Sprightly Companion*, for example.⁷⁴ This format is followed by 'optional extras': a list of eminent composers represented in the volume (such as in *Courthy Masquing Ayres*, 1662) or a universal statement concerning authorship such as 'by several authors' or 'Composed by several Gentlemen of His Majesty's Musick' (as in *Choice Songs and Ayres*, 1673), book details such as the number of the edition or volume within a series, new additions and corrections, and iconography. A handful of vocal anthologies dating from the late 1670s to the 1690s include an indication of the origin of their contents as part of the genre description: 'sung at Court, and at the Publick Theatres' and 'at the Consorts in Viller-street in York-Buildings, and in Charles-street Covent-Garden' clearly reflecting the popularity for the latest, publicly-performed songs. Figure 3.2 illustrates the title-page format of these anthologies, with dashed arrows designating the optional details.

⁷³ Krummel, *English Music Printing, 1553-1700*, 115-123; Herissone, 'Playford, Purcell and the Functions of Music Publishing in Restoration England', 250.

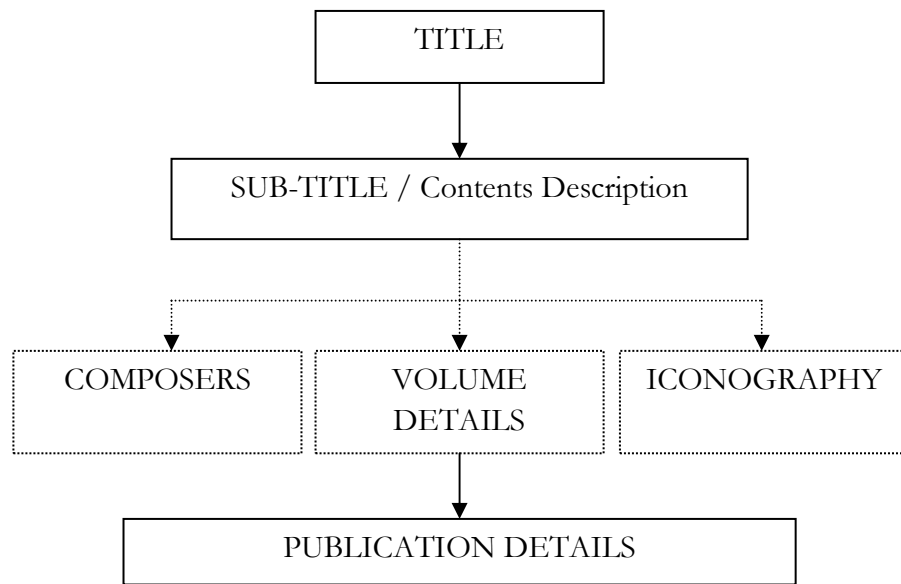
⁷⁴ Krummel, *English Music Printing, 1553-1700*, 120.

Instrumentation was further emphasized by iconography. Of 159 titles examined, 104 books contain pictures on the title page or frontispiece. 60 of these images are of musical instruments or scenes of musical performance, depicting either the domestic context in which the volume may be used – such as in *Musicks Hand-maide* and *The Pleasant Companion* – or divine imagery representing musical performance, for instance the cupids in the *Theater of Music* (see Figure 2.1).⁷⁵ Images of musical scenes and instruments predominantly occur in John Playford’s anthologies, including the *Dancing Master*, *Select Ayres and Dialogues*, *Musick’s Delight on the Cithren*, *Choice Ayres, Songs and Dialogues*, and *The Division-Violin*, but are also found in a number of anthologies compiled by others, including Humphrey Salter’s *The Genteel Companion*, John Clarke’s *Youth’s Delight*, John Hudgebut and Henry Playford’s *Thesaurus Musicus*, John Carr’s *Comes Amoris*, Henry Playford’s *Banquet of Musick* and *Deliciae Musicae* series, and reprints of the early seventeenth-century printed keyboard collection, *Parthenia*. Images were not restricted to a single series, particularly those depicting more general scenes of musical performance: the title page picture for *Musicks Hand-maide* reappears on the *Banquet of Musick* title pages, and the male performer depicted on the frontispiece of Thomas Greeting’s *The Pleasant Companion* also appears in Thomas Swain’s *Directions for the flagellett*. The musical consort depicted in Figure 2.1 is notable for the diversity of instruments represented: violin, recorder, theorbo and bass viol. The first printed music book containing the picture, *The Theater of Music... The First Book* (1685) lists theorbo or bass-viol with ‘*Symphonies and Retornels in 3 Parts to several of them for the Violins and Flutes*’, thus listing all the instruments depicted. However, the fourth book of the *Theater of Music* series (1687) and Carr’s *Comes Amoris* series and first book of *Vinculum Societatis* list harpsichord, theorbo and bass viol. In these instances, the accompanying illustration does not depict the performing forces explicitly named on the title page. In addition, the musical ensemble depicted in Henry Playford’s *Banquet of Musick* includes a violin while the title pages announce that the songs are ‘most of them within the Compass of the Flute’. The inconsistencies between iconography and named instruments are a feature particular to these later theatre-song anthologies, and suggest that illustrations of musical ensemble in these books were a complementary addition to the marketing of the book: Playford flattering, in Donald Krummel’s words, ‘the public with lowest forms of respect’ with engravings of ‘mostly buxom women’.⁷⁶ In contrast, the visual

⁷⁵ Day, ‘English Song-Books, 1651-1702, and their Publishers’, 381.

⁷⁶ Krummel, *English Music Printing, 1553-1700*, 119.

Figure 3.2 Format of title pages of Playford printed music anthologies



representation of specific instruments and depictions of amateur music training were important for the marketing of beginner instrumental tutor books.

The production of anthologies based primarily on a single genre, many of the instrumental music volumes of which emphasized the pedagogical function of the book containing ‘new and excellent lessons’ with directions for ‘all yong practitioners’,⁷⁷ heightened a tendency towards the canonization of repertory with particular pieces duplicated in later editions and different books (see below). Boldly advertised as the compilation of musical texts suitable for education and instruction, domestic use, or simply as a collection of appropriate music for a specific setting (such as informal gatherings of friends implied by *Catch that Catch can*), the anthologies were full of popular tunes – many of which crossed boundaries with the broadside ballad repertory. The position of the composer in these anthologies differs distinctly between vocal and instrumental printed books.

⁷⁷ John Playford, *Musick's Recreation: on the Lyra Viol*, London, 1652, Title page.

Composer Attribution

John Playford's first secular vocal anthology was *Select Musickall Ayres and Dialogues* (1652) and he was clearly anxious to claim the credibility of the volume's contents, dedicating it to the composers represented as well as identifying them on both the title page and carefully ascribing them to their pieces in the contents table. This emphasis on composer attribution waned in following books: while Playford kept the short list of the most well-known composers on the title pages of this vocal series, attributions disappeared from contents tables and the composer was relegated to the same small font at the end of each song as the less-known composers and amateurs represented. Anthologies were fleshed out with less well-known composers' music, whose unfamiliarity in the public market removed any necessity to emphasize their identity for marketing purposes. By his second vocal series, *Choice Ayres, Songs and Dialogues*, Playford's list of reputable individuals on the title page is replaced with a lump category of authorship: by 'several Gentlemen of His Majesties Musick, and others'.⁷⁸ Such general statements on title pages concerning attribution continued into the later decades of the seventeenth century with the theatre song anthologies, 'composed by several of the best Masters'. Composers continued to be identified next to their songs.

Few pieces in any of these vocal anthologies lack composer identification, for instance, six of 37 songs in *The Theater of Music... The Second Book* (1685) are unattributed, and two of 44 in the third book (1686) – under 15% of each theatre-song anthology contents are unattributed. Composer attributions were accompanied with details concerning the original performance in equal importance, including performers' names, theatre production titles and in which act the relevant song appeared. The level of importance attached to the composer was similar to the attribution practices in the *Catch that Catch* series. John Hilton's 1652 catch anthology highlights composer identities in the contents table just as Playford's song book produced in the same year, but the stationer took over the compilation and publishing of Hilton's catch anthology in later editions, and composers were subsequently removed from indices, and only appear next to their specific piece. The systematic removal of composer identity from title pages and indices is important as it is clear that composers held little weight in the selling of these anthologies. Indices list song contents alphabetically by first line, providing the customers with an easy tool in which to assess the volume's contents and

⁷⁸ John Playford, *Choice Ayres and Songs... The Second Book*, London, 1679, Title page.

its value for their individual needs. This suggests that customers were familiar with at least some of the contents.

Despite the diminishing emphasis on the composer in these vocal anthologies, providing composer attributions either at the start or end of each piece continued. This clearly indicates that these individuals carried some authority. John Playford was particularly keen to advertise his connections with contemporary musicians, and his receipt of music ‘from the hands of the composers’ (see Chapter 2). In addition, composers’ names and status were often used as marketing tools for specific, one-off volumes to advertise their assistance in the preparation of the volume for the press. Henry Playford dedicated his *Theater of Music... The First Book* (1685) to Purcell and Blow, having been ‘particularly obliged to you for your Assistance herein, (in perusing several of the Songs of this Book before they went to the Press, whose Authors we could not so well apply our selves to, and adding Thorow-Basses to such as wanted them)’.⁷⁹ Playford’s use of Purcell and Blow here provides weight and authority to his publication, despite the composers’ own music contribution being relatively small: six songs by Blow and five by Purcell, out of a total of 60. In *Harmonia Sacra* (1688), Henry Playford acknowledged Purcell’s editorial contribution, stating that the contents were

Compos’d by the most Skilful Masters of this Age; and though some of them are now dead, yet their Composures have been review’d by Mr. *Henry Purcell*, whose tender Regard for the Reputation of those great Men made him careful that nothing should be published, which, through the negligence of Transcribers, might reflect upon their Memory.⁸⁰

This continues for the second book of *Harmonia Sacra*, which Playford advertises in the *Gentleman’s Journal* of June, 1693, as

I need not say any thing more to recommend it to you, than that you will find in it many of Mr Henry Purcell’s admirable Composures. As they charm all men, they are universally extoll’d, and ev’n those who know him no otherwise than by his Notes, are fond of expressing their Sense of his Merit.⁸¹

Two commendatory poems in the volume are further dedicated to the composer, but Purcell’s own contribution is only a mere five of the seventeen devotional songs and hymns offered. Thus Henry Playford’s use of Purcell’s and Blow’s authoritative weight is for the collections as a whole, as opposed to single songs, in order to strengthen the credibility of his publications that offer less-established printed genres and repertoires

⁷⁹ Henry Playford, *Theater of Music...First Book*, London, 1685, Dedication.

⁸⁰ Henry Purcell, *Harmonia Sacra*, London, 1688, ‘To the Reader’, sig. [a2].

⁸¹ Tilmouth, ‘A Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers published in London and the Provinces (1660-1719)’, i, 13.

to the public market. This implies a systematic strategy of protection, similar to the more traditional style of patronage, by reputable figures, who themselves are accorded minimal representation in the anthology.

Composers were used in a similar fashion in instrumental anthologies as well. Locke's contribution to John Carr's *Tripla Concordia* (1677) is explored in Chapter 4, and Purcell is again advertised for his editorial assistance in the preface to Henry Playford's *Second Part of Musick's Hand-maide* (1689).⁸² Attribution practices in instrumental anthologies in England in the second half of the seventeenth century are, however, predominantly different from their vocal counterparts. Anonymity proliferates in these volumes. Salter's *The Genteel Companion*, Robert Carr's *The Delightful Companion*, and Clarke's (later, Young's) *Youth's Delight* contain absolutely no composer attributions, and these are closely followed by John Playford's *Musick's Delight*, *Musicks Hand-maide*, *The Dancing Master*, and Henry Playford's *Apollo's Banquet*,⁸³ with over 90% unattributed material. A few instrumental anthologies contain more ascriptions, including John Playford's *Musick's Recreation*, which has up to 40% unattributed material in editions until 1682 where it rose sharply to over 75% in an enlarged edition. John Walsh's *Harpsicord Master* contains 10% unattributed material in 1697 and 22% in 1700, and Henry Playford's 1689 edition of *Musicks Hand-maide* has under 50% of its material unattributed. Instrumental anthologies differ distinctly from their vocal counterparts not just in attribution practices but also in format. Indices are rarely found in instrumental books; the small contents of lessons listed by composer in *Courthy Masquing Ayres* (1662) while unusual, almost appears as an after-thought due to printing errors, for use as a finding aid to the music by the composers listed, just as unusually, on the title page itself.⁸⁴

The general lack of attributions characteristic of instrumental anthologies may support the claim that publishers simply neglected to attribute the works. Greeting's *The Pleasant Companion* and Hudgebut's *A Vade Mecum* (1679) both contain a mixture of composers' full names, surnames only and initials. The presence of initials is tantalizing

⁸² 'the Impression being carefully Revised and Corrected by the said Mr. Henry Purcell'. Henry Playford, *Second Part of Musick's Hand-maide*, London, 1689, 'To the Reader'.

⁸³ There are far more attributions in the 1697 edition of *Apollo's Banquet*, however, and these are coupled with numerous references to theatre productions.

⁸⁴ Only eight of the nine composers listed in the index appear on the title page. A Mr. *Thomas Gibbes* is not on the title page. Playford states in the preface that there are some errors in the printing including 'the Figures in the Margin from 59 to 77, and some other places in the *Treble* part are mistaken, I have therefore set down this following Table for the better Finding where each Authors *Ayres*, begin'.

still further as compilers must have been able to identify these composers. It is possible that instrumental music repertoires had different paths of transmission than their vocal counterparts, reaching their print compilers anonymously from general circulation. While this may explain the large amount of non-attribution in Playford's *Musicks Handmaide* (82% in 1663 and 70% in 1678) as anonymity is a feature of keyboard music transmitted in manuscript during this period, it does not necessarily explain the anonymous character of such large quantities of other printed instrumental music. Repertoires may have been augmented by reconstituting old tunes and popular ballad repertoire in circulation, disseminated as single-line melodies passed between players and memorised, as is characteristic with the nature of this repertory. Lack of attribution in the printed beginner lessons may therefore be because the original composer was unidentifiable. However, there are examples of contemporary composers' music printed without identification despite the status and reputation of the composer: William MacPherson has identified twelve tunes in *The Dancing Master* originally composed by Henry Purcell, but which appear without attribution or any indication of origin.⁸⁵ Another explanation of unattribution is that the arranging of tunes for specific instruments was viewed as a displacement of authorial identity. The role of the editor as compiler is repeatedly reinforced in these instrumental anthologies, their names appearing on title pages and prefatory material as the author of the compilation. These individuals may have augmented their printed collections by commissioning middlemen to furnish music,⁸⁶ or composed it themselves. John Playford is well known for having included his own compositions in numerous anthologies (see Chapter 2).

Posthumous Marketing

Although the motive of posthumous publication is different, it is worth exploring the role of the composer in posthumous printed books to indicate the importance placed on the composer after their death. The third section of John Playford's *A Musically Banquet* (1651) comprises two-part dances 'by that Rare and accomplished Master in Musick, Mr. *William Lawes*, Deceased'.⁸⁷ Primarily marketed on the death of William

⁸⁵ William Alan MacPherson, 'The Music of the English Country Dance, 1651-1728: With Indexes of the Printed Sources', Ph.D, Harvard University, 1984, 77-78.

⁸⁶ Feldman, 'Authors and Anonyms: Recovering the Anonymous Subject in *Cinquecento* Vernacular Objects', 168.

⁸⁷ John Playford and John Benson, *A Musically Banquet*, London, 1651, 'Musica Harmonia'.

Lawes, Stacey Jocoy has attributed the advertising as a sign of Playford's royalist affiliations.⁸⁸ Lawes's early death, brought on by the 'excesses of the Puritan Rebellion',⁸⁹ saw the composer represented almost as a martyr by contemporary musicians and poets. According to David Pinto, Charles I, 'engrossed by the loss of a kinsman in the action, found time to institute a special mourning for Lawes, whom he apparently honoured with the title "Father of Musick"'.⁹⁰ As late as 1673 in *The Musical Companion*, a commendatory verse by Thomas Jordan referred to Lawes's death:

I gratefully remember, in those daies
 When pestilential Purity did raise Rebellion 'gainst the lest of Princes, and
 Pious Confusion had untun'd the Land;
 When by the Fury of the Good old Cause
 Will. Lawes was slain, but such whose Wills were Laws,
 And panting Musick almost out of Breath,
 Thou did'st retrieve its fainting powers from death.⁹¹

The posthumous marketing of William Lawes began with *Choice Psalmes* (1648), the memorial publication to Lawes by his brother Henry (see Chapter 4). Lawes was almost unique in music printed representation of posthumous popularity in England in the second half of the seventeenth century, although musical settings of elegies were frequently published amongst secular songs in vocal anthologies. Henry Purcell's elegy 'on the death of Matthew Locke', for instance, was printed in John Playford's *Choice Songs and Ayres... The Second Book* (1679).

The function of music printing for posthumous posterity was not fully exploited until the similarly tragic and early death of Henry Purcell. In 1698, Henry Playford published *Orpheus Britannicus*, a great memorial volume to Purcell on a scale never printed before.⁹² Playford's typical advertisement of available stock is re-arranged in this publication in order to make full use of Purcell's name ensuring that virtually every item in the first half of the list is attributed to Purcell, not just for single-composer works, but also anthologies and even non-musical items:

⁸⁸ Jocoy Houck, 'Decoding Musical Resistance: English Vocal Music in the Service of the King, 1625-1660', 415-416.

⁸⁹ Murray Lefkowitz, *William Lawes*, London, 1960, 37.

⁹⁰ David Pinto, 'Lawes, William', in Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell, eds., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians: Second Edition*, London, 2001, xiv, 397.

⁹¹ Tho[mas] Jordan, 'To my Industrious Friend Mr. JOHN PLAYFORD on his MUSICAL COMPANION', in John Playford, *The Musical Companion*, London, 1673, sig. [A3]. In addition, Thomas Mace accorded Lawes first place as one of the three greatest masters of the age in 1676. Mace, *Musick's Monument*, 151.

⁹² Luckett, 'The Playfords and the Purcells', 45-68.

The Second Part of the Musical Companion, containing all Mr. *Purcell's* choice Catches, to which is now added a Sheet more never printed in the former Editions, price stitch'd 2s. 6d.

Mr. *Henry Purcell's* Picture exactly engraved, by Mr. *White*, price in a Frame 1s. 6d.⁹³

Credit to the Editor

As Susan Lewis Hammond has recently demonstrated in early modern Germany, the rise of the anthology was paralleled by the rise of the editor.⁹⁴ In the joint roles of editor and publisher for the vast majority of his anthologies, John Playford was in a strong position to cultivate himself as a brand name in the printed music market.⁹⁵ Adrian Johns has recently highlighted that the figure of the stationer in the general book trade 'dominated representations of print culture in early modern England' and the character of the stationer was therefore a 'central part in establishing the status of the works he or she made and sold'.⁹⁶ From as early as 1658, Playford clearly indicated his role as editor and compiler of *Catch that Catch can*,⁹⁷ and in the 1660s the stationer began to systematically market himself as an authoritative music-lover figure, labelling himself 'Philo-Musicae'.⁹⁸ It was not used by any other stationer in seventeenth-century England but was applied to a small handful of semi-professional musicians whose music was published in single-composer volumes, incidentally none of which were published by Playford.⁹⁹ He used his ability as a trader with his musical knowledge and skill to give himself an almost semi-academic status as a lover and cultivator of the musical art.¹⁰⁰ *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick* provided Playford with the space to assume the figure of

⁹³ Henry Purcell, *Orpheus Britannicus*, London, 1698, Catalogue.

⁹⁴ Hammond, *Editing Music in Early Modern Germany*, 14.

⁹⁵ The marketing of publishers as brand names did not become commonplace in England until the eighteenth century. See James Tierney, 'Book advertisements in mid-18th-century newspapers: the example of Robert Dodsley', in Robin Myers and Michael Harris, eds., *A Genius of Letters: Booksellers and Bookselling from the 16th to the 20th Century*, Winchester, 1995, 111.

⁹⁶ Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making*, 136-7.

⁹⁷ The title page reads 'Collected and Published by John Hilton Batchelor of *Musick*. *The Second Edition Corrected and Enlarged* by J. Playford'. John Benson and John Playford, *Catch that Catch can*, London, 1658, Title page.

⁹⁸ 'Philo-', *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, <http://www.oed.com> (Last Accessed 08 January 2008).

⁹⁹ John Gamble, *Ayres and Dialogues*, London, 1656 and 1657; Henry Bowman, *Songs for One, Two and Three Voyces to the Thoron-Bass*, Oxford, 1678 and 1679; A.B., *Synopsis of Vocal Musick*, London, 1680; and William Webb, *An Introduction to the Singing of Psalms*, which was advertised in *The Post Man* on 28 March, 1699. See Tilmouth, 'A Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers published in London and the Provinces (1660-1719)', i. 27. For more information on the author of the *Synopsis of Vocal Musick* see Rebecca Herissone, ed., *Synopsis of Vocal Musick, by A. B., Philo-Mus.*, Music Theory in Britain, 1500-1700, Aldershot, 2006.

¹⁰⁰ Hirsch describes this similar type of stationer among French booksellers of the general book trade between 1450 and 1550. See Hirsch, *Printing, Selling and Reading*, 62-63.

the author, which he fully undertook in the editions published between 1662 and 1670, placing himself centrally on the title page and accompanied by a full-page portrait mimicking the great literary volumes of the period (see Figure 3.3).¹⁰¹ During the 1660s Playford advertised himself as ‘Philo-Musicae’ in the majority of his anthologies,¹⁰² particularly the beginner instrumental lessons undoubtedly due to the large amounts of editorial responsibility of these publications as well as the characteristic anonymity of their contents. Playford was able to brand his own credibility as an authority figure to an expanding market after the Restoration. By the sixth edition of *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick* (1672), however, Playford had removed the label and it was not to return. This omission is possibly due to Thomas Salmon’s slight in his 1672 *A Vindication of an Essay to the advancement of musick from Mr. Matthew Locke’s Observations*, in which Salmon wrote:

his [Matthew Locke’s] good friend and hirer, Mr. *John Playford* (who so learnedly stiles himself) *Philo-Musicae*.¹⁰³

Playford did continue to advertise his connections with professional musicians throughout his career, and strove to maintain his credibility and emphasize his complete support for the encouragement of music. In 1681, he asked the readers of his *Choice Ayres, Songs and Dialogues... The Third Book* that

I desire you to think, that I have herein as much studied your satisfaction as my own Interest.¹⁰⁴

In the early eighteenth century Roger North was to refer to the stationer as ‘honest John’.¹⁰⁵ Playford was not unique in wanting to establish a good character; publishers in the general book trade were ‘strongly influenced by the need to strive for and maintain credit’.¹⁰⁶ One Mr. Salter was the beneficiary of four musical performances across London between 1718 and 1723, although it is uncertain whether this was the Humphrey Salter who published *The Genteel Companion* (1683) and whose shop was ‘on

¹⁰¹ See particularly Humphrey Moseley’s edited collections of poets’ works. The *Introduction* was also the same size as these literary texts, i.e. pocket-book size.

¹⁰² Playford labels himself ‘Philo-Musicae’ in his *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick*, 1662, 1666, 1667, 1670; *Courthy Masquing Ayres*, 1662; *Musick’s Delight on the Cithren*, 1666; *Catch that Catch can*, 1667; and *Musick’s Recreation on the Viol, Lyra-Way*, 1669.

¹⁰³ Salmon, *A Vindication of an Essay to the Advancement of Musick from Mr. Matthew Locke’s Observations*, 33.

¹⁰⁴ John Playford, *Choice Ayres, Songs and Dialogues... The Third Book*, London, 1681, ‘To all Lovers of Musick’, sig. A2.

¹⁰⁵ Mary Chan and Jamie C. Kassler, *Roger North’s Cursive Notes of Musicke (c.1698-c.1703): A physical, psychological and critical theory*, Kensington, N.S.W., 1986, 208.

¹⁰⁶ Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making*, 187.

Figure 3.3 John Playford, *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick*, London, 1667, Frontispiece portrait and Title page



*This PLAYFORD's Shadow loth present
Peruse his Booke and there youle see
His whole Designe is Publique Goods
His Soule and Minde in Harmonie*

A BRIEF
INTRODUCTION
TO THE SKILL OF
MUSICK:

IN THREE BOOKS.

THE FIRST:
The Grounds and Rules of MUSICK,
according to the *Gam-ut* and other
Principles thereof.

THE SECOND:
Instructions for the Bass-Viol, and also
for the *Treble-Violin :*

VVITH
LESSONS for BEGINNERS.

By **JOHN PLAYFORD** Philo-Musicæ.

THE THIRD:
The Art of Defcant, or Composing Musick
in Parts. By *Dr. Tho. Campion.*

With Annotations thereon by Mr. C. Simpson.

London, Printed by *Williams Godbid* for *John Playford,*
and are to be sold at his Shop in the Temple. 1667.

the North-side of St. Paul's Church' in 1690.¹⁰⁷

Music publishers sought to claim credibility of their volumes particularly by identifying the originality of the material. John Playford's vocal anthologies are littered with statements implying his receipt of music manuscripts from composers, as discussed in Chapter 2. It is notable that Playford did not use this advertising technique for his instrumental anthologies, which further suggests different paths of transmission of this genre of music to the publisher. Such claims of personal connections to composers does not appear in other publishers' anthologies of the period – it is particularly notable that Playford's main rival John Carr does not make mention of his sources – until the keyboard anthologies published at the turn of the century. John

¹⁰⁷ Henry Playford, *A Curious Collection of Musick-Books*, [London, 1690], Title page. See David Lasocki, 'Salter, Humphrey', in Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell, eds., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians: Second Edition*, London, 2001, xxii, 178.

Walsh and John Hare's first book of *The Harpsicord Master* (1697) states on the title page that the instructions were

written by ye late famous Mr H Purcell at the request of a perticuler friend, & taken from his owne Manuscript, never before publish't, being ye best extant.¹⁰⁸

John Young claimed on the title page of *A Choice Collection of Ayres* (1700) that the contents were

Never Before Published Composed By these Eminent Masters, viz Dr. John Blow Master of the Boys & Organist to the Chappel Royal & St Peters Westminster Mr. Francis Piggot Also Organist of the Kings Chappel & the Temple Mr. Jeremiah Clarke Organist of St Pauls Cathedral & Composer of the Musick Used in the Theatre Royal Mr. John Barrett Musick Master & Organist to Christ's Hospital & St Mary-Hill Church & Mr. William Crofts Carefully Corrected by each Master And Farily Engraven on Copper-Plates.¹⁰⁹

Young goes further to credit his claim in the preface, stating that

the Worthy Gentlemen mentioned in the Title have been Pleased to Favour me with & Permit me to Publish After Naming ye men that Composed these Lessons 'twould be Presumption & Impertinence to Offer at a Charactar of 'em, & 'tis Sufficent to Assure the Reader that they are Genuine.¹¹⁰

Both Playford's vocal anthologies and the later publishers' keyboard anthologies illustrate a need on the part of the publisher to declare the book's textual accuracy and reliability.¹¹¹ John Playford's claim of authority went another step beyond other music publishers of the period. As early as 1659 in his *Select Ayres and Dialogues*, Playford pledged to make public 'good and true Musick' that was 'well printed':

In the setting forth of which [songs], my care, pains, and charge hath not been small, by procuring true and exact Coppies, and dayly attending the oversight of the Presse, as no prejudice might redound either to the Authors or Buyer: And herein I resolve to meet with those Mistakers, who have taken up a new (but very fond) opinion, That Musick can-not as truely be Printed as Prick'd, (and which is more ridiculous) that no Choice Ayres or Songs are permitted by Authors to come in print, though 'tis well known that the best Musicall Compositions, either of our owne or Strangers, have been and are tendered to the World by the Printers hand; To convince the former, and to testifie my Gratitude to those Excellent Masters, from whose owne hands I received most of these Compositions; doe I say thus much, that this my present Endeavor and care in the true and exact publishing this Book will redound to Publick Benefit, and the Authors Reputation, as well as my owne Advantage.¹¹²

In the 1680s Playford was competing with, among others, Carr and Hudgebut, and he stressed the credibility and reliability of his vocal anthologies above others:

¹⁰⁸ John Walsh and John Hare, *The Harpsicord Master*, London, 1697, Title page.

¹⁰⁹ John Young, *A Choice Collection of Ayres*, London, 1700, Title page.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, "The Publisher to the Reader".

¹¹¹ McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order, 1450-1830*, 219.

¹¹² John Playford, *Select Ayres and Dialogues*, London, 1659, "To All Lovers of Vocall Musick".

I have with no small pains and care printed the Songs as true as possible from the best Copies, and have not imposed Trash upon the Buyer, like the Publishers of the late Collection of Songs in Octavo, wherein (besides the bad Collection) there is scarce one line of Musick true in the whole Book. There has been a great deal of care to do this Book well, and therefore I hope it will be so accepted.¹¹³

He continued in the fifth book of the series, stating his motivation of printing another collection was

to prevent my Friends and Country-men from being cheated with such false Ware as is daily published by ignorant and mercenary persons, who put Musical Notes over their Songs, but neither minding *Time* nor right places, turn Harmony into Discord: Such Publications being a Scandal and Abuse to the Science of *Musick*, and all Ingenious Artists and Professors thereof. This I conceive I was bound to let my Reader understand; and that in what hitherto I have made public of this nature, my pains and care has ever been not only to procure perfect Copies, but also to see them true and well printed.¹¹⁴

All these examples demonstrate a desire for textual stability to reassure readers of the reliability of the publication, and therefore by implication, the reliability of the publisher, in much the same way as the allegations of unauthoritative printing that prevail in self-published collections. This is not surprising with the amount of time and effort Playford must have put into each publication: ‘*dayly attending the oversight of the Presse*’ involved the laborious task of proofreading. What is more, all of Playford’s multi-composer books and successive editions, except the keyboard anthology *Musicks Handmaide*, were set in movable type. Printers did not have enough type to set a whole book at once, let alone the idea of keeping type set up for a later edition (unlike with engraving where engraved plates were stored for re-use). In fact, type was set for one forme (i.e. one sheet of paper) at a time, and some trial sheets were pressed for proof-reading so that corrections could be made before the full run of copies was printed from that forme. This process was time-consuming, and each instalment of proofs had to be read quickly, in order not to waste the time of the printer who could do little else.

¹¹³ John Playford, *Choice Ayres, Songs and Dialogues...The Fourth Book*, 1683, ‘To all Lovers and Understanders of Musick’, sig. A2. The ‘late Collection of Songs in Octavo’ that Playford refers to may have been *The Newest Collection of the Choicest Songs, As they are Sung at Court, Theatre, Musick-Schools, Balls, &c. With Musical Notes*. London, Printed by T. Haly, for D. Brown...and T. Benskin...1683.

¹¹⁴ John Playford, *Choice Ayres, Songs and Dialogues...The Fifth Book*, 1684, ‘To all Lovers and Understanders of Musick’, sig. A2.

Novelty

Novelty was key to marketing books, with statements such as ‘never before published’ frequently appearing on title pages and emphasized in the address to the reader. The strong marketing campaign of novelty was not limited by genre or publisher: it was a universal strategy with subtitles describing ‘New Lessons’, the ‘Newest Songs’, a ‘New Edition’ etc. Such statements were not, however, always true: many of the longer-running anthologies series were subject to editorial reshuffling of contents, including *Catch that Catch can* and *The Dancing Master*. The musical contents of these anthologies were re-ordered in subsequent editions, which emphasize a strong editorial hand over the presentation of each new edition due to the complexities of setting moveable type. Over 100 tunes were duplicated in later editions within each of the series *The Dancing Master* and *Catch that Catch can*, the latter until the 1685 edition’s change of format (see Chapter 2). This duplication suggests that the material served as the basis of the repertory from which to build. According to William MacPherson, many of the dance tunes in the earliest edition of the *Dancing Master* can be traced back to ‘instrumental settings by Elizabethan and Jacobean virginalists and lutenists’,¹¹⁵ and it was not until about the seventh edition (1670) that tunes by contemporary composers were included in significant numbers. As demonstrated above, the inclusion of music by contemporary composers did not however, imply an increase in attribution practices and further supports the idea that anonymity was characteristic of edited anthologies of printed instrumental music during this period.

Duplication of material was not limited to within a single series, with contents of beginner instrumental lesson series re-arranged for different instruments and shifting between series.¹¹⁶ Thus, the reworking and rearranging of musical texts extended the ‘lifespan of material’, perpetuating the circulation of a canon of popular tunes long after the initial printing.¹¹⁷ In an analysis of the contents of the *English Dancing Master* (1651) MacPherson identifies that ‘many of these tunes are also found in the spate of instrumental lesson-books contemporary with the [*Dancing Master*], for example, *A Booke of New Lessons for Citbren and Gittern*, 1652 and ’66; *Musick’s Recreation on the Viol*, 1652 and

¹¹⁵ MacPherson, ‘The Music of the English Country Dance, 1651-1728: With Indexes of the Printed Sources’, 2. Collections include the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book (ca. 1610), William Ballet’s lute book (1590) and Paris Conservatoire MS Rés. 1186 (1630’s). See above, page 77 for Keith Whitlock’s recent argument concerning the primary sources of Playford’s *English Dancing Master*.

¹¹⁶ Matthew Spring states that Richard Mathew borrowed a number of tunes from Playford’s anthologies for the compilation of his *The Lutes Apology for her Excellency* (1652).

¹¹⁷ Hammond, *Editing Music in Early Modern Germany*, 178.

'69; *Musick's Hand-Maid*, 1678 etc.'.¹¹⁸ The general editorial tendency appears to have been to draw on the previously published, but it is unclear whether a previous edition was used as the type-setter's exemplar for a new edition, or another manuscript source. In identifying variants between tunes in the *Dancing Master*, MacPherson states that

extensive variation, together with a new name, is possibly a sign that the compiler of the newer collection did not simply borrow the tune from the earlier book, but actually found it somewhere else. Undoubtedly many tunes in the popular repertoire were preserved not only in prints, but also in manuscript tune-books belonging to professional and amateur musicians, and were simultaneously in oral (or aural) circulation.¹¹⁹

Duplication of material occurred much less in the folio song anthologies, implying a steady stream of primary source collection by publishers. An analysis of the contents of three theatre-song anthology series published in the late 1680s demonstrates the rise in competition between publishers to issue the most up-to-date songs. John Carr's *Comes Amoris* series contains 15 songs also found in either Henry Playford's *Theater of Music* or *Banquet of Musick* series. These duplicated songs were issued in the rival publications within a year or two of each other, but the variants between their readings reveal important issues concerning transmission. These variants include the inclusion or omission of figured bass figuring, different continuo bass lines and numbers of verses, and differences in transposition. Such variants imply different transmission routes of primary sources for the two stationers. The shift to engraving as the primary means of music printing towards the end of the century has a strong bearing on issues of duplication, as engraved plates could be reused when needed to supplement market demand, without the consultation of previously-printed books or additional manuscript sources. This has implications on the creative interactions between composers and printers, as later printings from the same engraved plates do not necessarily take into account the printing of revisions, and therefore lean more towards fixity.¹²⁰

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Through an exploration of the strategies of promotion of printed music books, this chapter identifies the patterns of contemporary importance of authorship in the

¹¹⁸ MacPherson, 'The Music of the English Country Dance, 1651-1728: With Indexes of the Printed Sources', 65.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 217.

¹²⁰ Stephanie Tritton, 'Songs from the shows', review of Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson, *The Monthly mask of vocal music 1702-1711, A facsimile edition, Early Music*, xxxvi (2008), 638.

marketing of publications. There is a clear distinction between vocal and instrumental printed music regarding the figure of the author. Vocal anthologies prominently emphasize authorship of the contents with substantial amounts of attribution of individual songs and the credibility of source compilation accentuated on title pages and in prefatory material, with sources from the ‘hands of the composers’. In contrast, instrumental music anthologies are characterised by a large amount of duplication and a lack of attribution. The arranging of previously-printed material for different series highlighting the evolving nature of the musical works, ‘mobile’ texts as David McKitterick has described such texts that openly declare their unfinished state, being nothing more than ‘a preliminary to further amendment, improvement or development’.¹²¹ This distinction between the two printed genres suggests that the link between composition and printing might be stronger for vocal compositions than instrumental music. Such a hypothesis is taken up in Chapter 4, where the compositional outputs and contemporary print transmission of five case-study composers are explored.

¹²¹ McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order, 1450-1830*, 129.

Compositional Output and Contemporary Transmission in Print

The study of musical sources is an important element in understanding the contemporary transmission and reception of a musical repertory. Both manuscript and printed sources yield a great deal of information about circulation and dissemination as well as the different functions and use of the music in the different sources. Autographs can supply information concerning the processes of musical creation; other manuscripts offer specific performance contexts; anthologies reflect the compiler's interests, and pedagogy books highlight what sorts of pieces were offered by teachers both for the student's instruction and taste. Printed music books also supply a wealth of information about intended audiences and their performing forces and contexts.

The growth in music printing and commercial publishing in England in the second half of the seventeenth century provided more than ever before an opportunity for the composer to disseminate hundreds of copies of a single musical text, but, since there was no legal obligation to consult composers about the publishing of their music, it also allowed others to produce unauthorised collections, just as compositions were freely copied and passed around in manuscript. But with print came financial outlay and consideration of the needs of the consumer and, as such, brought with it the decision of what to print: thus, a selection process of those musical works which 'were of interest to the largest possible number of their contemporaries'.¹²² Only certain genres of a composer's overall output saw contemporary dissemination via print. This chapter explores three genres – secular vocal music, sacred vocal music, and keyboard music – of the compositional outputs of five case-study composers – William Lawes, Henry Lawes, Matthew Locke, Henry Purcell and John Blow. These five composers represent different parts of the period in question, and parts of their compositional output were published by leading contemporary music stationers. The survival of both printed and manuscript sources of a considerable amount of music by these composers provide ideal case studies for exploring contemporary transmission. The composers' own interaction with print as a means of disseminating their work is vital to understanding

¹²² Febvre, *The Coming of the Book : The Impact of Printing 1450-1800*, 260.

contemporary transmission. As such, this chapter is divided into two sections. The first section is categorised by the three case-study genres and sets out to explore the compositional activities of the five composers and their contemporary print transmission, thus providing a foundation for the close analytical investigation of how readings of specific musical texts may differ between printed and manuscript sources in Chapter 5. The individual nature of composers' relationships with the publishing trade and their contribution to the dissemination of their works in printed form determines that the second section of this chapter must be divided by composer. This latter section highlights authorised prints and composers' interactions with individual publishers, to determine to what extent composers viewed the contemporary print market as a mode of transmission for disseminating their works. The framework of this chapter allows us to determine, through an investigation of contemporary print transmission, to what extent print influenced compositional activity and whether compositions were chosen for print dissemination because they were suitable for the print market.

4.1 Print and Manuscript Transmission

The three genres explored in this section – secular vocal music, sacred vocal music, and keyboard music – represent important genres printed in England during the second half of the seventeenth century. Through a comparative investigation of the compositional output of the five case-study composers with the contemporary transmission of their works in printed sources, this section explores patterns of dissemination of musical texts.

Secular Vocal Music

A rich diversity of secular vocal music was composed in England in the second half of the seventeenth century for a variety of performance contexts. Initial circumstances of such composition were often quite specific and related to one-off or limited circumstances (such as theatre productions) and as such a culture of adaptation, highlighted in both manuscript and printed sources, for different circumstances appears to have been a standard process. Lgc MS Safe 3, for instance, includes autograph arrangements for voice and continuo of songs by Henry Purcell originally composed for

the theatre (see Chapter 5).¹²³ Secular vocal music was catered for in print by two principal forms of book, as illustrated in Chapter 2: folio volumes of accompanied songs (including solo songs, dialogues, part songs etc.) and anthologies of unaccompanied part songs.

Accompanied Songs

An abundance of printed music books was dedicated to this genre, notably the anthologies published by the Playford and Carr firms but also a number of single-composer collections (see Chapter 2). All these books provided a base of repertory to suit a specific social context, namely amateur performance in a domestic setting, despite the diversity of original compositional contexts and performance forces.

Both William and Henry Lawes's accompanied vocal works circulated in manuscript predominantly as repertory for music meetings in the 1640s and 1650s.¹²⁴ These manuscripts are connected with professional musicians including John Hilton and Edward Lowe.¹²⁵ In contrast, only a handful of songs by the Lawes brothers appear in amateur manuscripts of the period: *Elizabeth Rogers's Virginal Book* (Lbl Add. MS 11608) and the song book of 'Lady Ann Blount' (Llp MS 1041) contain pieces probably copied in the teachers' hands (the latter probably Charles Colman), suggesting that these works formed suitable repertory for educating female amateurs,¹²⁶ otherwise many 'amateurs lacked the contacts or status to participate in the exchange of scribal copies' without the aid of a teacher.¹²⁷ Although it is unclear how many manuscripts dating from the mid century are now lost, the surviving manuscript sources suggest a limited circulation of the Lawes brothers' songs amongst musicians close to the composers'

¹²³ Margaret Laurie and Robert Thompson, *Henry Purcell: The Gresham Autograph, Facsimile*, London, 1995.

¹²⁴ Chan, 'A Mid Seventeenth-Century Music Meeting and Playford's Publishing', 233.

¹²⁵ Lbl Add. MS 11608 and Lbl Add. MS 29396. Mary Chan has detected several common songs between Lbl Add. 11608, Ob MS Don.c.57 and Lbl Egerton MS 2013, some of which occur in versions 'of which at least parts are almost identical, implying that one has been copied from the other'. *Ibid.*, 233. Lowe was a childhood friend of both Henry and William Lawes, and acted as a witness of Henry Lawes's will in 1662. Mary Chan, 'Edward Lowe's Manuscript British Library Add. MS 29396: The Case for Redating', *Music & Letters*, lix (1978), 440-454. For a transcription of Henry Lawes's will, see Spink, *Henry Lawes: Cavalier Songwriter*, Oxford, 2000, 134-136.

¹²⁶ Bailey, 'Blurring the Lines: "Elizabeth Rogers Hir Virginal Book" in Context', 510-546; Gordon J. Callon, ed., *Songs with Theorbo (ca. 1650-1663): Oxford, Bodleian Library, Broxbourne 84.9, London, Lambeth Palace Library, 1041*, Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era, cv, Wisconsin, 2000.

¹²⁷ Rose, 'Music in the Market-Place', 70.

orbits and imply a prevalence of intimate performance settings in informal gatherings of professional and highly-skilled amateurs in direct contrast to the public exposure and dissemination afforded by print.

231 of 433 known songs by Henry Lawes were published between 1652 and 1678.¹²⁸ This quantity of accompanied song is by far the largest printed output by a single composer in mid seventeenth-century England, and is due to Lawes's personal involvement in the publication of three volumes of his works between 1653 and 1658 (see below). In fact, Lawes's direct participation in the publishing of his songs ensured over twice as many songs were disseminated via print as those selected by John Playford for his printed song anthologies.¹²⁹ However, the link we usually make between print and popularity appears to be a red herring in this case. Unsold copies of Lawes's third single-composer collection of *Ayres and Dialogues* (1658) were bound with Playford's anthology *Select Ayres and Dialogues* (1659) and another book of *Select Ayres and Dialogues* (believed to be a reprint of a lost 1663 edition) to form *The Treasury of Musick* (1669).¹³⁰ The three books of *Ayres and Dialogues* were also listed bound together in Henry Playford's 1690 sale catalogue, and both the 1691 and 1697 catalogues list *The Treasury of Musick* for sale. Lawes's songs saw very little duplication in later printed books, another indication of unpopularity. The very limited representation of Henry Lawes's vocal compositions in contemporary manuscripts also seems to support the fact that the composer's songs had little mass appeal despite their appearance in print. Similarly, 30 of William Lawes's 68 known accompanied songs were published between 1652 and 1678, and many saw limited circulation except for the instrumental and part-song arrangements (probably attributed to John Playford) of Lawes's 'Gather ye Rosebuds', which were duplicated in numerous beginner instrumental and part-song anthologies throughout the second half of the century. It is Henry Lawes's strophic and non-declamatory songs that principally feature in John Playford's anthologies, despite the dominance of declamatory songs in the composer's overall output.¹³¹ This supports Murray Lefkowitz's statement concerning the limited appeal of Lawes's declamatory style: 'it would be a mistake... to overemphasize the mass popularity or appeal of the

¹²⁸ Ian Spink, 'Lawes, Henry', in Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell, ed., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians: Second Edition*, London, 2001, xiv, 396.

¹²⁹ 101 songs were produced in anthologies by other publishers (mostly Playford), some of which also appeared in Henry Lawes's single-composer volumes. 129 songs appeared in these latter volumes only.

¹³⁰ R. J. McGrady, 'Henry Lawes and the Concept of "Just Note and Accent"', *Music & Letters*, 1 (1969), 101.

¹³¹ Ian Spink, *English Song: Dowland to Purcell*, London, 1974, 133-134.

declamatory song, even in its hey-day. It was an exclusive art form designed for a small *coterie* of intellectual nobility, poets, wits, musicians and artists who adorned the sophisticated chambers of the court'.¹³²

John Playford's *Choice Ayres, Songs and Dialogues* was the first series to advertise the latest 'songs sung at Court, and at the Publick Theatres'. These books and the subsequent song anthologies issued by Henry Playford, John Carr and John Hudgebut in the late 1680s provided solo songs and duets accompanied by a single bass line for amateur performance in a domestic setting. The contents of these publications encompass a range of pieces originally composed for specific performance contexts such as the court and theatre together with secular songs that appear to have been originally conceived as domestic repertory. Such works were a significant proportion of Purcell's overall compositional output, and he saw 98 of 143 known secular songs, in addition to theatre songs, printed in anthologies during his lifetime.¹³³ Similarly, Blow's secular vocal works were published regularly in anthologies between the late 1670s and 1690s, not surprisingly as Blow made 'his greatest contributions as a pioneer of secular vocal music' during the years 1679-1695.¹³⁴ 70 of 125 known secular songs by Blow appeared in print before 1700.¹³⁵ The printing of both Blow and Purcell's compositions in these anthologies correlated with their increasing prominence in the London musical scene, although Purcell took the lead undoubtedly because Blow wrote very little for the public theatre: of the few songs and dialogues that Blow set for this medium (most of which were produced in the 1680s) the majority are represented in print. Purcell's printed output in seventeenth-century England was amplified by the two posthumous commemorative volumes of *Orpheus Britannicus* (1698; 1702). However, although advertised as 'the choicest songs', they are not representative of Purcell's domestic songs but are mostly songs from the theatre productions of the 1690s.

Both composers contributed to the printed dissemination of this repertory by self-publishing edited collections. Purcell's *Some Select Songs as they are Sung in the Fairy Queen* (1692) was clearly influenced by the popular theatre-song anthologies and was a response to market demand (see below). Blow's *Amphion Anglicus* (1700) included 39

¹³² Lefkowitz, *William Lawes*, 150.

¹³³ Ian Spink, ed., *Henry Purcell: Duets, Dialogues and Trios*, Purcell Society Edition, 22B, London, 2007, xv-xviii; Margaret Laurie, ed., *Secular Songs for Solo Voice*, Purcell Society Edition, 25, Sevenoaks, 1985, xv-xx.

¹³⁴ Henry Leland Clarke, 'John Blow: A Tercentenary Survey', *The Musical Quarterly*, xxxv (1949), 413.

¹³⁵ Bruce Wood, 'Blow, John', in Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell, eds., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians: Second Edition*, London, 2001, iii, 722-726.

secular songs not previously published and provided a selection of secular vocal compositions that were originally composed for a variety of different performance contexts. These included thirteen excerpts of odes arranged as individual songs with no mention of their original context. This reflected a broader trend in which printed music was not marketed in a way that made it clear that the music belonged within something bigger, indicating the importance of single songs. The nature of the inclusion of extracts from large-scale works and ‘symphony’ songs with additional instrumental parts in Blow’s self-published volume is in direct contrast to the folio anthologies published by stationers. As Peter Holman has pointed out, ‘symphony’ songs ‘took up a disproportionate amount of room in printed song-books, and publishers were reluctant to include them’.¹³⁶ The printing of extended multi-sectional songs in Henry Playford’s *The Theater of Music... The First Book* (1685) was probably due to Blow and Purcell’s assistance in the volume’s preparation for print (see Chapter 3). Only two of Purcell’s eight ‘symphony’ songs were printed in the seventeenth century, and it is notable that it was the two works composed with obbligato recorder parts that were printed in the folio song anthologies of the late 1680s amid the appearance of a number of beginner instrumental tutor books devoted to the recorder (see Chapter 2).¹³⁷ Musical settings of odes were similarly absent in contemporary prints: the two published St Cecilia’s Day odes, composed by Blow and Purcell, undoubtedly served as commemorative publications of the event rather than intended for the amateur print market, as the required performing forces were unavailable to the amateur musician. Of the 35 known musical settings of odes composed by Blow, only an extract from one ode was printed in contemporary anthologies. ‘Awake, awake my lyre’ from the Oxford Act Song of the same name was printed in Playford’s *Choice Ayres and Songs... The Third Book* (1681).¹³⁸ The scoring of the extract was altered for the publication to ensure its appropriateness to the purpose of the volume: that is, a vocal line with a single instrumental bass line intended for the amateur domestic market (see Chapter 5).

¹³⁶ Peter Holman, *Henry Purcell*, Oxford, 1994, 45.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 45-46.

¹³⁸ Harold Watkins Shaw, ‘The Secular Music of John Blow’, *Proceedings of the Musical Association*, 63rd Sess. (1936-7), 9.

Unaccompanied Songs

The popularity of unaccompanied part-songs remained throughout the century, witnessed in the numerous editions of the Playfords' *Catch that Catch can*.¹³⁹ William Lawes's part-songs, for instance, were selected frequently by John Playford for his early catch anthologies of the 1650s, in which Lawes's music is the largest single-composer contribution represented. Lawes's catches were the second largest contribution to *Catch that Catch can* (1652) under the editorship of John Hilton, and under Playford's later editions, Lawes's works outstripped those by Hilton. In the 1673 edition, Lawes's vocal pieces figured as the largest single contribution with 23 pieces.¹⁴⁰ Such an extended posthumous appearance in this printed genre testifies to the composer's standing and the popularity of his catches.¹⁴¹ A total 34 catches are known to have been composed by William Lawes, of which 27 were printed in the seventeenth century and 18 of these were duplicated in later editions at least twice.

Unaccompanied part-songs formed part of most composers' output, probably composed for the informal gatherings of the composers and their colleagues 'off duty'. Eric Ford Hart has stated that Henry Lawes's catches and glees were composed because Lawes was probably 'writing for some special group of enthusiasts who wished to add to their repertory'.¹⁴² The Lawes brothers and John Wilson are known to have gathered in the tavern of an evening and it is probable that they sung informally together at such occasions.¹⁴³ All five case-study composers saw the majority of the catches they wrote printed in Playford's *Catch that Catch can*. Peter Holman highlights that many of Purcell's 43 printed part-songs, of the 53 known, are 'hard to sing, with fast-moving, angular lines ranging across nearly two octaves, probably because they were actually written for professional musicians off-duty' rather than conceived specifically for amateurs.¹⁴⁴

¹³⁹ The popularity of the catch continued into the eighteenth century: see John Walsh's editions of *The Catch Club*, for example, items 338-343 in William C. Smith and Charles Humphries, *A Bibliography of the Musical Works Published by the Firm of John Walsh during the years 1721-1766*, London, 1968, 76-77. See also Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture in Eighteenth-Century England*.

¹⁴⁰ Lefkowitz, *William Lawes*, 184.

¹⁴¹ Lawes's catches continued to appear in the eighteenth-century publications, *An Introduction to the Skill of Music* (1703), *Wit and Mirth* (1707) and *The Catch Club* (1762).

¹⁴² Eric Ford Hart, 'Introduction to Henry Lawes', *Music & Letters*, xxxii (1951), 336.

¹⁴³ Lefkowitz, *William Lawes*, 14-15.

¹⁴⁴ Holman, *Henry Purcell*, 30.

Liturgical sacred music remained almost exclusively in manuscript circulation in England in the second half of the seventeenth century, it being a genre that was performed in quite circumscribed situations, that is, in about 40 cathedral and collegiate institutions where choral singing took place.¹⁴⁵ Paths of manuscript transmission for this genre were well established,¹⁴⁶ and it is not surprising that virtually no liturgical music was printed for such a small market.¹⁴⁷ Important exceptions are John Barnard's *First Book of Selected Church Musick* (1641) and Thomas Tomkins's posthumous collection *Musica Deo Sacra* (1668), both of which appear to have been a priority purchase for cathedral choirs following the Restoration.¹⁴⁸ Two primarily text-based volumes included a handful of harmonised psalms and responses – Edward Lowe's *A Short Direction for the Performance of Cathedrall Services* (1661; 2nd ed., *A Review of some Short Directions*, 1664), and the second edition of James Clifford's *The Divine Services and Anthems* (1664). In addition, John Playford included 'The Order of Performing the Divine Service in Cathedrals and Collegiate Chappels' in the 1674 edition of his *Introduction to the Skill of Musick*.¹⁴⁹

Music-making in parish churches was significantly limited, in comparison to cathedral and collegiate institutions, and was mostly confined to the singing of metrical psalms. The printing of psalm books was extensive in England in both the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the majority of which contained only the psalm texts undoubtedly due to low levels of musical literacy among congregations. The predominance of unison, congregational singing of psalms in parish churches is reflected in the monophonic nature of the majority of those psalm books containing music.¹⁵⁰ Several harmonised settings of the psalms were printed in seventeenth-century England and appear to have been primarily aimed at parish church use, including Thomas Ravenscroft's *The whole booke of psalmes* (1621) and John Playford's *The Whole Book of Psalms in Three Parts* (1677), as described in Chapter 2. There is little evidence that Ravenscroft's book was used in parish churches, but was apparently popular among

¹⁴⁵ Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music, 1660-1714*, 41.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 77; Rose, 'Music in the Market-Place', 70.

¹⁴⁷ Nicholas Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, 2 vols., Cambridge, 1979, i, 54.

¹⁴⁸ See the Canterbury Cathedral and Westminster Abbey receipts cited in Chapter 2. See also, Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music, 1660-1714*, 75-77.

¹⁴⁹ Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music, 1660-1714*, 9.

¹⁵⁰ Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, i, 53-54.

musically-educated amateurs. Pepys recorded an informal performance at home of ‘Ravenscroft’s four-part psalms, most admirable music’,¹⁵¹ and in the 1670s John Playford ‘was much importuned by some persons in the West Country to set out a new edition of Mr Ravenscroft’s Psalms’.¹⁵² Other harmonised settings of the psalms were printed primarily for private devotional use: William Child’s *The First Set of Psalms of III Voyces* (1639; reprinted in 1650 and as *Choise Musick* in 1656 by John Playford), Henry and William Lawes’s *Choice Psalms* (1648), John Wilson’s *Psalterium Carolinum* (1657), Walter Porter’s *Mottets* (1657), and John Playford’s *Psalms & Hymns in Solemn Musick of Foure Parts* (1671). Child’s *Psalms* were described as ‘Fitt for private Chappels or other private meetings’, and George Sandys’s second edition of *Paraphrases upon the Psalmes of David* (1638) was ‘Set to new Tunes for private Devotion’ by Henry Lawes.

Most of the other sacred music published in England during this period seems also to have been intended for private devotion: the devotional songs of *Cantica Sacra* (1664; 1672) and *Harmonia Sacra* (1688; 1692; 1700) are clearly intended for home use by the amateur musician. Devotional song is represented by a very small amount in composers’ overall compositional output, and much smaller than the secular songs discussed above. The quantity of printed devotional song corresponds to this small repertory: the two books of *Harmonia Sacra* contain 29 and 17 songs respectively. *Cantica Sacra... The Second Sett* (1672) presents 39 pieces, of which eight are attributed to Richard Dering and a further four to John Playford. These books therefore present a significant proportion of the overall compositional output for this genre: 8 of 17 known songs by Blow and 17 of 36 known songs by Purcell were printed. In contrast, only two pieces were printed during Locke’s lifetime, in *Cantica Sacra... The Second Sett*, one of which is a reduction of the verse anthem ‘Lord let me know mine end’, which circulated widely in manuscripts connected with religious institutions. In contrast, Locke’s Latin and English devotional settings that have survived in his autograph Lbl Add. MS 31347 were not printed. Locke’s small representation in printed sources may be due to the composer’s Catholicism (see below), his death in 1677 and the lack of manuscript transmission.

Few other avenues for sacred vocal music in print were explored in seventeenth-century England. John Playford included a section of ‘Sacred HYMNS &

¹⁵¹ 27 November 1664. Latham, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, v, 332.

¹⁵² John Playford, *The whole book of psalms*, London, 1677, Preface. See Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, 73.

CANONS' in his part-song anthology series *Catch that Catch can* between 1652 and 1663. Matthew Locke is an exception in that he used excerpts of his sacred music as examples of composition in his published writings during the Locke-Salmon controversy of 1672 (see Chapter 2), and printed the harmonised Responses and Nicene Creed from a Chapel Royal service setting in his *Modern Church-Musick Pre-accus'd* (1666). This latter publication was retaliation by Locke because he thought the performance had been sabotaged.¹⁵³ Henry Purcell's *Te Deum and Jubilate*, performed at the St Cecilia service of 1694 and from 1697, performed at the Festival of the Sons of the Clergy at St Paul's, was printed twice in 1697 as a posthumous volume of the ceremonial setting in rival publications issued by Frances Purcell and John Walsh.¹⁵⁴ Neither John Playford's *Divine Hymns and Dialogues* (1669) nor John Blow's plans for a collection of his 'Church-Services, and Divine Compositions' came to fruition, and it was not until the eighteenth century that printed volumes began to cater for the growth of parish church choirs – Henry Playford's *Divine Companion* (1701) was the first polyphonic collection intended for the parish church – and large monumental collections of liturgical music, such as William Boyce's three volumes of *Cathedral Music* (1760-1773), were published.

Keyboard Music

Little keyboard music was published in the seventeenth century: the editions of *Parthenia* (1612-13, 1646, 1651 and 1655), *Parthenia In-Violata* (c. 1614), Locke's *Melothesia* (1673), and the Playford series *Musicks Hand-maid* (known editions date 1663 and 1678) including *The Second Part of Musicks Hand-maid* (1689) make up the printed repertoire until the late 1690s.¹⁵⁵ The scarcity of published keyboard music has been put down to the expense of engraving, and the problems of type-setting the intricacies of keyboard music.¹⁵⁶ Playford's engraved *Musicks Hand-maide* series was the stationer's keyboard contribution to his repertory of beginner lessons and music accessible by amateurs. As

¹⁵³ Matthew Locke, *Modern Church-Musick Pre-accus'd, Censur'd, and Obstructed in its Performance before His Majesty, April 1. 1666*, [London, 1666].

¹⁵⁴ Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music, 1660-1714*, 39-40.

¹⁵⁵ Charles Burney assigns the year 1657 to 'a book of lessons for the virginal' published 'in the names of Dr. Bull, Orlando Gibbons, Rogers, and others'. Charles Burney, *A General History of Musick, From the Earliest Ages to the Present Period*, 4 vols., London, 1776, iii, 407. See also Ernest Brennecke, "'Parthenia Inviolata': The Second Book of Keyboard Music Printed in England", *The Musical Times*, lxxv (1934), 701; Barry Cooper, 'Keyboard Music', in Ian Spink, ed., *Music in Britain: The Seventeenth Century*, The Blackwell History of Music in Britain, iii, Oxford, 1992, 345.

¹⁵⁶ Thurston Dart, 'Purcell's Harpsichord Music', *The Musical Times*, c, 1959, 324.

such, the series comprises simplified arrangements and ‘catchy’ tunes typical of Playford’s books providing important collections of arrangements for amateurs rather than ‘learned’ keyboard compositions intended for professionals.¹⁵⁷ *Melothesia*, on the other hand, grouped pieces into suites, which are longer and more complex than in Playford’s books, ‘with much greater use of *style brisé*’.¹⁵⁸ *Melothesia* was ‘carefully reviewed by M. LOCKE, Composer in Ordinary to His Majesty, and Organist of Her Majesties Chappel’, and in the ‘Advertisements to the Reader’, Locke states that

If this Publication prove acceptable (it being the first of its kind yet produc’d) ’twill be an encouragement for presenting a SECOND PART, wherein I intend to Collect something of every kind of Musick, both Vocal and Instrumental, now in use of the best Authors.¹⁵⁹

The posthumous volume, *A Choice Collection of Lessons for the Harpsichord or Spinnet* of 1696 devoted to Purcell’s music published by the composer’s widow appears to have sparked a number of printed keyboard volumes including two books of *The Harpsichord Master* (1697; 1700) published by John Walsh and John Hare, John Blow’s *A Choice Collection of Lessons for the Harpsichord, Spinnet, &c.* (1698), and *A Choice Collection of Ayres for the Harpsichord* (1700) published by John Young. These later keyboard volumes, all engraved, suggest that there was a market for this printed genre, and Barry Cooper has drawn attention to the influence of Purcell’s printed posthumous volume in the production of ‘a remarkable proliferation of keyboard manuscripts at the beginning of the 18th century’, and a ‘surge of harpsichord composition in the period 1690-1710’.¹⁶⁰ The multitude of extant keyboard manuscripts from the late seventeenth century testifies to this popularity. The printed Purcell volume clearly had a strong influence on subsequent keyboard publications, many of which imitate its title.¹⁶¹

A reprint of Blow’s *A Choice Collection of Lessons* was issued in 1704 by John Walsh and John Hare, suggesting popularity for the collection. Blow’s primary contemporary fame as a keyboardist did not find a correlation in printed transmission until the last years of his life, and even then only about a quarter of his keyboard output was published during his lifetime.¹⁶² Incidentally, this was also the case for Giovanni

¹⁵⁷ Cooper, ‘Keyboard Music’, 353; John Caldwell, ‘Keyboard Music: 1630-1700’, in Gerald Abraham, ed., *Concert Music (1630-1750)*, New Oxford History of Music, vi, Oxford, 1986, 582.

¹⁵⁸ Cooper, ‘Keyboard Music’, 353.

¹⁵⁹ Matthew Locke, *Melothesia*, London, 1673, 9.

¹⁶⁰ Cooper, ‘Keyboard Music’, 360-361.

¹⁶¹ Note that *Melothesia* (1673)’s full title is ‘MELOTHESIA. / OR, / Certain General RULES for PLAYING / UPON A / CONTINUED-BASS. / WITH / A choice Collection of LESSONS for the *Harpsichord* and *Organ* of all Sorts: / *Never before Published.*’

¹⁶² Wood, ‘Blow, John’, 722.

Battista Draghi, whose principal compositional output was for the keyboard but his *Six Select Suites* [sic] *of Lessons for the Harpsicord* was not published until 1707 by John Walsh and John Hare even though ‘several of the plays produced at Dorset Garden Theatre and Lincoln’s Inns Fields from 1682 to 1696 contained his music, and he contributed abundantly to song collections of the time published by the Playfords and others’.¹⁶³ The late arrival of this collection of Blow’s keyboard repertory is undoubtedly due to the mechanics and costs of printing before the 1690s, although the composer is represented in the *Second Part of Musick’s Hand-maid* (1689). Blow’s 1698 volume comprises pieces arranged into suites, although as Robert Klakowich points out, works were ‘seldom if ever composed as such, but were rather assembled by players or copyists’.¹⁶⁴ Blow’s involvement in the preparation of the collection for print is discussed below, but it is worth noting here that one of the genres of Blow’s keyboard music that did not appear in print were his grounds, which previous scholars have concluded were ‘regarded as too long for publication’.¹⁶⁵

4.2 Composers and the Print Trade: Case studies

This section explores the varying levels of interaction between the five case-study composers and the print trade in seventeenth-century England. The extent of composers’ input in the publishing of their works is complex and varies between individuals and between different books. As such, this section focuses on those publications for which composers’ interactions with the book’s preparation for print are known. These publications provide evidence of direct relationships between composers and publishers, implying that the musical contents were not corrupted by editors or through different paths of transmission, and subsequently may provide evidence of the print impact on compositional activity explored in Chapter 5.

¹⁶³ Robert Klakowich, ed., *Giovanna Battista Draghi: Harpsichord Music*, Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era, lvi, Wisconsin, 1986, viii.

¹⁶⁴ Robert Klakowich, ed., *John Blow: Complete Harpsichord Music*, Musica Britannica, lxxiii, London, 1998, xix.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, xix.; Barry Cooper, *English Solo Keyboard Music of the Middle and Late Baroque*, New York, 1989, 92.

There is no evidence to suggest that William Lawes engaged with, or intended to engage with, the printing industry, despite various sources of patronage that might have supported printed collections.¹⁶⁶ However, Lawes's music made a significant posthumous contribution to printed anthologies during the Commonwealth and Protectorate, beginning with the memorial volume, *Choice Psalmes*, in 1648. The involvement of William's brother Henry in the preparation of this publication would lead us to expect an assurance of the printing of authoritative texts. However, the extent of Henry's input in the publishing process is unclear: he certainly was involved in the book's preparation, since both the dedication and preface are ascribed to him. On the other hand, the multitude of errors in the music, including those pieces composed by Henry himself, has made Gordon Callon suggest that Henry may not have had much direct participation in the actual printing of the book.¹⁶⁷ Proof-reading was a laborious task for printing in moveable type and had to take place in the printer's shop during production.¹⁶⁸ Concerning the general book trade, Cerquiglini notes that reactions to the printing process by authors were individual:

There was the haughty refusal, at one end of the scale, to go to the print shop or participate in anyway at all in proofreading... At the other end, we see an almost military and somewhat maniacal occupation of the shop... However, and this is more important, any desire for control was blighted by correction procedures that were awkward and annoyingly diverse throughout the course of the book's production... Corrections were made during the printing process – indeed, even afterwards; and the bad-tempered presence of the author in the shop seems of a piece with this constant manipulation of the text.¹⁶⁹

The apparent unfamiliarity of the mechanics of music printing by both Henry Lawes and the publishers in the production of *Choice Psalmes* may also account for some of these errors.¹⁷⁰ The posthumous dating of William Lawes's printed music rules out the composer's involvement in its preparation for print and therefore the legitimate authority of the printed texts, but Henry Lawes's involvement in *Choice Psalmes* and his

¹⁶⁶ Lefkowitz, *William Lawes*, 14.

¹⁶⁷ See Andrew Robinson, "Choice Psalmes": A Brother's Memorial', in Andrew Ashbee, ed., *William Lawes (1602-1645): Essays on His Life, Times and Work*, Aldershot, 1998, 175-195; Gordon J. Callon, ed., *William Lawes: Collected Vocal Music*, Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era, cxxii: *Sacred Music*, Middleton, Wisconsin, 2002, xiv.

¹⁶⁸ Proof-reading in the home did not become established in England until the eighteenth century. B. Cerquiglini, *In Praise of the Variant: A Critical History of Philology*, trans. B. Wing, London, 1999, 5.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 5.

¹⁷⁰ The title-page states: 'Printed by James Young, for Humphrey Moseley...and for Richard Wodenoth'. Little is known about Humphrey Moseley's music publishing ventures, and nothing is known about Richard Wodenoth or James Young or their experience in music printing.

later interactions with the stationer John Playford (see below) suggests that at least the primary sources of *Choice Psalmes* originated from William Lawes's autographs or manuscripts closely connected to him.

Henry Lawes

Henry Lawes was not a novice in the publishing world when Playford began his music publishing ventures in 1650. As noted above, the composer had already been involved, to some extent, in the publishing of *Choice Psalmes* in 1648; he supplied the tunes for George Sandys's *Paraphrases upon the Psalms of David* of 1638; and he edited the libretto and wrote the dedication for *A Maske presented At Ludlow Castle*, published in 1637. In addition, his reputation for setting contemporary poets' lyrics was clearly such that his name was used for marketing purposes by poets and publishers from the 1640s onwards. There is a multitude of references to the composer in both literary publications of the 1640s and music publications of the 1650s: Carew's *Poems* of 1640, 1642 and 1651, the three editions of Waller's *Poems* of 1645, Milton's *Poems* of 1645, Suckling's posthumous *Fragmenta Aurea* of 1646, Lovelace's *Lucasta* of 1649, and Cartwright's *Comedies, Tragi-Comedies with Other Poems* of 1651 all prominently advertise, either on the title page or elsewhere, the fact that the songs in these volumes had been set to music by Lawes.¹⁷¹ For example, the 1645 edition of Milton's *Poems*, published by Humphrey Moseley states on the title-page:

The SONGS were set in Musick by Mr. HENRY LAWES Gentleman of the KINGS Chappel, and one of His MAIESTIES Private Musick.¹⁷²

Moseley was the publisher of most of the literary publications listed above,¹⁷³ and Lawes's own contribution to these publications is unclear: Willa McClung Evans alleges that in reissuing a pirated edition of Waller's verse, Moseley

had not only wanted to correct his type from authentic copies of the lyrics but also was in need of a cloak of honesty to make his printing of the poetry appear legitimate. Waller was in France at the time with a group of exiled English courtiers, but Henry Lawes

¹⁷¹ Hart, 'Introduction to Henry Lawes', 217; McGrady, 'Henry Lawes and the Concept of "Just Note and Accent"', 87; Spink, 'Lawes, Henry', 394.

¹⁷² John Milton, *Poems*, London, 1645, Title page.

¹⁷³ Carew's *Poems* of 1651, the three editions of Waller's *Poems* of 1645, Milton's *Poems* of 1645, Suckling's posthumous *Fragmenta Aurea* of 1646, Lovelace's *Lucasta* of 1649, and Cartwright's *Comedies, Tragi-Comedies with Other Poems* of 1651.

possessed a body of Waller's lyrics set to music, copied from the poet's own drafts, and could thus advise Mosley as to how to make his corrections.¹⁷⁴

Moseley's use of Lawes's name and positions as Gentleman of the Chapel Royal and a musician in the King's Private Musick (posts he received in 1626 and 1631 respectively) as a consistent marketing tool certainly indicates a desire for authority for the publications.¹⁷⁵ In addition, Lawes's name was used to attract members of Royalist literary circles and other sympathisers as purchasers. In both respects, this marketing ploy tells us that these songs had been composed by the time of the printing of the texts and were surely circulating in manuscript. Surviving manuscripts such as Ob MS Don.c.57 and LAuc MS C6967M4 both support this claim.¹⁷⁶

It is surprising then that it was not until 1653 that Lawes's first book of *Ayres and Dialogues* was published. This appeared the year following Playford's *Select Musically Ayres and Dialogues* (1652), in which 21 of Lawes's songs had appeared. Playford's acknowledgement in the dedication of his anthology to the composers whose music was printed in the volume states that

The Worke is yours, You by whom Musick may thinke herself richly graved and beautified by your rare skill and knowledge in this Science, in which you are most richly blest, and by you is this most excellent Science preserved alive in this Nation: Therefore the praise belongs to you this Collection being the issue of some part of your excellent paines; it can then be no lesse then Justice and my Duty to present to your protection, that which is your owne. To you I own the tribute of my paines, acknowledging myself deeply ingaged in the debt of Service and Respect for your willing condiscention to the powerfull perswasion of some Friends for the publication of these few Ayres and Dialogues ... But above all my care has been not to displease you, having taken paines to bring this to light, without any prejudice to your Worth or Honour.¹⁷⁷

Lawes, however, was evidently keen to reclaim his authority, for in the preface to his 1653 collection the composer made the allegation of unauthorised, and therefore unreliable, printing by Playford.

...the Stationer[...]who himself hath undergone the Charge and Trouble of the whole Impression; who yet (by his favour) hath lately made bold to print, in one Book, above twenty of my Songs, whereof I had no

¹⁷⁴ Willa McClung Evans, *Henry Lawes: Musician and Friend of Poets*, New York, 1941, 167.

¹⁷⁵ Evans highlights that the 'poets themselves testified that Lawes alone could give their lyrics lasting fame, by setting the stanzas to music'. *Ibid.*, 167.

¹⁷⁶ In addition, Spink states that 'Come Chloris, hie we to the bower', in the autograph on f. 81, was in an anonymous play called *The Ghost*, which was probably acted about 1640, but the song appears in Lbl Add. MS 11608 and NYp Drexel MS 4041 in versions independent of the autograph (though stemming from a common ancestor) which suggests that it was widely popular and had been circulating for some time. Spink, *Henry Lawes: Cavalier Songwriter*, 46.

¹⁷⁷ John Playford, *Select Musically Ayres and Dialogues*, London, 1652, 'To the most Excellent, and accomplished Masters of Musick', sig. A2.

*knowledge till his Book was in the Presse; and it seems he found those so acceptable that he is ready for more. Therefore now the Question is not, whether or no my Compositions shall be Publick, but whether they shall come forth from me, or from some other hand; and which of the two is likeliest to afford the true correct Copies, I leave others to judge.*¹⁷⁸

The delay of Lawes's printed collection has been attributed to the death of his brother, William, in 1645 and the subsequent preparation of *Choice Psalmes* for the press.¹⁷⁹ It is clear that Lawes began preparing a collection of songs for print long before 1653: John Milton's sonnet in praise of Lawes is dated February 9, 1645, and Milton tells us it 'was to have been prefixed to the book of airs'.¹⁸⁰

Lawes saw the publication of three volumes of his *Ayres and Dialogues* between 1653 and 1658, published by John Playford, who continued to select many of Lawes's songs for his own anthologies between 1653 and 1669. The relationship between Lawes and Playford is complex: Rebecca Herissone has argued that Lawes may have pressurized Playford into producing the single-author volumes after Playford's 1652 anthology was published without the composer's consent.¹⁸¹ Humphrey Moseley had published Lawes's *Choice Psalmes* of 1648, and continued to publish music books in the 1650s with an English translation of Descartes's *Excellent Compendium of Musick* (1653) and the 1657 edition of John Gamble's *Ayres and Dialogues*.¹⁸² In addition, Moseley had utilised Lawes's name and status on several occasions for a clientele who would presumably serve as an ideal base for Lawes's songbooks. However, Lawes actively sought to publish through Playford, no doubt because the latter was proving to be a good businessman in the music-publishing world attracting musically-literate customers, but also because Playford seems to have agreed to undertake the cost of the publication perhaps on the grounds of a large amount of expected sales (thanks to Moseley's marketing) (see above). Lawes clearly took an active role in bringing his works into print and evidently trusted Playford in the printed dissemination of additional songs after his death. The second book of *Select Ayres and Dialogues*, published in 1669, is 'COMPOSED By Mr. HENRY LAWES, late Servant to His Majesty in His Publick and Private MUSICK: And other Excellent MASTERS', and in the prefatory section 'To all Understanders and Lovers of Vocal Musick', Playford stated that the contents,

¹⁷⁸ Henry Lawes, *Ayres and Dialogues...The First Book*, London, 1653, sig. [A2v].

¹⁷⁹ Evans, *Henry Lawes*, 168-169.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 168.

¹⁸¹ Herissone, 'Playford, Purcell and the Functions of Music Publishing in Restoration England', 251.

¹⁸² Incidentally, both Moseley and Playford used the same printers: Thomas Harper and later, William Godbid.

being Transcribed from his [Lawes's] Originals, a short time before his Death, and with his free consent for me to Publish them, if occasion offer'd: I need not make any Apology for their Excellency, the Authors Name is enough, having (while he liv'd) Published three several Books of this Nature with great Esteem and Approbation; and the Impressions of the two first, being long since Sold off, many have since sought to have them, for some particular Songs in them; but considering, that to Reprint them both again would not answer the expectation either of Buyer or Seller, I have therefore selected out of them both the best and most desired Songs, and added them to those many other in this Book of Mr. Lawes and other Authors, which were never Printed till now.¹⁸³

Henry Lawes clearly recognized a 'preference for supervising the publication of his work',¹⁸⁴ but depended upon Playford for the dissemination of his songs in print. The close relationship between composer, his printed music and the publisher suggests that any differences between readings in Lawes's manuscripts and prints may be reasonably assumed to represent genuine compositional alterations and strategies, which is explored in Chapter 5.

Matthew Locke

Matthew Locke was also no stranger to the printing market: *The English Opera; Or The Vocal Musick in Psyche*, was printed in 1675 'for the Author' and comprised a compressed form of the music from the production *The English Opera* with the instrumental music from *The Tempest*. Murray Lefkowitz has suggested that the very title *The English Opera* was a move by Locke to promote English music against the imported French music at court, as was the scoring for 'old-fashioned' English instruments.¹⁸⁵ Locke states his reasons for printing in the preface, including that

Why after so long expos'd, is it now Printed? *First, to manifest my duty to several persons of Honour, who expected it. Secondly, to satisfie those Lovers and Understanders of Musick, whose business or distance prevent their seeing and hearing it. Thirdly, that those for whom it was Compos'd (tho perchance ignorant of the Quality) by the quantity may be convinc'd, the Composing and Teaching it was not in a Dream; and consequently, that if the Expence they have been at, do not answer their big Expectation, the fault's their own, not mine. Finally, (by way of Caution) to prevent what differences may happen between them, and whoever they may have occasion to imploy for the future, that on either side there be no dependance on good Words or Generosity.*¹⁸⁶

¹⁸³ John Playford, *Select Ayres and Dialogues...Second Book*, London, 1669, 'To all Understanders and Lovers of Vocal Musick'.

¹⁸⁴ Day, 'English Song-Books, 1651-1702, and their Publishers', 370.

¹⁸⁵ Murray Lefkowitz, 'Shadwell and Locke's *Psyche*', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, cvi (1979-80), 52; Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court, 1540-1690*, 348-9; Herissone, 'Playford, Purcell and the Functions of Music Publishing in Restoration England', 274.

¹⁸⁶ Matthew Locke, *The English Opera*, London, 1675, Preface.

Such statements suggest that Locke viewed print as a means of preserving a musical text for posterity and future productions. Herissone highlights that Locke may have felt that ‘the score was (ontologically) a representation of the work’; most English composers of the time seem to have had a much more pragmatic view of theatre music.¹⁸⁷ The publication had little practical use as the music is incomplete and the text is absent,¹⁸⁸ and there was little commercial demand for the volume.¹⁸⁹ Although pieces could be extracted from the score for performance, it was not possible to mount a full production, not least because of the absence of provincial theatres at this time. The publication testifies to Locke’s use of print as a medium for making public statements and it was clearly not the first time. Locke used this function of print in his polemical responses of *Observations upon a Late Book, Entituled, An Essay to the Advancement of Musick* (1672), *The Present Practice of Musick Vindicated Against the Exceptions and New Way of Attaining Musick Lately Publish’d by Thomas Salmon* (1673),¹⁹⁰ and his *Modern Church-Musick Pre-Accus’d, Censur’d and Obstructed* (1666).¹⁹¹

Little is known about the extent of Locke’s contribution to the printing process of his other single-authored music books. As early as 1656, John Playford published the instrumental music book, *Matthew Locke His Little Consort of Three Parts*. Generally acknowledged as an uncharacteristic print in Playford’s repertory, the publication of the *Little Consort* is regarded as evidence of Locke’s first presence in London, coupled with his involvement in composing music for operatic experiments in the same year.¹⁹² Locke’s signature ascribed to the preface, ‘To the Lovers and Practitioners of CONSORT-MUSICK’, and his affirmation that the consort music had been composed for the ‘encouragement of his [William Wake’s] Scholars’ (also described as such in his autograph, Lbl Add. MS 17801) confirms not only Locke’s knowledge of the printing of his music but also at least partial responsibility in the preparation of the *Little Consort* for

¹⁸⁷ Herissone, ‘Playford, Purcell and the Functions of Music Publishing in Restoration England’, 275.

¹⁸⁸ Immediately after the end of the Preface, Locke notes that ‘*The Instrumental Musick before and between the Acts, and the Entries in the Acts of Psyche are omitted by the consent of their Author, Seignior Gio. Baptista Draghi. The Tunes of the Entries and Dances in the Tempest (the Dancers being chang’d) are omitted for the same reason*’. Locke, *The English Opera*, Preface.

¹⁸⁹ In fact, the *English Opera* clearly sold badly as it was advertised as ‘20 sets’ sold in one lot in Henry Playford’s 1690 sale catalogue.

¹⁹⁰ For more information about the Locke-Salmon printed controversy see Chapter 3.

¹⁹¹ Herissone highlights that Locke’s use of print in this respect was exceptional for an English musician in this period. Herissone, ‘Playford, Purcell and the Functions of Music Publishing in Restoration England’, 275.

¹⁹² Peter Holman, ‘Locke, Matthew’, in Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell, eds., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians: Second Edition*, London, 2001, xv, 46.

print. However, the extent of Locke's involvement is unclear: the volume is beset with errors, and the survival of two different sources indicating manuscript publication of the *Little Consort* by Playford – Mr BRm630.85G042 and Lbl Add. MS 31430 – point to the stationer's desire to provide amateur-ability books of consort music for mass dissemination rather than to fulfil the composer's aspiration for an authoritative version of this work. Playford's involvement in both print- and manuscript-publications of the *Little Consort*, of which Lbl Add. 31430 probably dates from the 1670s and therefore later than the print, provides evidence of the dissemination of different versions of the work by Playford,¹⁹³ and suggests that printed texts of this period represent just one version of evolving musical works.

Playford may have perceived Locke's *Little Consort* in a similar light to the viol consort music in *A Musically Banquet* (1651), targeting the fashion for music for viols associated with Royalist circles and sympathisers of the disbanded Stuart court. Nevertheless, the printing of the *Little Consort* was a misguided realisation of demand, as the volume clearly did not sell well,¹⁹⁴ and later printed music of Locke's is noticeably published primarily by Carr rather than Playford. There is no evidence however that the failure of the printed *Little Consort* brought a rift between Locke and Playford: Playford contributed to the Locke-Salmon controversy with a *Letter* in Locke's *The Present Practice of Musick Vindicated* (1673) published by Playford,¹⁹⁵ and Locke contributed a laudatory poem 'To my friend Mr John Playford on his new Book Entitled the Musical Companion' for the 1673 edition. In addition, Playford published a number of Locke's sacred and secular vocal works, although it is unclear whether or not these pieces were printed with the composer's consent or knowledge.

John Carr issued *Melothesia, or Certain General Rules for Playing upon a Continued-Bass* in 1673. Locke was clearly involved in this anthology, containing 27 pieces as well as the dedication and preliminary theoretical instructions attributed to the composer, for Carr advertised that the volume had been 'carefully reviewed' by Locke. The composer continued to work with the stationer until his death in 1677, when Carr published *Tripla Concordia, or A Choice Collection of New Aires in Three Parts* (licensed 2 March 1676). This volume was apparently edited by Locke and includes three suites by the composer,

¹⁹³ Howard, 'Manuscript Publishing in the Commonwealth Period', 35-67.

¹⁹⁴ Still advertised in the 1690 sale catalogue. Christopher D. S. Field, 'Consort Music I: Up to 1660', in Ian Spink, ed., *Music in Britain: The Seventeenth Century*, The Blackwell History of Music in Britain, iii, Oxford, 1992, 233.

¹⁹⁵ See Chapter 3 for details of Thomas Salmon's slight at Playford.

which Peter Holman contends were ‘apparently written specifically for the collection’.¹⁹⁶ Holman provides no evidence for this claim, and I have been unable to find any conclusive information. Carr stated in the preface that

I hope [the collection] will be very kindly receiv’d by all that really are what they Profess themselves to be: For my own part, I do assure you, I would not have attempted it, had it not been by the Free Offerings of the Authors, whose design was, (as Mine is) for a Publick Good.

The suites are thought to have been written after the early 1660s, and are ‘similar to English theatre suites and the loose sequences of movements extracted from Lully’s operas that began to circulate in England in the 1670s’.¹⁹⁷

Carr states in the dedication, that this ‘Collection hath been Perused by a Person of long Experience and Knowledge in Composition; And my care hath been to follow his Directions in Overseeing and Correcting the Press’.¹⁹⁸ Locke does not appear to have been fully involved in the preparation of this volume, and the ‘corrupt or incompetent’ music representing Locke’s younger colleagues may be a result of Locke’s absence from its preparation. This publication appears not to have sold well as it was advertised as ‘20 sets’ sold in one lot in Henry Playford’s 1690 sale catalogue (see Chapter 3).

Locke was regularly involved in music publishing from between the 1650s and 1670s, either as publisher, editor, writer of prose or as an advisor. He contributed a poem to Christopher Simpson’s book *The Division-Violist; or An Introduction to the Playing upon a Ground* (1659), and in the third edition of *A Compendium of Practical Musick* (1678) Simpson acknowledges himself ‘much obliged’ to Locke, ‘both for his suggestions and assistance in this Treatise’.¹⁹⁹ Along with John Birchensha, Locke was credited for his contribution to the music definitions in Edward Phillips’ *A New World of Words*.²⁰⁰ While Locke was obviously regarded as a reputable figure, being one of the older generation of professional musicians at the Restoration, his own music appears to have been relatively unsuccessful in print, undoubtedly because of the principal printed genres of his music:

¹⁹⁶ Holman, ‘Locke, Matthew’, 46.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 47.

¹⁹⁸ John Carr, *Tripla Concordia, or A Choice Collection of New Aires in Three Parts*, London, 1677, Dedication, sig. A3 and [A3v]. The ‘Person of long Experience’ Carr is referring to is presumed to be Locke. See Herissone, ‘Playford, Purcell and the Functions of Music Publishing in Restoration England’, 254.

¹⁹⁹ Christopher Simpson, *A Compendium of Practical Musick... The Third Edition*, London, 1678, ‘The Fifth Part, Teaching The Contrivance of Canon’, 133.

²⁰⁰ E[dward] P[hillips], *A New World of Words... Third Edition*, London, 1671. By the fifth edition in 1696, the definitions are credited to Locke and Henry Purcell.

instrumental music, which had a short life-span in the fashionable world, and the *English Opera*, which appears to have had no popular demand. Locke's appointment as organist of the Queen's chapel in 1662 indicates the composer's Catholicism, and it is also possible that he was marginalised by anti-Catholic prejudice.²⁰¹

Henry Purcell

Henry Purcell's involvement in the print trade has been the subject of recent scholarship,²⁰² and his endeavours in publishing are well known: the *Sonnata's of III Parts* (1683), *The Vocal and Instrumental Musick of the Prophetess, Or The History of Dioclesian* (1691), and *Some Select Songs As they are Sung in the Fairy Queen* (1692) were all printed 'for the Author'. The reasons behind publishing consort music are unclear: by 1683 Purcell had already written the music for the public theatre production of *Theodosius*, staged in 1680, and the libretto of which was published along 'with the Musick betwixt the Acts',²⁰³ and he held the posts of Organist at Westminster Abbey and the Chapel Royal. In the preface to the *Sonnata's*, Purcell is credited with having 'faithfully endeavour'd a just imitation of the most fam'd Italian masters',²⁰⁴ and Peter Holman and Robert Thompson maintain that Purcell looked to the works of the older generations of Italian composers such as Lelio Colista (1629-1680) and Giovanni Legrenzi (1626-1690) rather than his near contemporaries, when composing his sonatas.²⁰⁵ However, the publication of Arcangelo Corelli's trio sonatas in Rome in 1681 may well have influenced Purcell's decision to publish, and Purcell may have considered the publication expense worth the public promotion of his compositional ability, comparing his skill with his fashionable, contemporary Italian counterpart. Purcell's involvement in the printing process is presumed but Thompson's recent suggestion that the engraver Thomas Cross copied from an exemplar in John Playford's hand, the stationer who along with John Carr is advertised as seller of the volume,²⁰⁶ implies that Playford had some involvement in the

²⁰¹ Holman, 'Locke, Matthew', 45.

²⁰² Herissone, 'Playford, Purcell and the Functions of Music Publishing in Restoration England', 243-290.

²⁰³ Nathaniel Lee, *Theodosius: Or, The Force of Love, A Tragedy*, London, 1680, Title-page. Henry Purcell's name does not appear in this publication.

²⁰⁴ Henry Purcell, *Sonnata's of III Parts*, London, 1683, 'To the Reader'.

²⁰⁵ Peter Holman and Robert Thompson, 'Purcell: (3) Henry Purcell (ii)', in Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell, eds., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians: Second Edition*, London, 2001, xx, 609-610.

²⁰⁶ 'Printed for the Author: And Sold by I. Playford and I. Carr at the Temple, Fleet Street'. Henry Purcell, *Sonnata's of III Parts*, Title-page.

publishing process.²⁰⁷ It is possible that the sonatas were circulating in manuscript prior to their publication, perhaps even using the medium of manuscript publication just as Locke's *Little Consort* although there is no extant evidence for this. Success in manuscript may have encouraged print publication, but this time John Playford was unwilling to risk the financial outlay as he had done with Locke's consort music. It is unclear to what extent Purcell's *Sonnata's* were successful: Richard Luckett has identified three different states, one of which bears the identification of a second edition with the date 1684, which Thompson has recently made reference to.²⁰⁸ The title is advertised in both the 1690 and 1697 catalogues of Henry Playford, but it is unclear whether this refers to surplus stock of the original 1683 edition or a later reprint using the original, unaltered engraved plates. On 6 November, 1699, an advertisement placed in the *London Gazette* indicates that Purcell's widow still had a significant stock, although again it is unclear whether these copies were reprints:

Mrs. Frances Purcell hath taken into her own hands the Te Deum, Airs [for the Theatre] the Opera of Dioclesian, the first and last Sonata's, with Instructions for the Harpsichord...by Henry Purcell... and [they] may be had at her House in Great Deans yard in Westminster...²⁰⁹

The publication of *The Vocal and Instrumental Musick of the Prophetess, Or The History of Dioclesian* was most certainly a commercial failure. The volume comprises the entire music from the theatre production, retaining its full orchestration, and was the last operatic score published in England during the seventeenth century.²¹⁰ Peter Holman has brought attention to a leaf added to the late Robert Spencer's copy of Daniel Purcell's *The Judgement of Paris* (1702) on which the publisher John Walsh stated that *Dioclesian* 'found so small Encouragement in Print, as serv'd to stifle [the publication of] many other Intire Opera's, no less Excellent'.²¹¹ Furthermore, a preface addressed to the reader apologises for the delay in publication and stated 'it has been objected that some of the songs are already common'. Purcell was referring to the printing of single sheets by the printers such as Thomas Cross. Rebecca Herissone has

²⁰⁷ Thompson, 'Manuscript Music in Purcell's London', 616.

²⁰⁸ Henry Purcell, *Sonnata's of III Parts*, London, 1683, Facsimile edition with introduction and commentary by Richard Luckett, London, 1975, Introduction; Thompson, 'The Music: Sources and Transmission', forthcoming.

²⁰⁹ Tilmouth, 'A Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers published in London and the Provinces (1660-1719)' i, 30.

²¹⁰ The only other operatic scores published were Locke's *The English Opera* (1675) and Grabu's *Albion and Albanus* (1687).

²¹¹ Holman, *Henry Purcell*, 202.

recently highlighted that Purcell seems to ‘have thought that his full score was in competition with single-sheet publications of songs’, arguing that the composer mistook different functions of music printing by comparing the cheap single-sheet songs catering for a domestic public market with the function of print as a medium through which to promote the posterity of a composer or their work.²¹²

The Vocal and Instrumental Musick of the Prophetess, Or The History of Dioclesian was Purcell’s only attempt at publishing the entire music of a dramattick opera: the following year he published *Some Select Songs* from the *Fairy Queen*. This publication is devoid of signs of ostentation, containing nine songs in the nature of theatre-song anthologies aimed at the popular market, without a dedication, and printed using moveable type. Two further single-composer collections were published during Purcell’s lifetime. *A Musical Entertainment* (1684) comprises the 1683 ode performed at the St Cecilia’s Day celebrations, and the printing of the volume was probably financially backed by the Musical Society. It is unclear whether Purcell was involved in the production of the printed book, although the dedication is attributed to the composer. The second single-composer volume is *Songs from The Indian Queen* (1695), which clearly indicated its unauthorised printing. In the preface, addressed ‘The Publishers to Mr. Henry Purcell’, John May and John Hudgebut announced their desire to publish the songs on Purcell’s behalf before the printing of ‘an imperfect Copy of these admirable Songs, or publish them in the nature of a Common Ballad’ (see Chapter 2).

Alongside Purcell’s self-published volumes, the composer was heavily involved in the preparation of other music books for print. Purcell’s associations with Henry Playford are particularly pronounced, and as Chapter 3 described, the younger Playford made full use of Purcell’s name and status as a marketing tool. Purcell was involved in editing Playford’s *The Theater of Music... The First Book* (1685), *Harmonia Sacra* (1688), *The Second Part of Musick’s Hand-maid* (1689) and *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick...The Twelfth Edition* (1694). The extent of Purcell’s editorial hand is unknown, but for *The Second Part of Musick’s Hand-maid* at least it is likely that he was responsible for the keyboard arrangements of his songs or sections from larger vocal works that appear in this volume. The relationship between the Playfords and Purcells continued after the composer’s death in 1695.²¹³ A number of single-composer collections were printed

²¹² Herissone, ‘Playford, Purcell and the Functions of Music Publishing in Restoration England’, 278.

²¹³ Luckett, ‘The Playford and the Purcells’, 45-68.

posthumously: *A Choice Collection of Lessons for the Harpsichord or Spinet* (1696; 3rd ed., 1699), *Te Deum et Jubilate* (1697), *Ten Sonatas in Four Parts* (1697), *A Collection of Ayres, Compos'd for the Theatre* (1697), and *Orpheus Britannicus* (1698; 1702). The immediacy of these posthumous publications with the composer's widow and principal publisher may provide authoritative versions of the works. These printed volumes affect the profile of Purcell's contemporary printed output.

John Blow

John Blow's recognition of the opportunities of print did not become apparent until the late 1690s, following the posthumous Purcell anthologies described above. The imitation of Purcell's posthumous keyboard and secular vocal volumes with Blow's *A Choice Collection of Lessons for the Harpsicord, Spinet, &c* (1698) and *Amphion Anglicus* (1700) is striking: John Hawkins states that 'the favourable reception it [*Orpheus Britannicus*] met with was a motive with Blow to the publication, in the year 1700, of a work of the same kind'.²¹⁴ Not only does the title of Blow's keyboard volume replicate Purcell's, but the title of his songbook plays on that of Purcell's and the contents embrace a similar variety of original song contexts. This imitation was noted by Blow's contemporaries, and he was criticised for it.²¹⁵ In the preface of *Amphion Anglicus*, Blow affirmed his determination to publish a third collection consisting of church music, which he did not live to complete:

I am preparing, as fast as I can, to make some amends for this, by a Second Musical Present, upon Arguments incomparably better: I mean my Church-Services, and Divine Compositions.²¹⁶

Despite previous debates over whether or not Blow was publishing *A Choice Collection of Lessons* for posterity,²¹⁷ the composer's move to publish three single-authored collections of important genres of his compositional output towards the end of his life does seem to point towards the assembling of compilations of his 'choice' compositions. At the end of Henry Playford's 1697 sale catalogue, an advertisement states that

²¹⁴ Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, ii, 742.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, ii, 743. See Spink, 'Vocal Music II: From 1660', 190; Michael Burden, 'Purcell and his Contemporaries', in Michael Burden, ed., *The Purcell Companion*, London, 1995, 77.

²¹⁶ John Blow, *Amphion Anglicus*, London, 1700, 'The Dedication'. Clarke, 'John Blow: A Tercentenary Survey', 414.

²¹⁷ Cooper, *English Solo Keyboard Music of the Middle and Late Baroque*, 92.

There will be Publish'd next *Michaelmas*-Term, the First Book of Dr. *Blow*'s Choice SONGS; *Viſ.*

1. *Go perjurd Man*, with all its Parts —

2. *Septimius and Acme* —

3. *In vain, in vain, brisk God of Love* —

4. *If mighty Wealth* — —

With Two New Songs, lately Compos'd.²¹⁸

The domestic print market seems to have had a certain amount of influence on the contents of these two volumes of collected works: Barry Cooper has highlighted some of Blow's 'more learned grounds' that were perhaps 'too long to be printed' in *A Choice Collection* and less 'in line with current taste'.²¹⁹ *Amphion Anglicus* copied *Orpheus Britannicus* in its format and general design; however, Peter Holman draws attention to the fact that the forces required for performing the entire contents of Blow's vocal publication were much greater than those for *Orpheus Britannicus*: the buyer would have needed the 'services of at least four highly skilled singers, as well as two violins, two recorders and continuo'.²²⁰ Blow's recognition of a domestic use of *Amphion Anglicus* is unclear. The two song collections had very different functions: *Orpheus Britannicus* was a monument to a dead composer, while *Amphion Anglicus* was a self-publication by a living composer undoubtedly for the function of ostentation. Blow's involvement in his printed keyboard collection is less clear – there is no prefatory material, and the title-page reads 'Ingrav'd for: and Sold by Henry Playford' – but it is largely assumed that the composer oversaw the publication.²²¹ Blow's involvement in the publishing of two collections of his compositional repertory suggests that any differences between readings in Blow's manuscripts and prints may be reasonably assumed to represent genuine compositional alterations and strategies.

Blow's participation in other publishing ventures is relatively small in comparison to Purcell, undoubtedly due to Blow having been less in the public eye than Purcell, particularly with the latter's establishment as a theatre composer. The earliest indications of Blow's involvement occur in 1685. Blow's St Cecilia's Ode of 1684, 'Begin the song' appeared in print as *A Second Musical Entertainment* (1685) in which the composer is accredited with the dedication to the stewards of the Musical Society. The absence of a publisher's name on the title page suggests that the financial backing of the

²¹⁸ Henry Playford, *A General Catalogue of the all the Choicest Musick-Books*, London, [1697], 'Advertisements'. Lbl Harl. 5936/428.

²¹⁹ Cooper, *English Solo Keyboard Music of the Middle and Late Baroque*, 92.

²²⁰ Peter Holman, *John Blow: Awake my lyre*, The Parley of Instruments, Hyperion, 1993, 4.

²²¹ Klakowich, *John Blow: Complete Harpsichord Music*, xxviii.

volume was supplied by the Musical Society,²²² as has been suggested for Purcell's ode published a year previously. In addition, Henry Playford dedicated his *Theater of Music... The First Book* (1685) to both Blow and Purcell, noting their editorial assistance in the preparation of the volume for the press (see Chapter 2). The Blow-Playford connection is similar to the Playfords and Purcells in that there was clearly an established business relationship between stationer and professional musician (see Chapter 2). Blow's involvement with other publishers is less clear. His harpsichord music appeared in John Walsh and John Hare's *The Harpsicord Master* (1700), and John Young listed Blow on the title page of his anthology *A Choice Collection of Ayres for the Harpsichord* (1700) 'Carefully Corrected by each Master'. In the preface, Young declared

the Present Volume is a Collection Which the Worthy Gentlemen mentioned in the Title have been Pleased to Favour me with & Permitt me to Publish. After Naming ye men that Composed these Lessons 'twould be Presumption & Impertinence to Offer at a Charactar of 'em, & 'tis Sufficient to Assure the Reader that they are Genuine.²²³

Similarly, John Walsh published *The psalms by Dr Blow Set Full for the organ or harpsichord* in 1703, with a second edition appearing in 1705, although both editions are now lost.²²⁴

*

This chapter has examined the contemporary print transmission of five composers in the areas of secular vocal music, sacred vocal music and keyboard music. The contemporary print coverage in relation to compositional output is clearly uneven, with obvious lacunae in certain areas such as sacred music. The restricted nature of its performance meant the genre had very little market demand. The print transmission of keyboard music seems to have been delayed by the expense of a suitable printing technology until the end of the century. As such, the printed sources of keyboard music from the seventeenth century represent only a small fraction of the compositional output in this genre. Printed keyboard pieces are typically dances and arrangements of popular tunes suitable for the amateur market, and more serious keyboard compositions remained in manuscript. Secular vocal music, on the other hand, was abundantly

²²² 'Printed by *John Playford*, and are to be sold by *John Carr*'. The 'John Playford' here refers to the printer not the publisher. Krummel notes that Playford was usually careful to state on title pages whether he published a volume or just sold it. Carr appears to have been just as meticulous. Krummel, *English Music Printing, 1553-1700*, 124.

²²³ John Young, *A Choice Collection of Ayres for the Harpsichord*, London, 1700, 'The Publisher to the Reader'.

²²⁴ Another edition was issued c. 1730.

represented in print. For those songs originally conceived as secular songs for domestic repertory, it is unclear to what extent printing influenced creativity as it is unknown whether or not these pieces were written specifically with print in mind. Songs originally composed within large-scale works, such as public theatre productions and musical settings of odes, were subject to a culture of adaptation, revealed in both manuscript and printed sources, to fit particular performing contexts and forces. The printed accompanied-song anthologies had one such context – musically-educated amateur performance in a domestic setting – and as such, necessitated the adaptation and arrangement of extracts of large-scale works to fit this format. Such revisions of these works for both printed anthologies and self-published volumes will be explored in Chapter 5. Unaccompanied part-songs were staple parts of compositional output in England in the second half of the seventeenth century, and were suitable for selection for the print market to cater for the vogue in informal gatherings of friends.

The differing relationships between composers and publishers were, to a certain extent, dependent upon individual composers' priorities. Both Henry Lawes and Matthew Locke were clearly keen to disseminate works and ideas via print, although their ventures imply that neither composer was particularly aware of market issues. Henry Purcell explored different avenues of music publishing, culminating in *Some Select Songs* (1692) following the composer's editorial role for Playford anthologies, and aimed specifically at the amateur market. John Blow's lack of engaging with print as a means of disseminating his works until towards the end of his life may be due to the principal genres of his compositional output – sacred vocal music, keyboard music, and large-scale secular vocal works – and their limited possibilities via the print market. The primary function of most contemporary printed sources aimed at the amateur market coupled with the composers' own involvement in publishing, has important implications for the possibilities of genuine compositional alterations and strategies in the preparation of musical works for the print market.

Catering for a Public Amateur Print Market? An Analysis

Through a detailed analysis of compositions by the five case-study composers outlined in Chapter 4, this chapter will determine whether there is any argument that different versions of pieces were being distributed in print than in manuscript in England in the second half of the seventeenth century. There has been a tendency in previous scholarship not to differentiate in principle between printed and manuscript sources, and consequently not to consider how the different purposes and functions of printed affected the musical texts within them. It is important to stress here the fluid nature of music notation in seventeenth-century England. Flexibility and variability of notation was a feature of some genres:¹ most recently Andrew Woolley's study of Restoration keyboard music sources has highlighted the intensity of that particular genre's notational fluidity.² Such inconsistencies permeated all types of transmission media. Not only did composers make successive revisions of works already in circulation,³ but variants also arose in the course of dissemination through such paths as notated transmission,⁴ aural transcription and memorised 'gists'.⁵ The invention of print did not automatically create stabilized musical texts, and numerous errors remained uncorrected.⁶ These different paths of transmission have resulted in a wealth of variant readings of a musical text. This chapter is not concerned with every single one of these variants, but concentrates on identifying where patterns of variants occur, and to what extent these patterns can tell us about the impact of the public print market on musical texts.

The case studies for this analysis comprise a selection of secular and sacred vocal works and keyboard pieces. These are listed in Appendix B with full details of sources consulted.⁷ The case studies represent a range of genres found in contemporary printed sources – catches, canons, dialogues, songs, theatre songs, odes, 'symphony' songs, devotional songs and keyboard pieces – providing an analysis of different types

¹ There was some differentiation between genres in this respect, particularly consort music in manuscript circulation. Rebecca Herissone addresses this issue in her forthcoming book, *Musical Creativity in Restoration England*, Chapter 5.

² Woolley, 'English Keyboard Sources and their Contexts, c. 1660-1720'.

³ See, for example, Herissone, "'Fowle Originalls" and "Fayre Writeing"', 569-619.

⁴ Barry Cooper lists nine causes of variants in the transmission of John Blow's organ music. Barry Cooper, 'Problems in the Transmission of Blow's Organ Music', *Music & Letters*, lxxv (1994), 522-547.

⁵ Woolley, 'English Keyboard Sources and their Contexts, c. 1660-1720', 106.

⁶ Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe*, 56.

⁷ In addition, Appendix C provides brief descriptions of the manuscript sources consulted.

of music, while recognising that these pieces were originally written in different ways for a variety of performance contexts and forces. In this sense, the broad range of case studies has a strong bearing on the extent to which a printed source might incorporate adaptation or arrangement in pursuit of attracting its paying customers. Consequently, this chapter has been subdivided by genre as it appears in print, that is, the *printed* genre of each composition in this case study determines its place within the analysis.

The case studies were chosen as important representations for each individual composer's printed output in England during the second half of the seventeenth century. Within the scope of a PhD dissertation it would not, of course, be feasible to undertake a comprehensive analysis of every single variant between printed and manuscript sources for music of this period. The following criteria have therefore been used: the printed publications of four of the composers (Henry Lawes, Matthew Locke, Henry Purcell and John Blow) have primarily been selected to comprise those volumes in which the composers had input, as discussed in Chapter 4; an additional group of publications, in which the composer had no direct involvement, has been consulted in order to allow comparison with the first group, which will enable an assessment of the extent to which musical works were shaped for the printed market by stationers rather than composers; individual pieces have been selected because of their survival in at least one authoritative contemporary manuscript source as well as in print; and the pieces chosen have also been selected to ensure that the main genres that were printed in the period can be assessed. The emphasis on vocal music reflects its importance as the largest single genre in printed music in England between 1650 and 1700, and the range of subgenres within this broad category attempts to embrace many of the different types of singing that took place in the period, although it should be noted that such distinctions also result in particular subcategories entirely or primarily comprising the music of a single composer. Keyboard music was chosen as an example of instrumental music, although it should be noted that the variability of keyboard texts and flexibility in notation during this period and demonstrated recently by Woolley may not be representative of all 'instrumental' genres. The solo and improvisatory nature of keyboard music is different to other types of music such as ensemble string music where there is more dependence on notation. The case studies of John Blow's keyboard music analysed here provide a contrast between those pieces published in *The Second Part of Musick's Hand-maid* (1689) under the editorship of Henry Purcell, and Blow's *A Choice Collection of Lessons* (1698), and their readings in contemporary manuscripts. There are

several printed genres not represented here – including airs and lessons for such instruments as flageolet, recorder, flute and violin, consort music, psalms, broadside ballads – and this study represents a small fraction of the printed output of music in England at this time. However, the present analysis offers a number of implications from which future studies can build with the wealth of currently unexplored material concerning print culture in seventeenth-century England.

Catches, Canons and Dialogues

The ten case studies in this category by William Lawes were all published posthumously following Lawes's death in 1645. Despite the original compositional contexts of these pieces – drinking songs, settings of play lyrics and devotional canons – their appearance in print generated an amalgamation into one genre: the unaccompanied-song anthologies published by John Playford. The large posthumous contribution of Lawes's vocal music to John Hilton's edition of *Catch that Catch can* in 1652 is not surprising given that there was a close friendship between the Lawes brothers and Hilton. The survival of Lawes's music in Hilton's manuscript, Lbl Add. MS 11608, suggests that these compositions were in circulation among London music meetings of the mid century as Mary Chan has identified.⁸ The readings between Hilton's *Catch that Catch can* and Lawes's autograph, Ob Mus.Sch.B.2 are extremely close. The autograph does not contain the full lyrics to the catches but only incipits, and this lack of underlay causes occasional ambiguity in the settings. Small rhythmic variants, such as a minim altered to two crotchets, occur in the prints to ensure clear, readable settings. The lack of variants between manuscript and printed sources of catches and canons is clearly due to the nature of the composition: one melodic line, which is sung in the round. Arrangement and adaptation are not required for preparing these musical texts for print as they are in the most basic, skeleton form possible, and the accessibility of these works make them most suitable for the print market.

The 1667 edition of *Catch that Catch can* included a second book 'containing Dialogues, Gleees, Ayres, & Ballads, &c. Some for Two Three Four Voyces',⁹ and was described by Playford in a later edition as 'so great variety of Musick...hath not been

⁸ Chan, 'A Mid-Seventeenth-Century Music Meeting and Playford's Publishing', 231-244.

⁹ John Playford, *Catch that Catch can*, London, 1667, Title-page.

extant in this Nation, nor any other (that I have seen) beyond the Seas'.¹⁰ Primarily an unaccompanied-song anthology aimed at male group singing, the volume's additional section included songs that appear to have required a certain amount of adaptation in order to suit the already-established market of the series. Playford demonstrated his editorial role in 1673 when he stated that 'the Songs for Two, Three and Four Parts are all Printed in the G sol re ut Cliff, for the more convenient Singing either by Boys or Men'.¹¹ This was not the extent of adaptation, however, as instrumental accompaniment parts of original songs were removed in the printed sources in line with the nature of the publication as a whole. Thus Lawes's dialogue 'Come my Daphne, come away' is stripped of its instrumental accompaniment in the *Catch that Catch can, Or The Musical Companion* editions of 1667 and 1673, despite its appearance with continuo in accompanied-song anthologies such as *Select Musically Ayres and Dialogues* (1652). Presented in its most skeletal form, this duet appears alongside other songs and dialogues in the unaccompanied-song anthologies to provide supplementary material for male-centred singing groups regardless of the compositions' original contexts.

The close readings of Lawes's works in these genres between his autographs and the posthumous printed sources may be partly due to the close connections between William Lawes and his contemporaries – including John Hilton, Henry Lawes and Edward Lowe – and their links with John Playford. William Lawes was dead before printing took place and therefore could not have made revisions or adaptation for the printed versions. As such, Lawes might be considered a control for this study, although the lack of variants may be misleading in this case as the nature of these genres is not conducive to change in order to be well suited to the print market.

Songs

The survival of Henry Lawes's autograph, Lbl Add. MS 53723, coupled with his known involvement in the printing of three single-composer books, as described in Chapter 4, permits an attractive analysis of 46 songs and what variants we can attribute to the composer. In addition, the dissemination of many of Lawes's songs in Playford anthologies provides a contrast, suggesting what variants we can attribute to the

¹⁰ John Playford, *The Musical Companion*, London, 1673, 'To all Ingenuous Lovers of Musick', sig. A2.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, sig. A2.

composer and what was important to the stationer. Previous investigations of the extant contemporary sources of Henry Lawes's songs by Willa McClung Evans, Pamela J. Willetts, R. J. McGrady and Ian Spink have highlighted variants between Lawes's autograph and the composer's printed *Ayres and Dialogues* volumes. These previous studies have also included analysis of contemporary seventeenth-century English manuscripts containing Lawes's songs, and reveal some of the composer's revisions.¹² However, the current analysis is the first to focus specifically on variants found between the manuscript and printed sources in order to identify patterns that imply the impact of the public amateur market on the printed musical texts.

Comparison between the *Ayres and Dialogues* books, which Lawes declares in the 1653 preface to contain 'true and correct Copies',¹³ and his autograph songbook, Lbl Add. 53723, is particularly complicated due to the inclusion of different versions of the songs in the autograph.¹⁴ While some of these duplicate settings are transposed versions, Willetts states that others 'show Lawes revising his work to improve the declamation and also to tauten the overall structure'.¹⁵ The idea that Lawes revised songs in an attempt to improve them has also been adopted by other scholars: Ian Spink, David Greer and R. J. McGrady all highlight Lawes's revisions to improve the declamatory style.¹⁶ Typically, the song 'Celia, thy sweet Angel's face' is used as an example of such revisions. This song appears in Lbl Add. 53723 twice,¹⁷ and McGrady concludes that the

stylistic differences between the two songs point to a definite development in Lawes's thought. The earlier version is clearly simpler and less flexible in rhythm than the later [version]... The later version is, in many ways, a different kind of song, for it follows more closely the rhythms and movement of speech: the phrasing is less regular and the syllables of key words are lovingly lingered over...The revision is clearly determined by literary considerations: Lawes is satisfied with his melodic outline, but not with his expressions of poetic argument.¹⁸

¹² Evans, *Henry Lawes, Musician and Friend of Poets*; Hart, 'Introduction to Henry Lawes', 217-225 and 328-344; Pamela J. Willetts, *The Henry Lawes Manuscript*, London, 1969; McGrady, 'Henry Lawes and the Concept of "Just Note and Accent"', 86-102; Spink, *Henry Lawes: Cavalier Songwriter*.

¹³ While this is evidently a marketing ploy, Lawes was clearly involved in the preparation of these volumes for the printing press and, printing errors aside, these readings are authoritative versions of his songs.

¹⁴ Willetts identified seven different poems with duplicate settings. Willetts, *The Henry Lawes Manuscript*, 17.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 17.

¹⁶ Spink, *Henry Lawes: Cavalier Songwriter*, 33; David Greer, 'Vocal Music I: up to 1660', in Ian Spink, ed., *Music in Britain: The Seventeenth Century*, The Blackwell History of Music in Britain, iii, Oxford, 1992, 168; McGrady, 'Henry Lawes and the Concept of "Just Note and Accent"', 93-96.

¹⁷ Lbl Add. MS 53723, f. 25 and f. 65.

¹⁸ McGrady, 'Henry Lawes and the Concept of "Just Note and Accent"', 95.

Willetts identifies that the version of this song in Lawes's 1653 *Ayres and Dialogues* is 'much closer to his first manuscript version',¹⁹ but she does not notice that, despite stating that the *Ayres and Dialogues* collection 'must be accepted, that minor printing errors apart, these versions are his considered final texts',²⁰ Lawes does not maintain the 'improvement' to declamation in the song's printed counterpart. Such a result demonstrates that the manuscript does not necessarily incorporate improvements but alternative versions, and Lawes's decision to print the former version may indicate a selection process by the composer of his songs for print. The following analysis examines the surviving printed and manuscript sources in order to determine the extent to which Lawes revised a number of his songs in preparation for print.

The most apparent variation between Lawes's autograph and printed volumes is the arrangement of originally single-voice settings into three-part glees for print. Eric Ford Hart has identified four songs by Henry Lawes that were rewritten in this way,²¹ but this case study has found that 11 songs all appear as three-part arrangements in their respective *Ayres and Dialogues* source: 'About the sweet bag of a bee', 'Dear, throw that flatt'ring glass away', 'Do not delay me', 'Hither we come into this world of woe', 'If my mistress fix her eye', 'I have praised with all my skill', 'I prithe send me', 'Keep on your veil', 'O now the certain cause', 'Sure thou framed wert by art' and 'Though my torment'.²² Part-songs were extremely popular during the Commonwealth: Playford published edition after edition of his *Catch that Catch can* books made up of glees, rounds and catches,²³ and also included part-songs in his folio vocal anthologies of 1652, 1653 and 1659. Hart proposes that Lawes may have been 'helping to satisfy the general demand for such productions' in creating these settings:²⁴ it is certainly easy to believe that Lawes was yielding to popularisation. None of the three-part arrangements has been recorded in the autograph but only their single voice versions. Furthermore, the three-part settings appear to have been distributed almost exclusively in printed form: only one song, 'Beauties have ye seen a Toy', appears (unattributed) in a contemporary manuscript, Lbl Add. 11608.²⁵ No other evidence suggests that these versions were

¹⁹ Willetts, *The Henry Lawes Manuscript*, 17.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 18.

²¹ Hart, 'Introduction to Henry Lawes', 336. Hart does not name the four songs.

²² 'Though my torment' is different in *Ayres and Dialogues* (1653) from the autograph, except for the last phrase.

²³ Part-songs also appeared in *Musick and Mirth* published by Playford in 1651.

²⁴ Hart, 'Introduction to Henry Lawes', 336.

²⁵ Lbl Add. MS 11608, f. 81. A solo voice version is also recorded in this manuscript on f. 80v-81.

widely disseminated in the manuscript medium as only single vocal settings have been preserved.

All the three-part settings appear in print with two G2 clefs and one F4 clef, despite half of the solo versions having a C1 clef in Lbl Add. 53723. An accompanying continuo line is maintained in the prints, undoubtedly allowing for flexibility in performance options, that is, either accompanied solo voice or vocal ensemble. A number of variants are presented in the arrangements. The most evident alteration is made to the original continuo line, which is either simplified or elaborated in the printed sources in order to insert the lyrics for the bass vocalist. 'Dear throw that flatt'ring glass away' and 'Sure thou framed' both required extensive alteration to the bass line. Example 5.1 provides a transcription of 'Dear throw that flatt'ring glass away', in which the bass line is both elaborated (bars 1-2) and simplified (bars 6-7; 10-11) in order to provide a fitting vocal bass part according to the verbal rhythm. Such revisions also encompass creative strategies to ensure relationships between the vocal parts; for instance, the entry of the lower vocal parts is delayed in bar 6 in imitation of the melody. Harmonic alterations are frequent; the most extensive can be found in 'Do not delay me', where the harmonic direction is altered in the first phrase so that the music cadences in B flat major in the print rather than in G minor in the autograph at 'though you have the pow'r' (see Example 5.2). There appears to be little reason behind the alteration, other than the phrase in the bass line becoming easier to sing.

Such adaptations appear erratically, and no patterns emerge to indicate that Lawes's specific revisions were dictated by characteristics of the amateur print market. Original melodies stay largely intact although occasionally individual notes are substituted to the second cantus part in favour of a higher melody in the top vocal part. In 'I have praised', for example, the second note, d, of the autograph melody is given in the printed second cantus part, and replaced with an a' in the first cantus part thus providing a melody line moving by step, g'-a'-b' flat. Original melodies are also affected by a systematic regularisation of metre, in which longer note-values remove rhythmic devices. For example, in 'About the sweet bag of a bee', shown in Example 5.3, the autograph records three hemiolas, at bars 4-6, 10-12 and 35-37, which are removed in the printed source by the lengthening of notevalues. In addition, the central section at the words 'which done, to still their wanton cries, and quiet grown sh'had seen them', the phrase is extended in the printed source to retain the triple metre, as

Example 5.1 Henry Lawes, 'Dear throw that flatt'ring glass away'.

Henry Lawes, *Ayres and Dialogues*, 1658, p. 43.

Dear, throw that Flatt'-ring Glass a-way, I have two tru-er for your turn; these Eyes I

Dear, throw that Flatt'-ring Glass a-way, I have two tru-er for your turn; these

Dear, throw that Flatt'-ring Glass a-way, I have two tru-er for your turn; these

mean, where - in you may see how you blaze, and how I burn.

Eyes I mean, where - in you may see how [you] blaze, and how [I] burn.

Eyes I mean, where - in you may see how you blaze, and how I burn.

Lbl Add. MS 53723, f. 6v.

Dear, throw that Flatt'-ring Glass a-way, I have two tru-er for your turn; these Eyes I

mean, where - in you may see how you blaze, and how I burn.

Example 5.2 Henry Lawes, 'Do not delay me'.

Henry Lawes, *Ayres and Dialogues*, 1658, p. 44.

Do not de - lay me, though you have the pow'r a - ges to stay me, O do't in an hour.

Do not de - lay me, though you have the pow'r a - ges to stay me, O do't in an hour.

Do not de - lay me, though you have the pow'r a - ges to stay me, O do't in an hour.

Do not de - lay me, though you have the pow'r a - ges to stay me, O do't in an hour.

This system contains four staves of music. The top two staves are vocal parts with lyrics. The bottom two staves are lute accompaniment. The key signature has one flat (B-flat) and the time signature is 3/4.

9

Then do not slight me, O do not re - ject me!

Then do not slight me, O do not re - ject me!

Then do not slight me, O do not re - ject me!

Then do not slight me, O do not re - ject me!

This system contains four staves of music. The top two staves are vocal parts with lyrics. The bottom two staves are lute accompaniment. The key signature has one flat (B-flat) and the time signature is 3/4.

13

Say not what might be, since thus I af - fect thee.

Say not what might be, since thus I af - fect thee.

Say not what might be, since thus I af - fect thee.

Say not what might be, since thus I af - fect thee.

This system contains four staves of music. The top two staves are vocal parts with lyrics. The bottom two staves are lute accompaniment. The key signature has one flat (B-flat) and the time signature is 3/4.

Lbl Add. MS 53723, f. 24v.

Do not de - lay me, though you have the pow'r_ a - ges to stay me, O_ do't in_ an_ hour.

9
Then do not slight me, O_ do_ not re - ject me!

13
Say not what might be, since thus_ I_ af - fect thee.

The image shows a musical score for three voices in 3/4 time, with a key signature of one flat. The score is divided into three systems, each with a vocal line (treble clef) and a bass line (bass clef). The lyrics are: 'Do not de - lay me, though you have the pow'r_ a - ges to stay me, O_ do't in_ an_ hour.' (measures 1-8), '9 Then do not slight me, O_ do_ not re - ject me!' (measures 9-12), and '13 Say not what might be, since thus_ I_ af - fect thee.' (measures 13-16). The music features a steady, regular metre with simple, uncomplicated melodies and harmonic movement.

opposed to an almost extended hemiola feel of its autograph counterpart. In 'If my Mistress fix her eye', the lengthening of the final cadence subsequently extends the whole composition, another common strategy of Lawes's revisions to his printed songs. As shown in Example 5.4, the final cadence of 'If my Mistress fix her eye' is lengthened by a bar due to an addition of a rest before the final phrase, and an alteration in the melody.²⁶ This allows for anticipatory imitation in the vocal parts at the text 'can release', and the addition of suspensions, 7-6 and 4-3, between the upper two vocal parts, which Ian Spink describes as 'a more impressive end' than the autograph version.²⁷

These revisions demonstrate a methodical revision process by Lawes in converting his solo songs into part-songs, and providing the part-songs with a steady, regular metre in contrast to his declamatory style, with less intricate rhythms, melodies uncomplicated by ornamentation, and a slower harmonic movement. It is possible that such changes were designed for easier accessibility by amateurs, in line with Lawes's songs selected by John Playford for his multi-composer anthologies (see Chapter 4). The re-working of at least 11 solo songs into three-voice settings for print by Lawes certainly suggests a deliberate ploy on the composer's part to cater for the popular market: the layout of these songs allowed for flexible performance similar to the table-

²⁶ Spink, *English Songs: Dowland to Purcell*, 139-141.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 141.

Example 5.3 Henry Lawes, 'About the sweet bag of a bee'.

Henry Lawes, *Ayres and Dialogues*, 1655, p. [48].

A - bout the sweet bag of a Bee, two Cu - pids fell at odds, and whose the
 which Ve - nus hear - ing thi - ther_ came; and for their bold - ness_ stript them, and ta - king

A - bout the sweet bag of a Bee, two Cu - pids fell at odds, and whose the
 which Ve - nus hear - ing thi - ther_ came; and for their bold - ness_ stript them, and ta - king

A - bout the sweet bag of a Bee, two Cu - pids fell at odds, and whose the
 which Ve - nus hear - ing thi - ther_ came; and for their bold - ness_ stript them, and ta - king

9

pret - ty prize should be; they vow'd to aske the Gods: Which done,
 thence from each his flame with rods of Mir - tle whipt them.

pret - ty prize should be; they vow'd to aske the Gods: Which done,
 thence from each his flame with rods of Mir - tle whipt them.

pret - ty prize should be; they vow'd to aske the Gods: Which done,
 thence from each his flame with rods of Mir - tle whipt them.

17

to still their wan - ton cryes, and qui - et_ grown sh'had_ seen them, she
 to still their_ wan - ton cryes, and qui - et_ grown sh'had seen them, she

to still their_ wan - ton cryes and qui - et_ grown sh'had seen them, she kist

24

kist and dri'd their dove - like eyes, and_ gave_ the bag be - tween them
 kist and dri'd their dove - like eyes, and_ gave_ the bag be - tween them

and dri'd their dove - like eyes, and gave the bag be - tween them.

A - bout the Sweet Bag of a Bee, two Cu - pids fell at odds,

7

and whose the pret - ty prize should be, they vow'd to aske the Gods

13

which Ve - nus hear - ing thi - ther came, & for their bold - ness stript them,

19

& tak - ing thence from each his flame, with Rods of Mir - tle whipt them,

25

which done, to still their wan - ton cries, & qui - et grown sh'had seen them,

31

she kist & dried their dove - like

35

eyes, and gave the bag be - tween them.

Example 5.4 Henry Lawes, 'If my Mistress'.

Henry Lawes, *Ayres and Dialogues*, 1653, p. 18.

First system of the musical score, measures 1-6. It features four staves: two vocal staves (Soprano and Alto) and two bass staves (Tenor and Bass). The lyrics are: "If my Mis-tress fix her eye on these ru-der lines of mine, let them tell her how I lye". The music is in a minor key with a common time signature.

Second system of the musical score, measures 7-12. It features four staves with the same vocal and bass parts. The lyrics are: "fet - ter'd by her looks di - vine: Tell her it is on - ly". The music continues with the same instrumental accompaniment.

Third system of the musical score, measures 13-18. It features four staves with the same vocal and bass parts. The lyrics are: "she can re - lease and set me free." The music concludes with a double bar line.

If my Mis-tress fix her eye, on these ru-der lines of mine, let them tell her,
 how I lye fet-ter'd by her looks di-vine:
 Tell her it is on-ly she, can re-lease and set me free.

book format employed in Dowland's printed books and labelled as 'ayres for one, two or three voyces'. Such compliance with popularisation by the composer did not necessary produce an improved setting of the text: as Hart notes, 'the change would seem to have been dictated by circumstances rather than a revision of judgement, for the solo settings bring out the force of the poems better'.²⁸

The three-part readings indicate a systematic omission of ornamentation despite staff-notated ornamentation recorded in Lbl Add. 53723: 'If my Mistress' illustrated in Example 5.4 shows written-out melodic ornamentation in the autograph at bars 3-4 as opposed to the unornamented print. The removal of ornamentation for the printed three-part version suggests that the arrangement required less detailed readings. In contrast, there are examples of printed solo songs supplied with staff-notated ornamentation, such as 'Beauties, have ye seen a Toy' and 'Celia, thy sweet Angel's face', indicating no consistent pattern between the different sources. Example 5.5 provides a transcription of 'Celia, thy sweet Angel's face', demonstrating the extent of staff-notated ornamentation. The phrase with the most extensive staff-notated ornamentation is 'in thy Rosie cheek is worn' at bar 14 of the 1653 print (bar 13-14 in the autograph), where the manuscript's dotted rhythm is elaborated in the print with connecting semiquavers. It is unclear why this particular phrase was regarded as especially necessitating staff-notated ornamentation by Lawes. These two examples are, however, exceptional in the current analysis, and there is altogether a lack of ornamentation (both staff-notated and

²⁸ Hart, Introduction to Henry Lawes', 336.

symbols) in the autograph and prints. This does seem odd in the printed sources in some respects because the amateur vocalists comprising the print market would probably have been inexperienced in improvised ornamentation techniques.

Roger North suggests that improvised ornamentation was acquired only by well-trained musicians,²⁹ and the absence of ornamentation in printed sources may reflect Lawes's awareness of the uninitiated amateurs of the printed book market. In the dedication to the two daughters of the Earl of Bridgewater in the first book of *Ayres and Dialogues* (1653), Lawes refers to his dedicatees as highly musically-educated amateurs, 'who (as in other Accomplishments fit for Persons of Your Quality) excell'd most Ladies, especially in Vocall Musick, wherein You were so absolute, that You gave Life and Honour to all I set and taught You'.³⁰ He continued: 'and that with more Understanding than a new Generation pretending to Skil (I dare say) are Capable of'. Lawes is clearly referring to the less musically-educated amateurs described in Chapter 1, and the composer appears to be distinguishing between educated amateurs with whom Lawes himself sang and less-educated amateurs unconnected to the composer. It may be for these relatively musically-uneducated amateurs that he ensured the uncomplicated accessibility of his printed books while those educated amateurs could improvise ornamentation freely around the given basic outline of the song. From 1664 Playford included instructions for gracing, 'A Brief Discourse of, and Directions for Singing after the Italian Manner' in his *Introduction to the Skill of Musick*, and in the 1666 edition he provided 'a more smooth and delightful way and manner of singing after this new method by Trills, Grups, and Exclamations' that had apparently been 'used to our English Ayres, above this 40 years and Taught here in England, by our late Eminent Professors of Musick, Mr. Nicholas Lanear, Mr. Henry Lawes, Dr. Wilson, and Dr. Colman, and Mr. Walter Porter'.³¹ Written-out ornamentation was however, unusual in printed songbooks until the late 1680s when anthologies began to be filled with theatre songs, and its inclusion may be related to the rise of celebrity figures among theatre performers.³²

²⁹ Wilson, *Roger North on Music*, 17-19.

³⁰ Henry Lawes, *Ayres and Dialogues*, London, 1653, [Dedication], sig. A2.

³¹ John Playford, *Introduction to the Skill of Musick*, London, 1666, 39. See Ian Spink, 'Playford's "Directions for Singing after the Italian Manner"', *The Monthly Musical Record*, lxxxix (1959), 130-135.

³² This idea stems from Amanda Eubanks Winkler's unpublished paper, "'Our Friend Venus Performed to a Miracle": Anne Bracegirdle, John Eccles, and Creativity', given at the *Concepts of Creativity in Seventeenth-Century England International Interdisciplinary Symposium* in Manchester, September 2008. There are

Example 5.5 Henry Lawes, 'Celia, thy sweet Angel's face'.

Henry Lawes, *Ayres and Dialogues*, 1653, p. 17.

Cae - lia, thy bright An - gels face may be cal'd a heav'n - ly place: the white - ness of the

6
star - ry way na - ture did on thy fore - head lay: but thine eyes have bright - ness

10
woon, not from Stars, but from the Sun: the blush - ing of the Morn in thy

14
Ro - sie cheek is wom, the Mu - sick of the heav'n - ly Sphears in thy

18
soul's win - ning voyce a - ppears: hap - py were I, had I (like

21
At - las) grace so fair a heav'n with - in mine Arms t'em - brace.

a few examples of staff-notated ornamentation in Playford's type-set series *Choice Ayres and Dialogues* published between 1676 and 1684.

Cae - lia, thy bright An - gelsface may be cal'd a heav'n - ly place: the white - ness of the

6

star-ryway na - ture did_ on thyfore-headlay: butthineeyes havebright- nesswoon,not fromStars, but

11

from the Sun: the blush - ing of theMorn in thy Ro - sie cheek is worn, the Mu - sick

16

of the heav'n - ly spears, in thy soul's win - ningvoyce a - ppears: hap - py were I,

20

had I (like At - las) grace, so fair a heav'n with - in mineArms t'em - brace.

The inclusion of written-out ornamentation in contemporary manuscripts related to professional musicians, who were expected to improvise, is therefore surprising. The song manuscripts Ob Don.c.57 and Lbl Add. 11608 are particularly rich in staff-notated ornamentation. Mary Chan has connected Lbl Add. 11608, Ob Don.c.57 and Lbl Egerton MS 2013 to a London music meeting of the 1640s centred around John Hilton and members including Henry Lawes.³³ Chan argues that the two hands of Lbl Add. 11608 imply a form of collaboration rather than a continuation of an earlier collection in a later hand.³⁴ The recording of ornamentation in these manuscripts, for songs including ‘About the sweet bag of a bee’ and ‘Hither we come’, implies some sort of recording of improvised performance practice at the music meeting either transcribed during performance, afterwards by memory, or a guide to preferred performance possibilities. Lbl Add. 11608 in particular provides evidence of these types of transcription with annotations relating to two songs: ‘The treble I took & prickt downe as mr Thorpe sung it’ (f. 63v) and ‘The last close of ye third verse as mr Elliston sung it’ (f. 77).³⁵

In addition to ornamentation, contemporary manuscripts also record variant scoring implying specific performance contexts. ‘About the sweet bag of a bee’ and ‘Come Lovers’ contain lute tablature, as opposed to a staff-notated continuo line, in their respective manuscripts, Ob Don.c.57 and Lbl Egerton 2013. In addition, the beginning of ‘Hither we come’ is accompanied by tablature in Lbl Egerton 2013 before giving way to a single bass line for the rest of the song. These examples suggest how these songs were performed and transcribed in connection with the music meeting to which Chan has identified that these manuscripts belong. Unfortunately no instruments are specified in the printed sources for the performance of the single bass line, but contemporary Playford song anthologies indicate either theorbo, bass viol or harpsichord. The nature of the staff-notated single line in the printed sources provided the basis of an accompanying part on whichever instrument was in the possession of the amateur musician. Additional instrumental parts also appear in manuscript sources. ‘Beauties have ye seen a Toy’ includes a third part that decorates the vocal melody in Lbl Add. 11608. It is unclear whether this is an alternative version of the tune – it has not survived in any other source – although it is probable that this line was intended as

³³Chan, ‘A Mid Seventeenth-Century Music Meeting and Playford’s Publishing’, 233.

³⁴Chan, ‘John Hilton’s Manuscript British Library Add. MS 11608’, 444-445.

³⁵Chan, ‘A Mid Seventeenth-Century Music Meeting and Playford’s Publishing’, 233.

an additional part to be played on an instrument such as a recorder, as became common in later prints.

Another pattern of variation between printed and manuscript sources that demonstrates the impact of the print market, although musically unimportant, is an alteration to clefs, which is a significant notational variant. Over half the case studies have G2 clefs in all their sources, whereas only 6 songs have C1. 13 songs have a G2 clef in their printed sources as opposed to C1 in the autograph, 10 of which are changed for Lawes's *Ayres and Dialogues* books and 3 in Playford anthologies. None of the changes of clef result in transposition, and of the 10 songs prepared for print by Lawes with this change of clef, half are rearrangements of solo songs in the autograph to three-part settings. Those songs printed with a C1 clef that were later reprinted by Playford appear with G2 clefs in later editions. The prevalent shift of clef to G2 in the printed sources suggests a trend of 'modernising' notation for treble-register vocal performance. Rebecca Herissone identifies that this standardization of clef was 'an obvious commercial advantage': the songs could therefore 'be sung either at pitch, or, for men, an octave lower, resulting in a greatly increased market for his [Playford's] sales'.³⁶ The alteration in 'Old Poets Hippocrene' from C4 in the autograph to C1 in the 1655 *Ayres and Dialogues* places the song in the range of a treble voice, which clearly has the same motive. The preservation of C clefs is in keeping with the fact that these clefs were common in vocal music up until the 1670s. However, the number of songs whose clefs change from C1 in the autograph to G2 in printed sources in this case study may suggest that both Lawes and Playford made a conscious decision to use treble clefs. The time constraints of this study prevent a comprehensive survey of all of Lawes's songs, but the pattern that has emerged from this small-scale investigation suggests a re-evaluation of Doris Silbert's claim that Playford only started systematically to use treble clefs after Thomas Salmon's treatise of 1672.³⁷ This notational alteration, although not affecting the music, implies an attempt by Lawes and Playford to ensure the accessibility of Lawes's songs to the amateur market.

The recurring variants in Lawes's songs suggest a systematic editorial policy on the part of the composer in preparation of his songs for the print market. The extent of

³⁶ Herissone, *Music Theory in Seventeenth-Century England*, 110.

³⁷ Doris Silbert, 'The C Clef in the Seventeenth Century', *Monthly Musical Record*, lxxvii (1937), 169-172. Playford advertises the primary use of G2 clefs in his 1673 edition of *Catch that Catch can*, as quoted on page 176.

these revisions was based on the needs of each individual song, so while some songs show little revision (such as, ‘Can so much beauty’), others required considerable reworking (for example, ‘About the sweet bag of a bee’). This analysis has found that Lawes’s revisions included arrangements of originally solo songs into three parts, absence of ornamentation and alteration of clefs, suggesting that Lawes had the public print market in mind when revising his compositions. Many of these revisions were also adopted for Lawes’s songs that only appear in Playford anthologies, suggesting a common approach by the stationer in preparing Henry Lawes’s songs for print. Without identifying Playford’s primary sources for the compilation of his vocal anthologies, it cannot be substantiated whether or not Playford had a hand in the editing of Lawes’s songs for print, although there is significant evidence that Playford was well known for editing.³⁸ Not only are clefs changed, as described above, but written-out ornamentation was also omitted. ‘Come Lovers all to me’, for example, has staff-notated ornamentation recorded in Lbl Add. 53723 and Ob Don.c.57, as shown in Example 5.6. Playford’s 1652 print retains the simplicity of the tune, with the smallest note-values – four crotchets – used as stepping stones to bridge between their neighbouring notes.

In addition, changes of metre and regularization of the beat are recurring alterations in the Playford prints. The five-bar declamatory opening of ‘If the Quick Spirit of your eye’ in the autograph is presented in Playford’s 1652 print as a four-bar phrase with shortened note-values so that the phrase has a quicker rhythmic movement, aptly corresponding to the opening text, ‘If the quick spirit’ (see Example 5.7). In addition, the triple-time section occurs two phrases earlier in the printed source at b. 10. This alteration extends the section by two bars in order to regularise the two phrases into four bars each, in contrast to the two- and four-bar phrases in the autograph. Another example of regularization of the beat can be found in ‘Tis Christmas now’ where the triple time starts two beats earlier in the 1669 anthology than in the autograph to ensure beat regularisation. Henry Lawes clearly had no involvement in Playford’s 1652 anthology (see Chapter 4), and these variants, particularly in Playford’s unauthorised early print, may indicate a different agenda between composer and stationer in the preparation of songs for print. Playford’s changes of metre and

³⁸ Carter, ‘Published Musical Variants and Creativity: An Overview of John Playford’s Role as Editor’, forthcoming.

Example 5.6 Henry Lawes, 'Come Lovers all to me', extract of final section.

John Playford, *Select Musically Ayres and Dialogues*, 1652, p. 7.

16

Had he not been a child he would have known,

21

ha's lost a thousand ser-vants to kill one.

Lbl Add. MS 53723, f. 58v.

16

Had he not been a child he would have known,

21

ha's lost a thousand ser-vants to kill one.

Ob MS Don.c.57, f. 92.

Had he not been a child he would have known,

a	a	b	b	c
c	a	b	b	d
d	b	c	c	c
e	e	d	d	a

//a

h'has lost a thousand ser-vants to kill one.

a	a	a	a	a
c	d	a	a	a
d	d	a	a	c
a	d	c	e	c
		c	e	b
			a	c
				b
				c
				a

Example 5.7 Henry Lawes, 'If the Quick Spirit of your eye'.

Lbl Add. MS 53723, f. 99.

First system of musical notation. The treble clef staff contains the melody, and the bass clef staff contains the accompaniment. The lyrics are: "If the quick spi-rit in your eye, now lan - guish & a - non must die,"

Second system of musical notation, starting at measure 6. The treble clef staff contains the melody, and the bass clef staff contains the accompaniment. The lyrics are: "if eve - ry sweet & eve - ry grace must fly from that for - sa - ken face."

Third system of musical notation, starting at measure 11. The treble clef staff contains the melody, and the bass clef staff contains the accompaniment. The lyrics are: "Then Ce - lia let us reap our joys, e're time such good - ly fruit de stroyes."

Fourth system of musical notation, starting at measure 17. The treble clef staff contains the melody, and the bass clef staff contains the accompaniment. The lyrics are: "Thus ei - ther time his sic - kle brings in vain, or else in vain his wings."

John Playford, *Select Muscicall Ayres and Dialogues*, 1652, p. 19.

If the quick spi-rit of your eye, now lan-guish and a - non must die, if eve-ry sweet_

6
_ & eve-ry grace must fly from that for-sa - ken face. Then Ce - lia

11
let us reap our joys, e're time such good - -

16
ly fruit de - stroys. Thus ei - ther time his

20
sic - kle brings in vain, or else in vain his wings.

regularisation of the beat suggests a move towards popularization as triple time was becoming very popular,³⁹ and it may have been this type of unauthorised revision that Lawes objected to in the preface to his 1653 collection. The adaptations in Playford's anthologies are in line with the stationer's selection process of non-declamatory songs, and it is possible that Playford employed systematic editorial strategies in the preparation of composers' songs for his folio song anthologies.

³⁹ Greer, 'Vocal Music I: up to 1660', 171.

Devotional Songs

This section analyses a selection of devotional songs by Matthew Locke and John Blow as samples of this genre. As Chapter 4 described, the printed output of devotional music in England in the latter half of the seventeenth century was limited to the publications *Cantica Sacra* and *Harmonia Sacra*, and the collections of canons and hymns in *Catch that Catch can*. All these volumes were published by the Playford firm, and Henry Playford continued to promote sacred music into the eighteenth century (see Chapter 4). Locke and Blow's involvement in the printing of their works in these anthologies is unknown, despite Playford's typical statement that he 'had obtain'd from the Hands of these Excellent and knowing Masters'. In *Cantica Sacra... The Second Sett* (1674) Playford announced his editorial attempt '(to the best of my skill) [I have] contriv'd it both for publick and private use, as will appear not only by the Fewness of Parts, but the *CANTUS* Parts are all Printed in the *G sol re ut Cliffe*'.⁴⁰ The contents of the first book of *Harmonia Sacra* (1688) was also subjected to editing, this time 'review'd by Mr. *Henry Purcell*, whose tender Regard for the Reputation of those great Men made him careful that nothing should be published, which, through the negligence of Transcribers, might reflect upon their [other composers'] memory'.⁴¹ These public announcements of the editing of the contents of the printed books coupled with this genre's associations with repeated revision during this period makes it difficult to judge the extent to which printing affected or was affected by transmission.⁴² As such, comparison of the different sources of the case studies of devotional song exhibits significant amounts of variation, but few clear patterns arise to denote a specific attempt to transmit certain readings in print. The 1688 printed reading of Blow's 'Enough my Muse', for instance, includes a three-bar variation from the versions found in Lbl Add. MS 22100 and CH MS Cap.VI/I/I (see Example 5.8).

Similar patterns do arise between printed and manuscript sources as secular vocal works: all three case-study compositions by John Blow appear in printed sources with G2 and F4 clefs, as opposed to a prevalence of C4 clefs in contemporary manuscripts, and the appearance of Locke's 'Behold, how good' in Playford's *Catch that*

⁴⁰ John Playford, *Cantica Sacra... The Second Sett*, London, 1674, 'To all judicious Lovers and Understanders of Musick', sig. [av].

⁴¹ Henry Playford, *Harmonia Sacra*, London, 1688, 'To the Reader', sig. [a2].

⁴² See, for example, Rebecca Herissone, 'The Revision Process in William Turner's Anthem "O Praise the Lord"', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, cxxiii (1998), 1-38.

Example 5.8 John Blow, 'Enough my Muse'

Henry Playford, *Harmonia Sacra*, 1688, p. 48-49.

bot-tom, and at top too high, to be half, to be half seen by Mor-tal Eye. How

bot-tom, and at top too high, to be half seen by Mor - tal Eye.

Lbl Add. MS 22100, f. 116-116v.

too large at bot - tom and at top too high,

too large at bot - tom and at top too high, to

to be half seen by mor - tal Eye. How

be half seen by mor - tal Eye.

Catch can anthology saw the omission of the accompanying instrumental bass line found in contemporary manuscripts undoubtedly to conform with the format of the contents of this printed series. 'Behold, how good' appears in a shorter version in this printed source with the final 'Alleluia' section absent. Locke's 'And a Voice came out of the throne' appears in manuscripts associated with Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford (Och MS 43 and 48) and possibly King's College, Cambridge (DRc Mus.B.1). Both manuscripts are early sources, dating before *Harmonia Sacra* (1688). The printed source comprises the bass duet with continuo but with the two vocal parts swapped around for the verses. It is unclear why this is the case and may indicate copying from a different

route of transmission than the Oxford and Durham manuscripts, perhaps originally altered with specific performers in mind.

'Symphony' Songs and Extracts from Large-Scale Works

For this case study, I take a selection of extracts from large-scale works of different performance origins: theatre songs from Henry Purcell's *Fairy Queen*, and extracts from musical settings of odes by John Blow. These latter large-scale secular vocal works were originally composed for court performance or for specific occasions such as the St Cecilia Day odes and Act Songs.⁴³ The odes comprise a series of short vocal movements, contrasting between solo, duet and chorus sections, often starting with an instrumental prelude, and frequently accompanied by violin ritornelli.⁴⁴ From 1687, the scoring of the court ode increased to include oboes, recorders, trumpets and drums, but the extracts from odes of the current case study belong to the earlier instrumentation comprising string ensemble with continuo.⁴⁵ The scoring of voices and strings with continuo is also characteristic of the 'symphony' songs, which have much in common with the court odes but are shorter in length and for smaller forces.⁴⁶ 'Symphony' songs were probably performed in more intimate settings at court than the odes (where they were designed for more public special occasions). The songs appear in the same printed books as the ode extracts, and consequently a selection of these songs by John Blow is also considered in this case study. The 'patchwork' design of the amalgamation of movements in both the early odes and music from the public theatre allows a single movement, typically comprising a solo or duet vocal movement, to be extracted easily. It is therefore not surprising that several of these songs and movements found their way into the contemporary amateur print market. However, the dissemination of readings of 'symphony' songs and extracts of large-scale works in print is significant in the extent to which printed sources might incorporate adaptation or arrangement due to the availability of forces, particularly the instrumental parts, by the domestic print market. The majority of musical texts representing all three subgenres in this category were

⁴³ Watkins Shaw, 'The Secular Music of John Blow', 10.

⁴⁴ Rosamond McGuinness, *English Court Odes 1660-1820*, Oxford, 1971, 98.

⁴⁵ Peter Holman, 'Original Sets of Parts for Restoration Concerted Music at Oxford', in Michael Burden, ed., *Performing the Music of Henry Purcell*, Oxford, 1996, 11; Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court 1540-1690*, 422-425.

⁴⁶ Holman, *Henry Purcell*, 47.

prepared by the composers for print, and as such, are ideal examples of how composers viewed their large-scale works and extracted individual movements.

As described in Chapter 4, *Some Select Songs As they are Sung in the Fairy Queen* was printed 'for the Author' and sold at the theatre and in music shops in 1692. This is a particularly fascinating case study due to the survival of the theatre score, Lam MS 3 partly in Purcell's hand, and Lg Safe 3, the Gresham autograph songbook, in addition to the contemporary printed source authorised by the composer. The former manuscript, Lam 3, is generally agreed to be the 'file copy made for the first series of performances in 1692 and mislaid after the 1693 revival'.⁴⁷ As such, it is probable that this manuscript contains the original scoring of the production, which coupled with Lg Safe 3 and its readings for smaller forces, offers a comparison of readings with those songs present in *Some Select Songs*. The songs in the printed source have few deviations from Lam 3, and variants between sources tend to occur between the print and the songbook Lg Safe 3. This autograph was originally thought to be compiled for teaching purposes or for Purcell's personal use as a singer,⁴⁸ but is now considered to have been intended for private chamber performance with professional singers.⁴⁹ The majority of Blow's printed secular vocal music was published 'for the Author' in *Amphion Anglicus* (see Chapter 4). In addition, some of his secular vocal music was published earlier in Playford anthologies authorised by the composer, and these readings, coupled with contemporary manuscript readings, can shed light on the contemporary transmission of these works.

Scoring is the principal variation between printed and manuscript sources for large-scale works. Purcell's arrangements of songs from the *Fairy Queen* appear reasonably straightforward, involving changes of clefs and removal of parts. The collection in *Some Select Songs* comprises single and duet vocal settings with continuo, two-thirds of which are given in treble clef in line with printed songbooks of the time. The three songs given in alto clef are adjusted into treble clef in the second edition. Change of clef was also regularly coupled with a change of octave or downward transposition in order to bring melodies within the range of a soprano. 'Now the maids and the men', for example, is a duet for alto and bass and both voices are rewritten in

⁴⁷ Shay, *Purcell Manuscripts: The Principal Manuscript Sources*, 234. See also Bruce Wood and Andrew Pinnock, 'The Fairy Queen: a Fresh Look at the Issues', *Early Music*, xxi (1993), 44-62.

⁴⁸ W. Barclay Squire, 'An Unknown Autograph of Henry Purcell', *Musical Antiquary*, iii (1911-12), 7.

⁴⁹ Laurie, *Henry Purcell: The Gresham Autograph, Facsimile*, Introduction, viii. Also Shay, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 263-266.

the treble clef a minor seventh higher in the print. Such alterations provided more accessible musical texts for the amateur print market, which was clearly a commercial advantage, as also seen in the analysis of Henry Lawes's songs above. In the preparation of *Some Select Songs*, Purcell was evidently aware of the public market and its limitations, and the extraction and subsequent arrangement of his theatre songs has implications for how he viewed his theatrical productions as a whole. Arrangement for a single voice required removal of choruses, obligato instrumental parts, and ritornelli. As such, the chorus for four voices and string ensemble in Lam 3 for 'A thousand ways', 'If love's a sweet passion' and 'Sing while we trip it' are absent in the print (in addition, there is a viola part in Lbl Add. MS 62671, Lbl Add. MSS 30839 and 39565-7, and *Apollo's Banquet* but not in Lam 3 for 'Sing while we trip it'). In addition, the recorder parts of 'One Charming Night', the instrumental 'simphony' and chorus of 'Thus happy and free' and the instrumental ritornelli of 'Thus the ever grateful spring', all recorded in Lam 3, are omitted from *Some Select Songs*. The removal of these parts in print does not affect the nature of these pieces, as the choruses and instrumental sections are either at the opening or closing of the solo songs. Thus, the solos are relatively detachable from the music surrounding them.

The extraction of solo songs from the original large-scale work of the *Fairy Queen* and their availability in the soprano compass with treble clef demonstrates Purcell's acknowledgement of the domestic forces available to the amateur print market. Purcell's adaptations of extracts from their original compositional context and scoring clearly indicates the composer's intention of ensuring that *Some Select Songs* appealed specifically towards solo domestic performance, probably of the kind that he taught and performed informally.

The idea that versions for smaller ensembles designed for the public amateur market appear in contemporary print sources and versions for larger forces appear in manuscripts associated with professional musicians is, however, not straightforward for the 'symphony' songs and ode extracts. Certainly there are examples of this differentiation between printed and manuscript sources: John Blow's 'symphony' song, 'Go, perjurd man', appears in both *Choice Ayres, Songs and Dialogues* (1683) and *The Theater of Music...The Fourth Book* (1687) as a vocal duet with continuo line.⁵⁰ In several

⁵⁰ Henry Playford in the preface to his fourth book of the *Theater of Music* series states that 'here is added two excellent Songs long since out of Print, viz. *Go Perjur'd Man*, set by Dr. *Blow*; and that Dialogue, *When*

contemporary manuscripts, including the autograph Och MS Mus. 628, and Ob MS Mus.Sch.c.12-19, Lbl Add. MS 22100, Och MS Mus. 23, Bu MS 5002, Lbl Add. MS 33234 and Lbl Add. MS 33287, this work features two obbligato violin parts throughout. All these manuscripts are connected to professional musicians and highlight the availability of larger performance forces among professionals as opposed to the public amateur market. The majority of these manuscript sources have an Oxford provenance: the scorebook Och Mus. 23 and part books Ob Mus.Sch.c.12-19 are in the hands of Edward Lowe and both Richard Goodsons, and reflect musical performance associated with the University of Oxford.⁵¹ Lbl Add. 22100, associated with the Chapel Royal;⁵² Bu 5002 of Oxford provenance with an early dating of the late 1670s;⁵³ Lbl Add. 33234, which was compiled by Charles Morgan, a lay clerk of Christ Church and then Magdalen College, Oxford;⁵⁴ and Lbl Add. 33287, compiled by 1687 by Shay and Thompson's 'London D' copyist⁵⁵ – all contain the obbligato violin parts to 'Go, perjurd man'. However, the later manuscript Lbl Add. 63626 (c. 1700), suggested as having belonged to John Monriot, who was organist of Chester Cathedral, 1699-1705, does not have these instrumental parts.⁵⁶ The survival of the vocal duet with continuo reading in the Playford anthologies of the 1680s and Lbl Add. 63626 appears to indicate that the obbligato violin parts were removed for these later sources (see below).

Another example of a smaller force being presented in print as opposed to manuscript is 'Awake, awake my lyre'. An ode originally composed for the Oxford Act in the mid-1670s, which apparently popularised the genre,⁵⁷ 'Awake, awake my lyre' appears as a solo song with continuo in *Choice Ayres, Songs and Dialogues... The Third Book* (1681) with the inscription:

This SONG was by Dr. Blow Composed, to be performed with Instrumental Musick, Symphony's and Ritornello's, of four Parts betwixt every Verse; and likewise Chorus's of

Death shall part us from our Kids, set by Mr. Matthew Locke; which two are here (with much Care) exactly true printed, by the Diligent Pains of my Father Mr. John Playford, whose known *Skill* for printing of *Musick*, our Nation is not ignorant'. Henry Playford, *Theater of Music... The Fourth and Last Book*, London, 1687, 'To All Lovers and Understanders of Musick', sig. A2.

⁵¹ Milsom, *Christ Church Library Music Catalogue Online*.

⁵² Shay, *Purcell Manuscripts: The Principal Manuscript Sources*, 169-171.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 266-270.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 271.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 164-8.

⁵⁶ Bruce Wood and Andrew Pinnock, eds., *Henry Purcell: The Fairy Queen*, Purcell Society, vol. 12, London, 2009, xxxviii.

⁵⁷ Holman, *Henry Purcell*, 45.

four Voices betwixt every Verse: but as it is here printed, you have all which is to be sung alone to the Theorbo, and is suitable to the rest in this Book.⁵⁸

Such a statement clearly outlines the aim of the publication of this work: providing the composition in its most basic, skeleton form – solo voice with continuo – for amateur performance. The original scoring, according to Ob MS Mus.Sch.c.122, was four voices, two violins and continuo. This manuscript comprises part books in the hand of Edward Lowe, except for the second page of each string part, which is copied onto another sheet by Blow himself. It seems that these part books were copied before 10 December 1677, as Blow is referred to as ‘Mr’. Peter Holman has pointed out that the corrections and alterations scattered through the parts, including ‘the careful removal of repeat signs in the instrumental sections’, suggest that ‘they were used for subsequent Oxford performances’.⁵⁹ This full scoring also appears in other manuscripts associated with professional musicians and larger available performance forces, and which also contain ‘Go, perjurd man’: Ob Mus. Sch. c. 12-29, Och Mus. 23, Lbl Add. 33234, Bu 5002, and Lbl Add. 22100. Only Och MS Mus. 49, a guardbook dating c. 1670-80, contains a copy of ‘Awake, awake my lyre’ in an unidentified hand as a solo voice with continuo setting, written a tone lower (in D minor) compared with other sources.⁶⁰ Playford’s reference to the original larger-scale version of the composition is extremely unusual for the stationer, and it is unclear whether Blow was involved in the preparation of this arrangement, or made the adaptations himself, as no musicians are acknowledged as having been involved in the printing process for this book (something which Playford uses elsewhere as a marketing tool). Furthermore, it is the only extract from an ode composed by Blow that was published in a Playford anthology. Its principal solo is for treble, which makes its performance more practicable for the amateur market, but its contemporary popularity is unknown: Blow did not publish it in his *Amphion Anglicus* and no amateur manuscript source of this extract has been discovered in the course of this investigation.

Although the examples above highlight a connection between printed sources and smaller ensembles whereas manuscripts connected with professional musicians tend to have full scoring, this is not always the case. Not only do several extracts, rather than whole works, appear in manuscript sources, but the print readings do not always present

⁵⁸ John Playford, *Choice Ayres, Songs and Dialogues... The Third Book*, London, 1681, 48.

⁵⁹ Holman, ‘Original Sets of Parts for Restoration Concerted Music at Oxford’, 14.

⁶⁰ Wainwright, *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England*, 378-382; Milsom, *Christ Church Library Music Catalogue Online*.

the most basic scoring of the piece. Certain Playford anthologies do, in fact, incorporate parts of the original full instrumentation for string ensemble for some of these large-scale secular vocal works. The 1685 *Theater of Music*, for example, contains some instrumental sections of Blow's symphony song 'As on Septimius' panting breast'. This unexpected addition in a printed source is one of the most extensive examples of a secular vocal composition being printed in a song anthology with additional instrumental and vocal parts. Other examples of fully-scored 'symphony' songs include Purcell's 'Soft Notes, and gently rais'd' and Robert King's 'Oh! be kind! My Dear, be kind!'.⁶¹ The first book of the *Theater of Music*, which contains 'As on Septimius' panting breast' was dedicated by Henry Playford to John Blow and Henry Purcell for their involvement in the preparation of the volume (see Chapter 2). This publication was also the first printed music book to advertise on its title-page 'ALSO Symphonies and Returnels in 3 Parts to several of them for the Violins and Flutes'.⁶² This is a very rare feature of printed song anthologies of the late 1680s: the *Theater of Music* series, the first book of *Comes Amoris* and the first and second books of the *Banquet of Musick* all contain at least one example.

It is important to emphasize that the inclusion of these instrumental parts is extremely uncommon in these books, and the short lifespan of these printed instrumental parts in theatre-song anthologies (they had completely vanished by the 1690s), such as in 'As on Septimius' panting breast', is probably due to Henry Playford and John Carr realising that these parts were not financially-viable additions to those song extracts from theatre productions and large-scale works that John Playford had successfully published for many years. The initial inducement to publish these parts may have come from the composers, Blow and Purcell, involved in the first book of *The Theater of Music*. Their involvement in the preparation of the first printed-song anthology, which included their own works, coupled with the short lifespan of the idea, does suggest that Blow and Purcell not only revised their works for print but that they considered the printing of the instrumental parts to be vital in providing the complete musical text. This has implications for how composers viewed their works, particularly before either composer had much experience in the publishing world, and indicates an initial reluctance to adapt the instrumentation, or provide an arrangement, for the public

⁶¹ Henry Playford, *Theater of Music...The Second Book*, London, 1685, 13-16 and 37-42. See also the opening of *Theater of Music... The First Book*, London, 1685.

⁶² Playford, *Theater of Music... The First Book*, Title page.

amateur market. Blow was to retain similar additional instrumental parts for many of the works he published in *Amphion Anglicus*, and Henry Playford also included some additional instrumentation in his memorial publication to Purcell, *Orpheus Britannicus*: Purcell's 'O let me weep' from the *Fairy Queen* includes a violin arrangement that also survives in Lbl Add. MS 22099, Och MSS Mus. 363 and 469. Such instrumental parts appeared in the second edition of *Orpheus Britannicus* (1702) as well as other large-scale publications printed at the turn of the century. It is worth noting that the instrumental obbligato for *The Complaint* may have originally been for an oboe,⁶³ or treble recorder,⁶⁴ and the allocation to violin in the printed source may be evidence of editorial activities, but the identity of the editor is unknown. The inclusion of obbligato violin parts may also illustrate a shift in style with the integration of instrumental parts in airs, rather than an alteration specifically for the printed music market at the turn of the century. In contrast, Henry Playford only published the melody lines (without continuo or other instrumentation) of some songs from the *Fairy Queen* in his anthologies, *Joyful Cuckoldom* and *Wit and Mirth*. Both books lean more towards broadside ballad and chapbook traditions, and the presentation of theatre songs in their most skeletal form – melody only – is in line with the popular movement of theatre songs into the ballad repertory. Scoring was ultimately bound to the different functions of the printed music book, and was altered accordingly.

Blow's *Amphion Anglicus* is an interesting source for the assessment of printing additional instrumentation. Table 5.1 outlines the structural differences between the surviving sources of 'As on Septimius' panting breast'. The most notable difference between Blow's version in *Amphion Anglicus* and the other manuscript and print sources is the two choruses: Blow's scoring is for two voices, two violins and continuo, compared to two vocal parts accompanied by continuo only, with choruses for three singers. The first chorus is provided in Example 5.9 as it appears in *Amphion Anglicus* with violin parts, coupled with the middle vocal part from the other sources. The song remains fundamentally a dialogue in both versions, and Blow's violin parts in the two

⁶³ Wood, 'The Fairy Queen: a Fresh Look at the Issues', 55 and 62. See also Bruce Haynes, *The Eloquent Oboe: A History of the Hautboy from 1640 to 1760*, Oxford, 2001, 149-150.

⁶⁴ Holman, *Henry Purcell*, 213.

Table 5.1 John Blow, ‘As on Septimius’ panting Breast’: Structure in Different Sources

<i>Amphion Anglicus</i> , 1700	<i>Theater of Music... First Book</i> , 1685	Lbl Add. MS 22100	Birmingham Barber MS 5002	Lbl Add. MS 33234
Prelude for violins	Symphony	Symphony	-	-
[Verse 1. a 2 voc]	[Verse 1. a 2 voc]	[Verse 1. a 2 voc]	[Verse 1. a 2 voc]	[Verse 1. a 2 voc]
Violins	-	-	-	-
[Verse 2.] solo	[Verse 2. solo]	[Verse 2.] solus	[Verse 2. solo]	[Verse 2.] solus
[Chorus. a 2 voc and]	[Chorus.] a 3 voc	[Chorus.] 3 voc	[Chorus. a 3 voc]	[Chorus. a 3 voc]
Violins				
[Violins]	-	-	-	-
Verse [3.] a 2 voc	Verse [3.] a 2 voc	[Verse 3.] a 2 voc	[Verse 3. a 2 voc]	[Verse 3. a 2 voc]
Violins	Retornels.	Ritor:	-	-
[Verse 4. solo]	[Verse 4. solo]	[Verse 4.] solus	[Verse 4. solo]	[Verse 4. solo]
Cho[rus. a 2 voc and violins]	Chorus. a 3 voc.	[Chorus.] a 3 voc	[Chorus. a 3 voc]	[Chorus. a 3 voc]

choruses are clearly extracted from the earlier-composed middle voice part to provide imitative Italianate instrumental parts.⁶⁵

As Table 5.1 illustrates, one ritornello section and the opening ‘symphony’ section for two violins and continuo do appear in Henry Playford’s *Theater of Music... The First Book* (1685) as well as the contemporary manuscript Lbl Add. 22100, compiled by the early 1680s. The copyist may have been the John Walter who was a chorister of the Chapel Royal under Blow in 1674,⁶⁶ and this possible connection with the composer


⁶⁵ Alan Howard, ‘The Music: Understanding Creativity’, in Rebecca Herissone, ed., *The Ashgate Research Companion to Henry Purcell*, Aldershot, forthcoming. See also Holman, *Henry Purcell*, 37.

⁶⁶ Bruce Wood, ‘Walter, John’, in Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell, eds., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians: Second Edition*, London, 2001, xxvii, 56-57. See also Bruce Wood, ‘A Note on Two Cambridge Manuscripts and their Copyists’, *Music & Letters*, lvi (1975), 308-312.

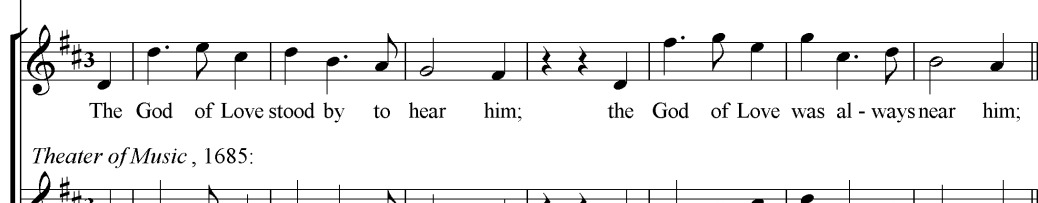
Example 5.9 John Blow, 'As on Septimius' panting breast', first chorus

Transcription of first chorus from *Amphion Anglicus* with the middle voice part as it appears in *Theater of Music... The First Book* (1685).

Amphion Anglicus, 1700:

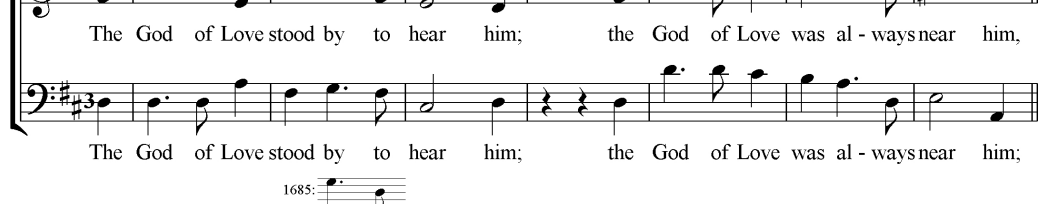


Amphion Anglicus, 1700:



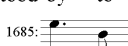

The God of Love stood by to hear him; the God of Love was al-ways near him;

Theater of Music, 1685:

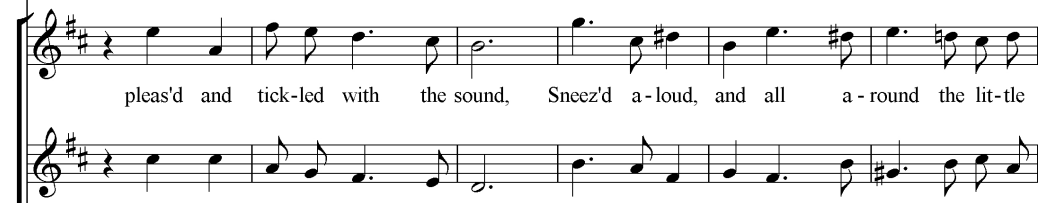


The God of Love stood by to hear him; the God of Love was al-ways near him;


1685:

pleas'd and tick-led with the sound, Sneeze'd a-loud, and all a-round the lit-tle



pleas'd and tick-l'd with the sound, Sneeze'd a-loud, and all a-round the lit-tle



pleas'd and tick-led with the sound, Sneeze'd a-loud, and all a-round the lit-tle

Loves that wait-ed by, Bow'd and Blest the Au - gu - ry.

Loves that wait-ed by, Bow'd and blest the Au - gu - ry.

Loves that wait-ed by, Bow'd and Blest the Au - gu - ry.

supports the idea that the 1685 print and Lbl Add. 22100 have an earlier reading of ‘As Septimius’ panting breast’.⁶⁷ Blow’s involvement in Henry Playford’s 1685 print has already been mentioned, and as such this printed version must be deemed authoritative and indicates a version closer to the original composition than the revised version in *Amphion Anglicus*. Two other early manuscripts provide a further third reading. The Oxford provenance manuscript, Bu 5002, and Lbl Add. 33234 provide versions of the ‘symphony’ song without string parts. Charles Morgan copied the ‘symphony’ song into Lbl Add. 33234 around the early 1680s, and although the copyist of this piece in Bu 5002 has not been identified, copying had taken place by the early 1690s when the manuscript passed to Edward Hull. Both Morgan and Hull were members of the Mermaid Tavern music society, and it is possible that both manuscripts contain some of the repertory performed at the club.⁶⁸ It seems unlikely though that the versions in these two manuscripts, with the absence of string parts for ‘As on Septimius’ panting breast’ are examples reflecting a limited performance context within the music society. Both manuscripts contain full scoring for other works, and the music club had a large amount

⁶⁷ Incidentally, by the early 1680s, the manuscript had passed to Sir Gilbert Dolben, one of the stewards of the ‘Musical Society’ who was responsible for the St Cecilia festivities in London in 1684. Dolben’s name appears in the list of stewards of the Musical Society recorded in both publications associated with the St Cecilia Day performances, *A Musical Entertainment* (1684) and *A Second Musical Entertainment* (1685), of which the former was sold by John Playford. See Shay, *Purcell Manuscripts: The Principal Manuscript Sources*, 169.

⁶⁸ Crum, ‘An Oxford Music Club, 1690-1719’, 83-99; Shay, *Purcell Manuscripts: The Principal Manuscript Sources*, 271.

of string repertory at least by the start of the eighteenth century.⁶⁹ It seems possible that ‘As on Septimius’ panting breast’ was originally composed without violin parts, with Bu 5002 and Lbl Add. 33234 offering the earliest known version of the song transmitted in manuscript. By the time Walter copied the song and it appears in print under Blow’s authority in 1685, the composer had already revised the work to include an opening symphony and at least one ritornello. Between 1685 and 1700 Blow revised the work again, providing the stylistic changes in the opening violin section by replacing the original ‘symphony’ with an imitative prelude, and re-scoring the choruses. It is unclear, however, whether these revisions were carried out expressly for publication in *Amphion Anglicus*.⁷⁰

The appearance of ‘As on Septimius’ panting breast’ in two different publications, both authorised by the composer but with a fifteen-year gap in between, provides an ideal case study to consider Blow’s revisions of the song prior to its appearance in *Amphion Anglicus* in 1700. The string introduction is no longer a separate movement, the original ‘symphony’ being substituted with an imitative prelude presenting the melodic vocal duet entries. Ritornelli are placed between each verse introducing the melodic ideas of the subsequent verse or related material, and obbligato violins play during both choruses. These revisions, illustrated in Examples 5.10 and 5.11, demonstrate a re-working by Blow away from the ‘patchwork’ design characteristic of his early odes towards an overall thematic relationship within the entire piece.⁷¹

‘Go, perjurd man’ also saw revisions in the violin parts between the copying of the ‘symphony’ song in the autograph Och Mus. 628 in the late 1670s, and the publication of *Amphion Anglicus* in 1700. Example 5.12 illustrates the different readings of the ritornelli between *Amphion Anglicus*, and the manuscript sources Och Mus. 628, Och Mus. 23, Lbl Add. 22100 and Bu 5002. Following the prelude, the violins play in an obbligato style with the voices throughout. In *Amphion Anglicus*, Blow added ritornelli between the first and second verses, and at the end of the piece, which imitate the vocal lines and use related material, suggesting Italianate-style revisions similar to ‘As on Septimius’ panting breast’.

Only one entire ode by Blow was published in the seventeenth century, and this was the full score of the St Cecilia’s Ode of 1684, ‘Begin the song’ as *A Second Musical*

⁶⁹ Crum, ‘An Oxford Music Club, 1690-1719’, 93.

⁷⁰ Howard, ‘The Music: Understanding Creativity’, forthcoming.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

Example 5.10 John Blow, 'As on Septimius' panting breast', 'Symphony' and 'Prelude'

'Symphony' in *Theater of Music... The First Book*, p. 68-69.

The image displays a musical score for a piece titled 'Symphony' by John Blow. The score is presented in four systems, each containing three staves (treble, alto, and bass clefs). The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is common time (C). The first system (measures 1-5) begins with a treble clef and a common time signature. The second system (measures 6-10) starts with a measure rest above the first staff. The third system (measures 11-15) continues the melodic and harmonic development. The fourth system (measures 16-19) concludes with a 3/4 time signature change in the final measure. The notation includes various rhythmic values, accidentals, and phrasing slurs.

'Prelude for VIOLINS' in *Amphion Anglicus*, p. 171.

5 [Voice]

[Voice] As

[Voice] As

As

65 43 ♭3 ♭5 7 43

Example 5.11 John Blow, 'As on Septimius' panting breast', ritornello.

Theater of Music... The First Book, p. 72.

[Voice] *Ritornels.*
Eyes.

[Voice]
Eyes.

[Voice]
Acme alone.
My lit-tle

Amphion Anglicus, p. 175.

[Voice]
Eyes. *Violins.*

[Voice]
Eyes.

[Voice]
my lit-tle

Example 5.12 John Blow, 'Go, perjur'd man', ritornello.

Amphion Anglicus, p. 27-28.

see, to see the small re - main der_ of my Urn.

to see, to see the small re-main-der_ of my Urn.

When thou shalt laugh, shalt lau - - -

When thou shalt laugh, shalt lau - - -

#3 b 4 3

6 6 #4 6
4 4

65 7 65 6
43 b5 43

see, to see the small re - main der_ of my Urn.

to see to see the small re - main - ders_ of my Urn.

When thou shalt laugh, shalt lau

When thou shalt laugh, shalt lau

Entertainment (1685). From this ode the single vocal movement, ‘Musick’s the cordial’, was extracted and published in *Amphion Anglicus*. The appearance of these types of excerpts in *Amphion Anglicus* is important for they offer implications of how composers perceived their large-scale works in relation to print transmission. The most significant variation between the two printed sources is the beginning of ‘Musick’s the cordial’. The movement begins with a bass solo and continuo, with the violins entering after three and four beats, as shown in Example 5.13. Blow, in extracting this movement for a single printed song in *Amphion Anglicus*, revised the opening to form imitative part-writing between the two violins, thus providing a functioning version of the song independent of its neighbouring music in the full ode setting. The violins remain, suggesting that Blow thought they were an essential part of the piece, as he did for ‘Go, perjur’d man’ in *Theater of Music* (1685).

Example 5.13 John Blow, 'Musick's the cordial', opening extract

A Second Musical Entertainment, 1685, p. 54.

Mu - sic's the Cor - dial of a trou - bled Breast; Mu -
- sic's the Cor - dial of a Trou - bled Breast;

Amphion Anglicus, p. 117.

Mu - sick's the Cor - dial of a trou - bled Breast; Mu -
- sick's the Cor - dial of a Trou - bled Breast;

#3 4 3 #3
#3 #3 #3 #3

This case-study analysis has demonstrated that Blow revised the violin parts of his larger-scale secular vocal works after their initial composition. These revisions either involved re-working opening phrases in order to make an extract from a larger work a whole piece in itself, or stylistic changes by revising or adding ritornelli to provide thematic relationships throughout the work as opposed to the ‘patchwork’ design of early ode settings. It is uncertain however, if Blow made these revisions expressly for publication. The inclusion of instrumental parts in *Amphion Anglicus* and certain Playford anthologies are exceptions where the printed source does not transmit the most basic, ‘skeleton’ form of the original composition for the public amateur print market. The nature of these violin parts in Blow’s print particularly imply that he thought they were essential in performance: ‘Go, perjurd man’ has, for example, genuine obbligato parts with alternating vocal and instrumental phrases. Such examples imply that Blow felt these instrumental parts essential to the overall structure of the composition, rather than providing basic voice and continuo settings for the print market. This is not surprising as Blow’s *Amphion Anglicus* is not a typical song anthology of the seventeenth century. As Chapter 4 described, Blow’s vocal publication was clearly a monument, functioning as an image of the composer and his work for posterity. On the other hand, the incorporation of such parts in *Amphion Anglicus* may imply that Blow misjudged the market: previously-printed ‘symphony’ songs by Blow published by Henry Playford, and the printing of the entire ode in *A Second Musical Entertainment* (1685) provided space for violin parts to be printed, and Blow may have subsequently mistaken different functions of music publishing in preparing *Amphion Anglicus*.

*Keyboard Pieces*⁷²

A comparison of the manuscript and printed sources of Blow’s keyboard works clearly illustrates the flexibility of notation for this genre in post-Restoration England. Variants between readings mostly concern rhythmic and ornamental details of the melody and accompaniment. Some notational features we would regard today as distinct appear to have been considered essentially equivalent in performance, and as Andrew Woolley has identified, these notational variants were ‘used interchangeably by copyists or

⁷² The K numbers are assigned to these pieces in Robert Klakowich’s recent edition of Blow’s harpsichord music. Klakowich, *John Blow: Complete Harpsichord Music*.

composers'.⁷³ This analysis aims to identify variant patterns that indicate the impact of the print market within this general culture of variance.

The inclusion of eight of Blow's keyboard works in Henry Playford's *Second Part of Musick's Hand-maid* (1689) is particularly important for the early dating of the dissemination of these pieces.⁷⁴ This source provides no evidence of Blow's involvement in preparing these pieces for the press, but his colleague is assigned the editorship of the volume: the whole publication was 'carefully Revised and Corrected by the said Mr. Henry Purcell'.⁷⁵ Blow's connection with both editor and publisher of this printed volume suggests that the pieces in *The Second Part of Musick's Hand-maid* derive from a source close to the composer, and Purcell's possible revisions provide us with an important source of keyboard music prepared specifically with an amateur market in mind. Comparison of seven pieces from *The Second Part of Musick's Hand-maid* with contemporary manuscript sources and, where possible, Blow's single-author 1698 printed volume, *A Choice Collection of Lessons*, identifies two patterns of significant variants indicating the impact of the public amateur market on the keyboard texts in the earlier print.

Firstly, despite rhythmic variants littered throughout the sources, less intricate rhythms clearly characterise the pieces in *The Second Part of Musick's Hand-maid*. Example 5.14 presents those rhythms in contemporary printed and manuscript sources, and their equivalent notation in *The Second Part of Musick's Hand-maid* for specific pieces. Such prevailing rhythmic variants suggest the French conventions of inequality fashionable at the English court after the Restoration,⁷⁶ and the manuscripts' and 1698 engraving's attempts to notate more specifically this subtle inequality of rhythm. It is particularly interesting that the 1698 print in particular provides the more specific notation, which does not draw any implication that Blow himself consciously tried to provide simpler rhythms in *A Choice Collection of Lessons* for the amateur market. The less intricate rhythms in Playford's engraved anthology may be a result of an uncertainty of how best to convey this subtle nuance to uninitiated English amateurs, rather than just simplification as a matter of course for the public print market.

⁷³ Woolley, 'English Keyboard Sources and their Contexts, c. 1660-1720', 98-99.

⁷⁴ Klakowich, *John Blow: Complete Harpsichord Music*, 123-139.

⁷⁵ H[enry] P[layford], *The Second Part of Musick's Hand-maid*, London, 1689, 'To the Reader'.

⁷⁶ Woolley, 'English Keyboard Sources and their Contexts, c. 1660-1720', 98-99.

Example 5.14 John Blow, Rhythmic variants in K3, K25 and K81.

a) 'Sarabrand', K3. *The Second Part of Musick's Hand-maid*, 1689 = *A Choice Collection*, 1698



b) 'Jigg', K25. *The Second Part of Musick's Hand-maid*, 1689 = *A Choice Collection*, 1698



c) 'Chacone', K81. *The Second Part of Musick's Hand-maid*, 1689 = B-Bc 15139



The absence of more complex notated rhythms in printed sources is also apparent in John Walsh's later anthology, *The Second Book of the Harpsicord Master* (1700). Klakowich describes the grouping of K62, K63 and K64 in the 1700 print as 'an illustration of how texts can be less intricate in printed than in manuscript sources'.⁷⁷ However, in my analysis I was unable to perceive any systematic design for simplicity in print for these three pieces. K63 contains only one rhythmic variant between the 1700 print and Lbl Add. MS 31468, and K64 actually contains an additional note in the penultimate chord in the printed source as opposed to B-Bc MS 15139. K62 is a little more complicated: Walsh's printed version is notable for its absence of the numerous dotted figures, where semiquaver-demisemiquaver rhythms in the Lbl Add. MS 31468 and Och MS 1179 are substituted for straight semiquavers in the print. Klakowich concludes that limitations of engraving technology are the reason for this 'less intricate' printed text, as the dotted figures 'tend to be more difficult to generate and align accurately in engraving than directly on the page'.⁷⁸ However, engraving was much less limited than printing from moveable type, and these dotted dotted figurations are still present intermittently in the printed source. While it is tempting to conclude that this printed version of what is presumed to be an authoritative version of Blow's work, it is likely that this example corresponds with the general culture of notational instability

⁷⁷ Klakowich, *John Blow: Complete Harpsicord Music*, 133.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 133.

providing flexible performance possibilities. Such variability of rhythm can also be found between manuscript sources of Blow's organ music, and is one of the nine causes of variants between sources in the notated paths of transmission of a piece which Barry Cooper has identified.⁷⁹

The second variant pattern that emerged from the comparison of Blow's pieces in *The Second Part of Musick's Hand-maid* with other contemporary sources is the presentation of a less intricate left-hand accompaniment in the printed source. Example 5.15 provides a transcription of K3 as found in *The Second Part of Musick's Hand-maid*, with the alternative left-hand reading in *A Choice Collection of Lessons*. The reading in the earlier print is clearly simpler. An F4 clef remains throughout, in contrast to the change in clef in *A Choice Collection of Lessons*, allowing for ease of reading. Ties are removed, dotted melodic figurations are suppressed as described above, and rhythmic delays in the harmonic progressions are omitted, notably the 4-3 suspensions in bars 8 and 12. Klakowich describes these left-hand variations as typical of the works in *The Second Part of Musick's Hand-maid*, and 'more rudimentary than in the concordant [manuscript and printed] sources'.⁸⁰ There is certainly a pattern here. The variance in readings between the two printed sources for K10 and K25 is so extreme that Klakowich provides both versions,⁸¹ and it is apparent that the pieces in *The Second Part of Musick's Hand-maid* are characterised by simpler rhythms particularly in the left-hand. The readings of bars 20-25 in K10 provided by Klakowich illustrate the extent of omitted rhythmic detail while retaining the harmonic structure.⁸²

The reading of K60 goes beyond these detailed modifications in *The Second Part of Musick's Hand-maid* and is offered as a shorter version, which Klakowich describes as 'a perfectly satisfactory piece, more conventional (and therefore, perhaps, more suitable for the printed market of the time)'.⁸³ This version finishes at bar 88,⁸⁴ thus omitting the final section that is distinctively different from the previous material, incorporating chromaticism and a new rhythmic drive. The absence of this shorter version in any other source, except Lbl Add. MS 31465, which is clearly copied from the print,

⁷⁹ Cooper, 'Problems in the Transmission of Blow's Organ Music', 528 and 533.

⁸⁰ Klakowich, *John Blow: Complete Harpsichord Music*, 123.

⁸¹ Klakowich, *John Blow: Complete Harpsichord Music*, 9 and 30.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 9.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 132.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 74-76.

Example 5.15 John Blow, 'Sarabrand', K3.

Transcription of *The Second Part of Musick's Hand-maid* (1689), no. 8, with left-hand accompaniment as found in *A Choice Collection of Lessons*, (1698), p. 20.

suggests a different route of transmission of the printed reading or a revision of K60 specifically for the print market, perhaps by Purcell.

As indicated above, Blow's *A Choice Collection of Lessons* does not contain 'simpler' arrangements aimed at the amateur market. The composer's own involvement in the printed compilation is unclear – there is no prefatory material, and the title page reads 'Ingrav'd for: and Sold by Henry Playford' – but it is largely assumed that he oversaw the publication. It is evident that this single-authored volume did not seek to appeal to the amateur market as the anthologies did, but provide an authoritative

reading of a selection of Blow's keyboard works following Purcell's posthumous keyboard collection printed two years previous. The notational flexibility of keyboard texts prevalent during this period is highlighted through a comparison of *A Choice Collection of Lessons* and earlier manuscripts related to the composer. In K1, for example, Klakowich has provided two versions due to the variant readings found between *A Choice Collection of Lessons* and Och MS 1179,⁸⁵ both valuable sources connected to the composer. These two readings clearly illustrate the variations of rhythmic and ornamental details in the melody and accompaniment found in many of the pieces. Example 5.16 provides a transcription of the second half of K24 (from bar 7), in which variants exist between *A Choice Collection of Lessons* and Lbl MS Egerton 2959, whose early provenance is unknown but the manuscript's version derives from a different stem of transmission than the 1698 print. There are a number of variants between the sources. The most notable are the melodic line of Lbl Egerton 2959 omits the thirds found in *A Choice Collection of Lessons* in bar 5 and the sixths in bar 7, as shown in Example 5.16. Typical variations of rhythmic details in the melody can be seen in bars 10-11, similar to the variant pattern found in K62 described above. In the left-hand, octaves appear in bar 5, and pitch variants occur in the scalic pattern bar 7. However, although a number of details were added, omitted or changed between the earlier sources and *A Choice Collection of Lessons*, these variants are more superficial than for many other keyboard pieces from this period and indicate a strong sense of written transmission rather than the likely employment of memorised 'gists' by either composer or compiler as described by Andrew Woolley.⁸⁶ No patterns emerge from this analysis to indicate a systematic revision process by Blow in preparation of these pieces for print.

Despite the general culture of variance and lack of notational precision in post-Restoration keyboard music, it is clear from this analysis that certain variant patterns appear in Playford's 1689 keyboard anthology in contrast to other printed and contemporary manuscript sources. The less intricate rhythmic details coupled with less challenging left-hand accompaniments present 'simpler' arrangements in *The Second Part of Musick's Hand-maid*, a publication clearly directed at the amateur market and edited by Purcell, an established keyboard teacher. The apparent lack of input by Blow in the publishing of these variant readings in the Playford instrumental publication may reflect

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 1.

⁸⁶ Woolley, 'English Keyboard Sources and their Contexts, c. 1660-1720', 106.

Example 5.16 John Blow, 'Tune', K24, extract.

John Blow, *A Choice Collection of Lessons* (1698), p. 4⁸⁷

7

11

15

Lbl Egerton MS 2959, f. 11v

7

11

15

⁸⁷ Note the misprint in b.6 of *A Choice Collection of Lessons* (1698), which is also transcribed in Klakowich's edition. Klakowich, *John Blow: Complete Harpsichord Music*, 29.

the less composer-oriented patterns of attributions and advertising of instrumental anthologies identified in Chapter 3. In contrast, Blow's later volume, *A Choice Collection of Lessons*, provides authoritative readings for which there is no evidence to suggest that Blow considered revising his works with a public amateur audience in mind.

*

This analysis of a variety of case-study compositions printed and disseminated in England in the second half of the seventeenth century indicates that the medium of print had a varying impact on compositional activities. Individual composers took an active role in revising their works with print in mind, and revisions included notational changes, such as alterations of clefs in Henry Lawes' and Henry Purcell's songs, and compositional changes to suit the format of printed books intended for the public amateur market. These alterations included transposition of songs into the accessible treble register, arrangements either into more popular idioms, such as Henry Lawes' three-part versions, or due to extraction from large-scale works, as was the case for Purcell's theatre songs and Blow's extracts from ode settings.

The extent of adaptation and arrangement was determined by the genre: thus catches and canons required no revision due to the nature of their form, whereas extracts from large-scale works required adapting into individual pieces that could stand alone. The extent of revisions was also determined by the function of the printed book: Purcell's theatre songs were devoid of their continuo line for Henry Playford's chapbooks, as was the continuo line for William Lawes's case-study dialogue in *Catch that Catch can*. John Playford's arrangement of Blow's 'Awake, awake my lyre' provided enough scoring so that the book's customer could sing it 'alone to the Theorbo, and is suitable to the rest in this Book'. Not all the printed sources were authorised by the composer, and revisions appear to have been also made by editors and publishers. John Playford clearly took an active role in arranging and adapting musical works in preparation for print. The stationer may have been behind the changes of metre affecting Henry Lawes's songs printed in 1652, and Purcell may have had a hand in the alternative versions of Blow's keyboard pieces represented in the *Second Part of Musick's Hand-maid* (1689).

Conclusion

A principal aim of this thesis has been to consider how the very different purposes for which printed sources were created, and the functions they served in relation to some manuscript sources, affect the musical texts within them. Such a study required placing the printed music book and its contents within the social, cultural and economic contexts in which it was produced. Amateur musicians were the prime market for publishers of printed music books and, as Chapter 1 highlighted, these amateurs fell into a range of distinct groups with highly musically-educated amateurs, who had connections with professional musicians and heavily relied upon the strong exchange networks of manuscript circulation, and less musically-educated amateurs, who were isolated from the musically-elite networks and for whom financial outlay was necessary for the provision of those musical texts that circulated primarily in manuscript. The employment of a music teacher provided limited access, but, as we saw in Chapter 2, the principal motivation behind the majority of music books printed in England between 1650 and 1700 was to provide popular and accessible tunes for amateur domestic performance. Printed music books were, for a fee, a means of gaining access to musical texts, and the very small customer base and expense of music printing must have had an impact on what stationers were willing to publish. Song anthologies typically advertised the latest songs performed in public and semi-public circumstances, and instrumental anthologies typically provided pedagogical directions for self instruction. The music-publishing industry in England in the second half of the seventeenth century was thus primarily, but not exclusively, concerned with the provision of popular tunes for amateur consumers with books marketed primarily by genre.

John Playford was the principal instigator in the provision of such books, and his publishing career is characterised by his connections with contemporary musicians and networks of musical circulation. Playford was keen to stress such connections particularly in his song anthologies, and the difference in attribution practices between vocal and instrumental anthologies, demonstrated in Chapter 3, suggests that the link between composition and printing might be weaker for printed instrumental music. The large amounts of duplication of material between Playford's beginner instrumental books suggests a core repertory that was arranged and reworked as and when needed, and the lack of attribution for such pieces may illustrate weak links between initial

composition and the printed version, and therefore the displacement of the creative ownership of the work.

The music-publishing industry witnessed a shift in the late 1680s following the death of John Playford, with developments in printing techniques coupled with a rise in competition as more publishers began to experiment in the trade. This shift in the technology and personnel of the industry saw an increased commercial aspect of the trade in which publishers appear not to have had connections with composers and professional musicians, and, where relationships did exist, they were business relationships as opposed to the personal connections maintained by Playford. The shift in relationships between stationers and musicians in England in the last two decades of the seventeenth century implies less of a link between printing and musical creativity. However, this later period is also characterised by an increase in self-published collections, with composers taking charge of the print dissemination of their works.

This thesis has demonstrated that compositional activity influenced the music-publishing industry while at the same time the music-publishing industry affected compositional activity. Although the relationship between contemporary print coverage and compositional output is clearly uneven, as demonstrated in Chapter 4, existing repertoires were selected by composers, stationers and others for dissemination via print. The vast majority of such works were based on the genre's contemporary popularity and accessibility by the amateur print market: unaccompanied part-songs and songs from public theatre productions, for instance, were popular as well as suitable for amateur performance. However, it is unclear to what extent printing influenced initial compositional creativity, particularly for the important portion of secular and devotional songs in the outputs of composers such as Henry Purcell and John Blow, as it is unknown whether or not these pieces were composed specifically to cater for the market demand.

The influence of music publishing on compositional activity suggested by the detailed analysis in Chapter 5 is the impact of print on creative strategies, in the form of revisions and arrangements of already-composed works in preparation of the printed musical text. Henry Lawes, Matthew Locke, Henry Purcell and John Blow all took an active role in the music-publishing industry and the publishing of their musical works. Despite the textual fluidity that is characteristic of musical works in Restoration England, the variant patterns ascertained in Chapter 5 between contemporary

manuscript and printed sources suggest that both composers and stationers employed creative strategies in the preparation of musical texts for print. The extent of these revisions depended upon the genre, context and original purpose of the composition, and by the function and format of the printed music book, but is not just a question of simplification. While similar variant patterns appeared across different case studies, such as transposition, change of clefs, and scoring, to suit the amateur print market, other variant patterns, including John Blow's revisions to the violin parts of his musical settings of odes, clearly demonstrate the repeated revision of musical works by composers during this period.

The relationship between the function of the printed source and musical creative activity illustrated in this thesis demonstrates the importance of a contextual approach to the consideration of musical texts, and subsequently calls for more recognition of source context in the evaluation of musical texts composed in Restoration England.

Appendix A

Short-Title Catalogue of Extant English Music Publications,

1650-1700

Explanatory Notes

Entries are ordered chronologically by the year stated on title pages, despite the difference in the calendar in England in the seventeenth and early eighteenth century: the year was reckoned to begin on 25th March, so 1st January 1701 would have been rendered 1st January 1700. Dates with superscript numbering are based on references in RISM. Names of printers, publishers and additional booksellers are given as per the book's title page. Despite the term *stationer* employed throughout the thesis to refer to the principal characters of the music book trade, the list in Appendix A is divided into the columns 'printer', 'publisher/principal bookseller' and 'additional booksellers' to indicate all individuals who dabbled in music-book printing, publishing and selling while observing that many such title-page imprints cannot be taken literally.⁸⁸ Locations of copies are given using the library abbreviations at the beginning of this thesis.

This catalogue is limited to the perimeters of the study and therefore does not include psalm books, broadsides, music magazines, and other music books not primarily containing music notation published in England during the period.

Principal References

François Lesure, *Répertoire International Des Sources Musicales, B/I: Recueils Imprimés XVIe-XVIIe Siècles*, Munich, 1960.

C. L. Day and E. B. Murrie, *English Song-Books, 1651-1702: A Bibliography, with a First-Line Index of Songs*, London, 1940.

William C. Smith, *A Bibliography of the Musical Works Published by John Walsh during the Years 1695–1720*, London, 1948.

Peter Alan Munstedt, 'John Playford, Music Publisher: A Bibliographic Catalogue', Ph.D., University of Kentucky, 1983.

⁸⁸ Krummel, *English Music Printing, 1553-1700*, 124.

Date	Short Title	Place of Publication	Printer	Publisher/ Principal Bookseller	Additional Bookseller(s)	Copy Consulted
1651	<i>The English Dancing Master</i>	London	Thomas Harper	John Playford		GB-Lbl
1651 ⁶	<i>A Musicall Banquet</i>	London	Thomas Harper	John Benson & John Playford		US-Sm
1651 ⁸	<i>Parthenia, or the mayden-head</i>	[London]		John Clarke		GB-Lbl
1652	<i>Dancing Master</i>	London		John Playford		GB-Lbl
1652	<i>A Booke of New Lessons for the Cithern & Gittern</i>	London	Thomas Harper	John Benson & John Playford		GB-Gu
1652 ⁸	<i>Select Musicall Ayres and Dialogues</i>	London		John Playford		GB-Lbl
1652 ⁹	<i>The Second Book of Ayres</i>	London	Thomas Harper	John Playford		GB-Lbl
1652	<i>The Lutes Apology, for her Excellency</i>	London	Thomas Harper	Livewell Chapman		GB-Lbl
1652 ¹⁰	<i>Catch that Catch can</i>	London		John Benson & John Playford		US-Ws
[1652]	<i>Musicks Recreation on the Lyra Viol</i>	London		John Playford		GB-Lbl
1653 ⁷	<i>Select Musicall Ayres and Dialogues, in three books</i>	London	Thomas Harper	John Playford		US-Sm
1653	<i>Ayres and Dialogues... The First Book</i>	London	Thomas Harper	John Playford		US-Ca
1653	<i>The Dancing Master</i>	London		John Playford		GB-Lbl
1654	<i>A breefe introduction to the skill of musick</i>	London		John Playford		US-Ca

1655	<i>The Second Book of Ayres and Dialogues</i>	London	Thomas Harper	John Playford		US-Ca
1655 ⁵	<i>Court-Ayres</i>	London		John Playford		US-Ca (basse); GB-Lbl (treble)
1655 ⁶	<i>Parthenia, or the maydenhead</i>	[London]		John Clarke		GB-Lbl
1655	<i>An Introduction to the Skill of Musick</i>	London		John Playford		US-Ca
[1655]	<i>Parthenia</i>	London	William Hole	Dorothy Evans	G. Lowe	US-Sm
c.1655	<i>Fantazies of Two, Three and Four Parts, for Viols</i>	London		John Playford		GB-Lcm
1656	<i>Ayres and Dialogues</i>	London	William Godbid	John Gamble		GB-Lbl
1656	<i>His Little Consort of Three Parts</i>	London	William Godbid	John Playford		GB-Lbl (treble & tenor); Lcm (bass)
1657	<i>Ayres and Dialogues</i>	London	William Godbid	Humphrey Moseley		US-Sm
1657	<i>Directions for the flagellett</i>	[London]		Richard Pawlett		GB-Lbl (fragment only)
1657	<i>Mottets of Two Voyces</i>	London	William Godbid	Walter Porter		GB-Lbl
1657	<i>Psalterium Carolinum... by John Wilson</i>	London		John Martin & James Allestry		GB-Lbl
1658	<i>Ayres and Dialogues... The Third Book</i>	London	William Godbid	John Playford		US-Ca

1658 ⁵	<i>Catch that Catch can...The second edition</i>	London	William Godbid	John Benson & John Playford	US-Ws
1658	<i>A brief introduction to the skill of musick</i>	London	William Godbid	John Playford	US-Ca
1659	<i>Ayres and Dialogues... The Second Book</i>	London	William Godbid	Nathaniel Ekin	GB-Lbl
1659	<i>The Division-Violist</i>	London	William Godbid		US-Sm
1659 ⁵	<i>Select Ayres and Dialogues</i>	London	William Godbid	John Playford	GB-Lbl
1659 ⁷	<i>Parthenia or the maydenhead</i>	[London]		John Playford	[US-NYp]
1660 ⁴	<i>Cheerfull Ayres or Ballads</i>	Oxford	William Hall	Ric. Davis	US-Ws
1660	<i>A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick... The Third Edition</i>	London	William Godbid	John Playford	GB-Lbl
1661 ⁴	<i>Musick's Recreation: on the viol, lyra-way</i>	London	William Godbid	John Playford	GB-Lbl
1662 ⁴	<i>Cantica Sacra</i>	London	William Godbid	John Playford	GB-Lbl
1662 ⁸	<i>Courtly Masquing Ayres</i>	London	William Godbid	John Playford	GB-Lbl (treble); Ctc (bass)
1662	<i>A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick</i>	London		John Playford	US-Sm
1663 ⁶	<i>Catch that Catch can</i>	London	William Godbid	John Playford & Zachariah Watkins	GB-Lbl
1663 ⁷	<i>Musicks hand-maide</i>	London		John Playford	GB-Lbl
1664	<i>A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick...The</i>	London	William Godbid	John Playford	Zachariah Watkins US-Ca

<i>Fourth Edition</i>						
1664	<i>A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick...The Fourth Edition</i> *Another issue	[London]	William Godbid	John Playford	Zachariah Watkins	US-Ca
1665	<i>The Dancing Master</i>	London	William Godbid	John Playford & Zachariah Watkins		GB-Lbl; Gu
1665	<i>The Principles of Practical Musick</i>	London	William Godbid	Henry Brome		US-Wc
1666 ⁴	<i>Musick's Delight on the Cithern</i>	London	William Godbid	John Playford		US-Sm
1666	<i>A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick</i>	London	William Godbid	John Playford		US-Ca
1667	<i>Directions for the flagellett</i>	[London]				GB-Lbl (fragment only)
1667 ⁶	<i>Catch that Catch can</i>	London	William Godbid	John Playford		US-Sm
1667	<i>Catch that Catch can</i> * Another Issue	London	William Godbid	John Playford		GB-Lbl
1667	<i>A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick</i>	London	William Godbid	John Playford		US-Ca
1667	<i>Cbelys, minuritionum artificio exornata... Editio Secunda</i>	London	William Godbid	Henry Brome		GB-Gu
1667	<i>A compendium of practical musick in five parts</i>	London	William Godbid	Henry Brome		GB-Mp
1668	<i>Musica Deo Sacra & Ecclesiae Anglicanae</i>	London	William Godbid		Timothy Garthwait	US-Sm
1668 ⁹	<i>Poems of Mr. Cowley and others</i>	Oxford	William Hall	William King		US-Ca
1669 ⁵	<i>The Treasury of Musick</i>	London	William Godbid	John Playford		GB-Lbl

1669	<i>Select Ayres and Dialogues...The Second Book</i>	London	William Godbid	John Playford		GB-Lbl
1669	<i>Select Ayres and Dialogues...The Third Book</i>	London	William Godbid	John Playford		GB-Lbl
1669 ⁶	<i>Musicks Recreation on the viol, lyra-may</i>	London	William Godbid	John Playford		US-Sm
1670	<i>Apollo's Banquet</i>	[London]		[John Playford]		[US-NYp] (fragment only)
1670	<i>The Dancing Master</i>	London	William Godbid	John Playford		GB-Lbl
1670	<i>A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick</i>	London	William Godbid	John Playford		US-Sm
1671	<i>Lessons for the basse-viol</i>	London	William Godbid	John Moss	John Playford	F-Pc
1671	<i>Psalms & Hymns in Solemn Musick of Foure Parts</i>	London	William Godbid	John Playford		US-Sm
1672	<i>The Pleasant Companion</i>	London		John Playford		GB-Cu
1672	<i>An Introduction to the Skill of Musick...The Sixt Edition</i>	London	William Godbid	John Playford		GB-Cu
1673 ³	<i>Choice Songs and Ayres...The First Book</i>	London	William Godbid	John Playford & John Ford		GB-Lbl
1673 ⁶	<i>Melothesia... The First Part</i>	London		John Carr		US-Wc
1673 ⁴	<i>The Musical Companion</i>	London	William Godbid	John Playford		US-Sm
1673	<i>The Musical Companion</i> * Another Issue	London	William Godbid	John Playford		GB-Ob
1673	<i>The Musical Companion</i> * Another Issue	London	William Godbid	John Playford		GB-Lcm;

						US-Ws
1673	<i>The Musical Companion</i> * Another Issue	London	William Godbid	John Playford		GB-Mp
1673 ⁵	<i>The Pleasant Companion... The Second Edition</i>	London		John Playford		[GB-Lv]
1674 ²	<i>Cantica Sacra</i>	London	William Godbid	John Playford		US-Ca (cantus); GB-Lbl (bassus)
1674	<i>An Introduction to the Skill of Musick...The Seventh Edition</i>	London	William Godbid	John Playford		US-Sm
1675 ⁷	<i>Choice Ayres, Songs, & Dialogues...The Second Edition</i>	London	William Godbid	John Playford		US-Ca
[1675]	[<i>Choice Ayres, Songs, & Dialogues...The Second Edition</i>] * Another issue	[London]	[William Godbid]	[John Playford]		GB-Mp
1675	<i>The Pleasant Companion</i>	London		John Playford		GB-Ob
1675	<i>The English Opera; or the Vocal Musick in Psyche</i>	London	T. Ratcliff & N. Thompson	Matthew Locke	John Carr	US-Ca
1675	<i>The Dancing Master</i>	London	William Godbid	John Playford		GB-Lbl
1676 ³	<i>Choice Ayres, Songs, & Dialogues</i>	London	William Godbid	John Playford		US-Sm
1676	<i>Musick's Monument, Or, A Remembrancer of the Best Practical Musick</i>	London	T. Ratcliffe & Nathaniel Thompson	Thomas Mace	John Carr	US-Ca
1676	<i>The Pleasant Companion</i>	London		John Playford		GB-DRuc

[1677]	<i>[Songs for one, two & three voices to the thorough-bass with some short symphonies]</i>	[Oxford]		[Thomas Bowman]	GB-Lbl
1677 ⁴	<i>Tripla Concordia</i>	London	Tho. Ratcliffe & Nath. Thompson	John Carr	US-Sm
1677	<i>The Art of Singing</i>	Oxford	Leonard Lichfield	Pietro Reggio	GB-Ob
1678 ⁴	<i>New Ayres and Dialogues</i>	London	M.C.	Henry Brome	GB-Mp
1678 ⁵	<i>A Compendium of Practical Musick...The Third Editio[n]</i>	London	M.C.	Henry Brome	US-Wc
1678	<i>The Pleasant Companion</i>	London		John Playford	GB-Lbl
1678	<i>Songs for one, two & three voices to the thorough-bass with some short symphonies</i>	Oxford		Thomas Bowman	GB-Ob
1678	<i>Apollo's Banquet</i>	London	William Godbid	John Playford	GB-Lbl
1678 ⁶	<i>Musicks hand-maid</i>	London		John Playford	GB-Lbl
1678	<i>Musicks hand-maid</i> * Another issue	London		John Playford	US-Cn
1679	<i>The Dancing Master</i>	London	Anne Godbid & John Playford Jr	John Playford	GB-Lbl
1679 ⁶	<i>Scelta Di Canzonette Italiane De Piu Autori</i>	London	Anne Godbid & John Playford Jr	[Girolamo Pignani]	GB-Lbl
1679 ⁷	<i>Choice Ayres and Songs...The Second Book</i>	London	Anne Godbid	John Playford	US-Ca
1679	<i>A Vade Mecum for the lovers of musick</i>	London	N. Thompson	John Hudgebut	GB-Ob

1679	<i>Songs for one, two, & three voyces to the thorow-bass... The Second Edition</i>	Oxford		Ric. Davis	US-LAuc
1679	<i>An Introduction to the Skill of Musick...The Eighth Edition</i>	London	Anne Godbid & John Playford Jr	John Playford	US-Ca
1680	<i>The Pleasant Companion</i>	London		John Playford	US-Ws
[1680]	<i>Songs set by Signior Pietro Reggio</i>	[London]		[Pietro Reggio]	US-Sm
1680 ⁵	<i>Synopsis of Vocal Musick</i>	London	[John Lever]	Dorman Newman	US-Wc
[c.1680]	<i>[Instrumental Ayres in Three, and Four Parts... By Gerhard Diesineer]</i>	[London]		[?Gerhard Diesineer]	GB-DRc
1681 ⁴	<i>Choice Ayres and Songs...The Third Book</i>	London	Anne Godbid & John Playford Jr	John Playford & John Carr	US-Sm
1681	<i>The Most Pleasant Companion</i>	London		John Hudgebut	[US-Wc]
1682 ⁷	<i>The Pleasant Companion</i>	London		John Playford	GB-Lbl
1682 ⁹	<i>Musicks Recreation on the viol, lyra-way...The Second Edition</i>	London	Anne Godbid & John Playford Jr	John Playford	GB-Lbl
[1682]	<i>The False Consonances of Musick</i>	[London]		[John Carr]	GB-Gu
1683 ⁵	<i>Choice Ayres and Songs...The Fourth Book</i>	London	Anne Godbid & John Playford Jr	John Playford & John Carr	US-Ca
1683 ⁶	<i>A New Collection of Songs and Poems</i>	London		Joseph Hindmarsh	US-Ca
1683 ⁷	<i>The Genteel Companion</i>	London		Richard Hunt & Humphrey Salter	GB-Lbl

1683	<i>Sonnata's of III Parts</i>	London	[Thomas Cross]	Henry Purcell	John Playford & John Carr	US-Sm
1683	<i>The Pleasant Companion</i>	London		John Playford		US-Wc
1683	<i>An Introduction to the Skill of Musick...The Tenth Edition</i>	London	Anne Godbid & John Playford Jr	John Playford		US-Ca
1683	<i>The Newest Collection of the Choicest Songs</i>	London	T. Haly	D. Brown and T. Benskin		US-Ca
1684 ³	<i>Choice Ayres and Songs...The Fifth Book</i>	London	John Playford Jr	John Playford & John Carr		US-Ca
1684 ⁴	<i>Choice New Songs</i>	London		John Playford & Joseph Hindmarsh		US-Sm
1684	<i>A Musical Entertainment</i>	London	John Playford Jr	John Playford & John Carr		GB-Ca
1684	<i>The Division Violin</i>	London	John Playford Jr	John Playford		GB-Lbl
1684	<i>Pastoralle ... by Lewis Grabue</i>					GB-Cmc
1684	<i>Several New Songs. By Tho. D'Urfey</i>	London	John Playford Jr	Joseph Hindmarsh		US-Sm
1685 ⁴	<i>Catch that Catch can</i>	London	John Playford Jr	John Playford		GB-Lbl
1685 ⁵	<i>The Theater of Music...The First Book</i>	London	John Playford Jr	Henry Playford & Robert Carr		US-Wc
1685 ⁶	<i>The Theater of Music...The Second Book</i>	London	John Playford Jr	Henry Playford & Robert Carr	John Carr	US-Wc

1685 ⁷	<i>A Third Collection of New Songs</i>	London	John Playford Jr	Joseph Hindmarsh		US-Sm
1685 ¹⁰	<i>The Division-Violin</i>	London		John Playford		GB-Ob
1685	<i>A Second Musical Entertainment</i>	London	John Playford Jr	John Carr		US-Ca
1685	<i>A Collection of Twenty Four Songs</i>	London	F. Leach	Charles Corbet & W. Davis	'most Booksellers, and Musick-Shops'	US-Sm
1685	<i>A Choice Collection of 180 Loyal Songs</i>	London	N.T.			US-Sm
1686 ³	<i>The Theater of Music...The Third Book</i>	London		Henry Playford & Robert Carr	John Carr	US-Wc
1686 ⁴	<i>The Second Book of the Pleasant Musical Companion...The Second Edition</i>	London		John Playford		GB-Ob
1686	<i>The Second Book of the Pleasant Musical Companion...The Second Edition</i> * Another issue	London		John Playford		GB-Lbl
1686	<i>The Delightful Companion... The Second Edition</i>	London		John Playford & John Carr		GB-Lbl
1686	<i>The Dancing Master</i>	London	John Playford Jr	John Playford		GB-Lbl
[1686]	[<i>Farmers Airs. A Consort of Musick</i>]	[London]				GB-Lbl
1687 ³	<i>A Collection of the Choy[c]est and Newest Songs...The Second Book</i>	London		John Crouch		GB-Lbl
1687 ⁴	<i>Comes amoris; or the companion of Love...The First Book</i>	London	Nat. Thompson	John Carr & Samuel Scott		GB-Lbl
1687	<i>Comes amoris; or the companion of Love...The First Book</i> * Another issue	London	Nat. Thompson	John Carr & Samuel Scott		GB-Ob

1687 ⁵	<i>The Theater of Music...The Fourth Book</i>	London	B. Motte	Henry Playford		US-Wc
1687 ⁶	<i>Vinculum Societatis...The First Book</i>	London	F. Clark, T. Moore & John Heptinstall	John Carr & Robert Carr	Samuel Scott	US-Sm
1687 ⁷	<i>Apollo's Banquet...The 5th Edition</i>	London		[John Ch]urch	[Henry Playford]	GB-En
1687	<i>Quadratum Musicum Or A Collection of XVI New Songs Made upon the GREATEST and Best Subjects</i>	[London]		John Clark		GB-Ob
[1687]	<i>The Second Book of the Pleasant Musical Companion</i>	London		John Playford		GB-Lbl
1687	<i>Albion and Albanus: An Opera</i>	London		Louis Grabu	William Nott, and 'sold at the Door of the Royal Theatre'	US-Ca
1687	<i>Ayres for the Violin</i>	[London]		[Nicola Matteis]		US-Cn; GB-Lbl
1687	<i>An Introduction to the Skill of Musick...The Eleventh Edition</i>	London	Charles Peregrine	Henry Playford		GB-Cu
1687	<i>A Pastoral Elegy On the Death of Mr. John Playford</i>	London		Henry Playford		GB-Lbl
1688 ¹	<i>Harmonia Sacra</i>	[London]	Edward Jones	Henry Playford		US-U
1688 ⁶	<i>The Banquet of Musick...The First Book</i>	[London]	Edward Jones	Henry Playford		US-Ws
1688 ⁷	<i>The Banquet of Musick...The Second Book</i>	[London]	Edward Jones	Henry Playford		US-Ca
1688 ⁸	<i>Comes Amoris: Or The Companion of Love...The Second Book</i>	London	Tho. Moore	John Carr & Samuel Scott		US-Sm
1688 ⁹	<i>Vinculum Societatis, Or The Tie of good</i>	London	T. Moore & John	John Carr & Samuel		GB-En

	<i>Company...The Second Book</i>		Heptinstall	Scott	
1688 ¹¹	<i>A Collection of Several Simphonies and Airs</i>	[London]		William Nott	GB-Lbl
1688	<i>New Songs Sung in the Fool's Preferment</i>	London	Edward Jones	Joseph Knight & Fran. Saunders	GB-En
[1688]	<i>Arie diverse per il violino</i>	[London]		[Nicola Matteis]	GB-Lbl
1689 ⁵	<i>The Banquet of Musick...The Third Book</i>	[London]	Edward Jones	Henry Playford	US-U
1689 ⁶	<i>Comes Amoris: Or the Companion of Love...The Third Book</i>	London	T. Moore & John Heptinstall	John Carr & Samuel Scott	US-Sm
1689 ⁷	<i>The Second Part of Musick's Hand-maid</i>	London		Henry Playford	GB-Lbl
[1690]	<i>Youth's Delight on the Flagelet...the 9th Edition</i>	[London]		John Clarke	GB-Lbl
1690 ⁴	<i>Apollo's Banquet...The sixth edition</i>	London	Edward Jones	Henry Playford	GB-Lbl
1690	<i>The Dancing Master</i>	[London]	Edward Jones	Henry Playford	GB-Lbl
1690	<i>The Songs of Amphitryon</i>	London	John Heptinstall	Jacob Tonson	GB-Owc
1690	<i>Remedium Melancholiae, Or The Remedy of Melancholy ...The First Book</i>	London	John Heptinstall	John Wolfgang Franck	GB-Lbl
1690 ⁵	<i>The Banquet of Musick...The Fourth Book</i>	[London]	Edward Jones	Henry Playford	US-U
[1690?]	<i>Sonate da Camera Or Chamber Musick</i>	London	Thomas Cross Jr	Matthew Novelle	GB-Lbl
1691 ⁵	<i>Apollo's Banquet... The Second Book</i>	[London]	Edward Jones	Henry Playford	GB-Lbl
1691 ⁶	<i>The Banquet of Musick...The Fifth Book</i>	[London]	Edward Jones	Henry Playford &	US-U

							Samuel Scott
1691 ⁷	<i>Vinculum Societatis, or The Tie of good Company... The Third Book</i>	London	T. Moore & John Heptinstall	John Carr			GB-Gu
1691	<i>A Collection of Musick in Two Parts...The First Book</i>	London	John Heptinstall	John Banister	John Carr, Henry Playford, and 'most of the Musick Shops about the Town'		GB-DRc
1691	<i>A Collection of Musick in Two Parts...Second Book</i>	London	Tho. Moore	John Banister	John Carr, Henry Playford, and 'most of the Musick Shops about the Town'		GB-DRc
1691	<i>The Vocal and Instrumental Musick of the Prophetess, Or The History of Dioclesian</i>	London	John Heptinstall	Henry Purcell	John Carr		US-Wc
1692 ⁸	<i>The Banquet of Musick...The Sixth Book</i>	[London]	Edward Jones	John Carr & Henry Playford			GB-Lbl
1692 ⁹	<i>Philomela Or The Vocal Musician</i>	London	Thomas Cross		John Man		F-Pc
1692	<i>A Consort of Musick of Three Parts</i>	[London]	R. Brett				GB-Lbl (bass only)
1692	<i>Some Select Songs as they are Sung in the Fairy Queen</i>	London	John Heptinstall	Henry Purcell	John Carr, Henry Playford, and 'at the Theatre in Dorset-Garden'		US-Sm
1692	<i>Some Select Songs as they are Sung in the Fairy Queen...</i>	London	John Heptinstall	Henry Purcell	John Carr, Henry Playford, and 'at		GB-Lbl

	<i>The Second Edition</i>				the Theatre in Dorset-Garden'	
[1692]	<i>Songs for One Two and Three Voices</i>	[London]		[Robert King]		GB-Lbl
[1692]	<i>Songs for One Two and Three Voices</i> * Another issue	[London]		[Robert King]	John Crouch	GB-Gu
1693 ¹	<i>Harmonia Sacra...The Second Book</i>	[London]	Edward Jones	Henry Playford		US-U
1693 ⁵	<i>The First Book of Apollo's Banquet... The 7th Edition</i>	[London]	Edward Jones	Henry Playford		GB-Lbl
1693 ⁶	<i>Comes Amoris: or The Companion of Love...The Fourth Book</i>	London	John Heptinstall	John Carr & Samuel Scott		US-Sm
1693 ⁷	<i>Synopsis musicae, or, The Musical Inventory</i>	London	Thomas Cross		John Crouch and John Man	US-Wc
1693	<i>The Second Part of the Division-Violin... The Second Edition</i>	London	Thomas Cross Jr	Henry Playford		GB-DRc
1693 ⁸	<i>Thesaurus Musicus...The First Book</i>	London	John Heptinstall	John Hudgebut	John Carr, John Money and 'at most Musick- Shops in Town'	GB-Lbl
1693	<i>The Gentleman's Diversion</i>	[London]		[John Lenton]	John Crouch, Humphrey Salter & 'Mr Cutburths'	[GB-CDu] (fragment only)
1694 ⁵	<i>Comes Amoris: or The Companion of Love...The Fifth Book</i>	London	John Heptinstall	John Carr		US-Sm
1694 ⁶	<i>The Songs To The New Play of Don Quixote...Part the First</i>	London	John Heptinstall	Samuel Briscoe		US-Sm

1694	<i>The Songs To The New Play of Don Quixote...Part the First</i> * Another issue	London	John Heptinstall	Samuel Briscoe		US-Sm
1694	<i>The Songs To The New Play of Don Quixote...Part the Second</i>	London	John Heptinstall	Samuel Briscoe		US-Sm
1694 ⁷	<i>Thesaurus Musicus...The Second Book</i>	London	John Heptinstall	Henry Playford	John Money and 'at most Musick-Shops in Town'	GB-Ob
1694	<i>Thesaurus Musicus...The Second Book</i> * Another issue	London	John Heptinstall	John Hudgebut	John Money, Henry Playford and 'at most Musick-Shops in Town'	GB-Gu
1694	<i>An Introduction to the Skill of Musick... The Twelfth Edition</i>	London	Edward Jones	Henry Playford		US-Ca
1695	<i>The Dancing Master...The Ninth Edition</i>	[London]	Edward Jones	Henry Playford		GB-Lbl
1695	<i>The Compleat Flute-Master</i>	London		John Hare & John Walsh		GB-Lbl
1695 ⁶	<i>A Collection of New Ayres... The First Collection</i>	London	John Heptinstall	John Hudgebut	John Carr, John Money, John Young, John Hare, John Miller 'And at most Musick-Shops in Town'	GB-Lbl
1695 ⁷	<i>Deliciae Musicae...The First Book</i>	London	John Heptinstall	Henry Playford		GB-Lbl
1695 ⁸	<i>Deliciae Musicae...The Second Book</i>	London	John Heptinstall	Henry Playford		GB-Lbl

1695 ⁹	<i>Three Elegies upon the Much Lamented Loss of Our Late Gracious Queen Mary</i>	London	John Heptinstall	Henry Playford		US-Ca
[c.1695] ¹⁰	<i>[Joyful Cuckoldom, or the love of gentlemen and gentlenwomen.]</i>	London	John Heptinstall	Henry Playford & John Church	Daniel Dring	GB-Lbl
1695 ¹¹	<i>Thesaurus Musicus...The Third Book</i>	London	John Heptinstall	John Hudgebut	John Carr, John Money, and 'at most Musick-Shops in Town'	GB-Gu
1695	<i>Thesaurus Musicus...The Third Book</i> * Another issue	London	John Heptinstall	John Hudgebut	John Carr, John Money, and 'at most Musick-Shops in Town'	GB-Gu
1695	<i>Thesaurus Musicus... The Third Book</i> * Another issue	[London]	John Heptinstall	John Hudgebut	John Carr, John Money, and 'at most Musick-Shops in Town'	GB-Lbl
1695 ¹²	<i>Thesaurus Musicus...The Fourth Book</i>	London	John Heptinstall	John Hudgebut	John Carr, Daniel Dring, and 'at most Musick-Shops in Town'	GB-Mp
1695 ¹⁴	<i>The Sprightly Companion...The First</i>	London	John Heptinstall	Henry Playford		GB-Lbl
1695 ¹⁵	<i>[The Divison Violin]</i>	London		Henry Playford		GB-Lbl
1695 ¹⁷	<i>The New Treasury of Musick</i>	London		Henry Playford		GB-Lbl
1695	<i>The Songs in the Indian Queen</i>	London	John Heptinstall	John May & John		GB-Lbl

Hudgebut						
1695	<i>Nolens Volens</i>	[London]	Thomas Cross		Humphrey Salter, John Young, John Hare	GB-Ob
1695	<i>The First Book of the Self-Instructor on the Violin</i>	London		John Hare	John Walsh	GB-DRc
c.1695	<i>The Songs in the Tragedy of Bonduca</i>	[*missing title page]		[Henry Playford]		US-Ca
[c.1695]	<i>A Second Booke of Songs</i>	[London]		[Robert King]		GB-Lbl
1696 ⁶	<i>Deliciae Musicae...The Third Book</i>	London	John Heptinstall	Henry Playford		GB-Lbl
1696 ⁷	<i>Deliciae Musicae...The Fourth Book</i>	London	John Heptinstall	Henry Playford		GB-Ob
1696 ⁵	<i>Deliciae Musicae...The First Book of the Second Volume</i>	London	John Heptinstall	Henry Playford & John Church	Daniel Dring and 'also Sold at Oxford by Francis Dollife Book- binder, who Sells all other Musick- Books'	US-Ws
1696	<i>Deliciae Musicae...The Second Book of the Second Volume</i>	London	John Heptinstall	Henry Playford	'And Sold at Oxford by Grancis Dollife Book- binder, who Sells all other Musick- Books'	US-Ws
[c.1696] ⁸	<i>A Collection of Songs set to Musick by Mr. Henry Purcell and Mr. John Eccles</i>	[London]	Tho. Cross		'Sold at the Musick Shops'	GB-Lcm
1696 ⁹	<i>Thesaurus Musicum... The Fifth Book</i>	London	John Heptinstall	John Hudgebut		GB-Mp

1696 ¹⁰	<i>New Songs in the Third Part of the Comical History of Don Quixote</i>	London		Samuel Briscoe		GB-Lbl
1696	<i>Deliciae Musicae...The First Volume Compleat</i>	London	John Heptinstall	Henry Playford		GB-Lbl
1696	<i>The Second Part of the Dancing Master</i>	London		Henry Playford		GB-Lbl
1696	<i>An Ode on the Death of Mr. Henry Purcell</i>	[London]	John Heptinstall	Henry Playford		US-Sm
1696	<i>A Collection of New Songs Set by Mr. Nicola Matteis...The 1st Book</i>	London		John Walsh	John Hare	GB-Ob; Lbl
1696	<i>The Single Songs, With the Dialogue, Sung in the New Opera, Call'd Brutus of Alba: Or, Augusta's Triumph</i>	London	John Heptinstall	Henry Playford & Samuel Scott		US-Sm
1696	<i>A Choice Collection of Lessons for the Harpsichord or Spinnet</i>	London		Frances Purcell	Henry Playford	GB-Lbl
1697	<i>Single Songs, and Dialogues, in the Musical Play of Mars & Venus</i>	London	John Heptinstall	Gottfried Finger & John Eccles	John Hare, John Walsh	US-Ws
1697	<i>The Single Songs in the New Opera, Call'd, The World in the Moon</i>	London	John Heptinstall	Henry Playford		US-Sm
1697	<i>Songs in the New Opera, Call'd The World in the Moon</i>	[London]		John Walsh & John Hare		GB-Lbl
1697	<i>The Harpsicord Master</i>	London		John Walsh & John Hare		NZ-Ap [facsimile]
1697	<i>Youth's Delight on the Flagelet... ye 11th Edition</i>	[London]		John Hare		GB-Lbl
1697	<i>A Collection of New Songs With a Through Bass to each Song... by Mr. Morgan</i>	London		John Walsh & John Hare		GB-Lbl

1697	<i>An Introduction to the Skill of Musick</i>	London	Edward Jones	Henry Playford		US-Ca
1697	<i>A New Book of Songs...by Mr. Leueridge</i>	London		John Walsh & John Hare		GB-Lbl; Ob
1697	<i>Te Deum et Jubilate, for Voices and Instruments</i>	London		John Walsh		IRL-Dtc
1697	<i>Te Deum & Jubilate, for voices and instruments</i>	London	John Heptinstall	Frances Purcell	Henry Playford	US-NH
1697	<i>A Collection of Ayres, Compos'd For the Theatre</i>	London	John Heptinstall	Frances Purcell	M. Aylmer, W. Henschman, Henry Playford	GB-Lbl
1697	<i>Ten Sonata's in Four Parts</i>	London	John Heptinstall	Frances Purcell	B. Aylmer, W. Henschman, Henry Playford	GB-Lbl
1697	<i>The Second Book of the Self-Instructor on the Violin</i>	London		John Hare	John Walsh	GB-DRc
1698 ²	<i>The Alamode Musician</i>	[London]		Henry Playford		GB-Lbl
1698 ³	<i>Musica Oxoniensis. A Collection of Songs</i>	Oxford	Leon. Lichfield	Francis Smith & Peter de Walpergen	Widow Howell	GB-Ob
1698	<i>Musica Oxoniensis. A Collection of Songs</i> * Another issue	Oxford	Leon. Lichfield	Francis Smith & Peter de Walpergen	John Walsh & John Hare	GB-Cu
1698 ⁶	<i>Theater Musick Being A Collection of the newest Ayers for the Violin</i>	London		John Walsh		GB-DRc
1698	<i>Orpheus Britannicus</i>	London	John Heptinstall	Henry Playford		US-Ca
1698	<i>A Collection of New Songs With a Thorow-Bass to each Song...by Mr. Gillier</i>	London	John Heptinstall	Henry Playford		US-Sm
1698	<i>The Songs in Phaeton: Or, The Fatal Divorce...The Second Edition</i>	London	John Heptinstall	Samuel Scott		US-Ws

1698	<i>The Dancing Master</i>	[London]	John Heptinstall	Samuel Sprint & Henry Playford	GB-Lbl
1698	<i>The Second Part of the Dancing Master</i>	[London]		Henry Playford	GB-Lbl
1698	<i>Six Sonatas or Solos... Compos'd by Mr. D. Purcell</i>	London		John Walsh & John Hare	GB-Ckc
[1698]	<i>A Choice Collection of Lessons for the Harpiscord, Spinnet, &c...by Dr. Iohn Blow</i>	[London]		Henry Playford	GB-DRc
[1698]	<i>A Collection of Ayers Purposely Contriv'd for two flutes</i>	London		John Walsh & John Hare	GB-Lbl
1699 ⁵	<i>Twelve New Songs</i>	London	William Pearson	Henry Playford, Samuel Scott, John Hare & John Hudgebut	GB-Lbl
1699 ⁶	<i>Wit and Mirth, or, Pills to Purge Melancholy</i>	London	William Pearson	Henry Playford	GB-Cmc
1699	<i>A Choice Collection of New Songs and Ballads</i>	London	William Pearson	Henry Playford	US-Ca
1699	<i>A Second Book of Songs... by Mr: R. Leveridge</i>	London		John Walsh, John Hare & John Young	GB-Lbl
1699	<i>A Second Book of Songs...by Mr: R. Leveridge</i> * Another issue	London		John Walsh, John Hare & John Young	GB-Ob
1699	<i>The Second Book of Theater Musick</i>	London		John Walsh	GB-DRc
[1699]	<i>A Collection of new Songs Set by Mr. Nicola...The second Book</i>	London		John Walsh	US-Sm

1699	<i>The Compleat Tutor to the Violin</i>	London	Thomas Cross	John Young & Thomas Cross		GB-Lbl (fragment only)
1699	<i>The Second Collection of New Songs and Ballads</i>	London	William Pearson	Henry Playford	'and at all other Musick Shops in Town'	GB-Ob
[1699]	<i>Songs in the New Opera, Call'd the Island Princess</i>	[London]		John Walsh		GB-Lbl
1699	<i>Country Dances</i>	London	William Pearson	Thomas Bray	Henry Playford, John Crouch, Mr Couthbutt 'and all other Musick Shops'	GB-Lbl
[1699]	<i>A Choice Collection of Lessons for the Harpsichord or Spinnet... The third Edition</i>	[London]		Frances Purcell		US-Cn
[1699]	<i>The Compleat Violist</i>	London		John Hare	B. Norman	GB-DRc
1700 ¹	<i>Two Divine Hymns, being a supplement to the second book of Harmoniae Sacrae</i>	London	William Pearson	Henry Playford		GB-Lbl
1700	<i>Amphion Anglicus</i>	London	William Pearson	John Blow	Henry Playford	US-Sm
1700	<i>The Compleat Instructor to the Flu[te] The Second Book</i>	London		John Young		US-NH
1700 ⁴	<i>Wit and mirth, or, Pills to purge melancholy</i>	London	William Pearson	Henry Playford		GB-Lbl
1700	<i>A Collection of New Songs...by Mr. Daniel Purcel</i>	London		John Walsh		GB-Lbl
1700	<i>Songs in the New Opera, Call'd the Grove or Love's Paradise</i>	[London]		John Walsh		GB-Lbl
1700	<i>An Introduction to the Skill of Musick...The Fourteenth Edition</i>	London	William Pearson	Henry Playford		GB-Cu

1700	<i>The Third Book of Theater Musick</i>	London		John Walsh		GB-DRc
1700 ⁸	<i>The Third Book of the Self-Instructor on the Violin</i>	London		John Hare	John Walsh	GB-DRc
1700 ⁹	<i>The Second Book of the Harpsicord Master</i>	London		John Walsh		GB-Lcm [facsimile]
1700 ¹⁰	<i>A Choice Collection of Ayres for the Harpsichord or Spinett</i>	London		John Young		GB-Lbl
1700	<i>A Collection of Original Scotch-Tunes (Full of the Highland Humours) for the Violin</i>	London	William Pearson	Henry Playford		GB-En; DRc
1700	<i>Six Sonatas or Solos... Compos'd by Mr Wm Crofts & an Italian Mr</i>	London		John Walsh & John Hare		GB-DRc

Appendix B

Manuscript and Printed Sources of Case-Study Compositions

The manuscript and printed sources of the case studies examined for Chapter 4 are provided here, categorised by genre and subdivided by composer as follows:

- *Catches, Canons and Dialogues* (William Lawes)
- *Songs* (Henry Lawes)
- *Devotional Songs* (Matthew Locke)
- *Devotional Songs* (John Blow)
- *Extracts from Large-Scale Works* (Henry Purcell: *Fairy Queen*)
- *'Symphony' Songs and Extracts from Large-Scale Works* (John Blow)
- *Keyboard Pieces* (John Blow)

References to secondary sources used for compiling the primary source lists are provided with each subdivision.

All manuscript sources are located in Great Britain (GB-) unless otherwise stated.

Catches, Canons and Dialogues (William Lawes)

Sources

Andrew Ashbee, ed., *William Lawes 1602-1645: Essays on his Life, Times and Work*, Aldershot, 1998.

Elise Bickford Jorgens, *English Song 1600-1675*, 12 vols., New York, 1986-9.

Murray Lefkowitz, *William Lawes*, London, 1960.

Gordon J. Callon, ed., *William Lawes: Collected Vocal Music*, Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era, cxx-cxxiii, Wisconsin, 2002.

First Line	Print Source	Date of Print	MS Source
'Call for the Ale'	<i>Catch that Catch can</i>	1652	Ob Mus.Sch.B.2
	<i>Catch that Catch can</i>	1663	Ob Harding Mus.e.1
	<i>Catch that Catch can</i>	1658	
	<i>The Musical Companion</i>	1667	
	<i>The Musical Companion</i>	1673	
'Come let us cast the dice'	<i>A Musical Banquet: Musick and Mirth</i>	1651	Ob Harding Mus.e.1
	<i>Catch that Catch can</i>	1652	
	<i>Catch that Catch can</i>	1658	
	<i>Catch that Catch can</i>	1663	
	<i>Catch that Catch can</i>	1667	
'Come my Daphne, come away'	<i>The Musical Companion</i>	1673	
	<i>The Second Booke of Ayres</i>	1652	Lbl Add. 31432
	<i>Select Musickall Ayres and Dialogues</i>	1653	Lbl Add. 11608
	<i>Select Ayres and Dialogues</i>	1659	
	<i>Catch that Catch can</i>	1667	
	<i>The Treasury of Musick</i>	1669	
	<i>The Musical Companion</i>	1673	
'I keep my horse, I keep my whore'	<i>New Ayres and Dialogues</i>	1678	
	<i>The Second Booke of the Pleasant Musical Companion</i>	1686	Lbl Add. 29396
	<i>The Second Booke of the Pleasant Musical Companion</i>	1687	

'Let's cast away care'	<i>Musick and Mirth</i>	1651	Ob Mus.Sch.B.2
	<i>Catch that Catch can</i>	1652	Ob Harding Mus.e.1
	<i>Catch that Catch can</i>	1658	
	<i>Catch that Catch can</i>	1663	
	<i>The Musical Companion</i>	1667	
'Never let a man'	<i>The Musical Companion</i>	1673	
	<i>Catch that Catch can</i>	1652	Ob Mus.Sch.B.2
	<i>Catch that Catch can</i>	1658	
	<i>Catch that Catch can</i>	1663	Ob Harding Mus.e.1
	<i>The Musical Companion</i>	1667	
'She weepeth sore in the night'	<i>The Musical Companion</i>	1673	
	<i>Choice Psalmes</i>	1648	Ob Mus.Sch.B.2
	<i>Catch that Catch can</i>	1652	Ob Mus.E.451
	<i>Catch that Catch can</i>	1658	Lbl Harley 7337
	<i>Catch that Catch can</i>	1663	
'Some drink, Boy some drink'	<i>Catch that Catch can</i>	1667	Ob Mus.Sch.B.2
			Lcm PB II.c.15
'Stand still and listen'	<i>Catch that Catch can</i>	1652	Ob Mus.Sch.B.2
			Ob Harding Mus.e.1
'Wars are our delight'	<i>Catch that Catch can</i>	1652	Ob Harding Mus.e.1
	<i>Catch that Catch can</i>	1658	
	<i>Catch that Catch can</i>	1663	
	<i>The Musical Companion</i>	1667	

Songs (Henry Lawes)

Sources

Elise Bickford Jorgens, *English Song 1600-1675*, 12 vols., New York, 1986-9.

Ian Spink, *Henry Lawes: Cavalier Songwriter*, Oxford, 2000.

Pamela J. Willetts, *The Henry Lawes Manuscript*, London, 1969.

First Line	Print Source	Date of Print	MS Source
'About the Sweet Bag of a Bee'	<i>Select Musically Ayres and Dialogues</i>	1652	Lbl Add. 53723
	<i>Select Musically Ayres and Dialogues</i>	1653	Ob Don.c.57
	<i>The Second Book of Ayres and Dialogues</i>	1655	
	<i>Select Ayres and Dialogues</i>	1659	
	<i>The Treasury of Musick</i> , Book 1	1669	
'Ah the false fatal tale I read'	<i>The Second Book of Ayres and Dialogues</i>	1655	Lbl Add. 53723
'A Lover Once I did Espy'	<i>Select Musically Ayres and Dialogues</i>	1652	Lbl Add. 53723
	<i>Select Musically Ayres and Dialogues</i>	1653	Ob Don.c.57
	<i>Select Ayres and Dialogues</i>	1659	
	<i>The Treasury of Musick</i> , Book 1	1669	
	<i>The Treasury of Musick</i> , Book 2	1669	
'A willow garland thou didst send'	<i>The Musical Companion</i>	1673	
	<i>Select Musically Ayres and Dialogues</i>	1652	Lbl Add. 53723
	<i>Select Musically Ayres and Dialogues</i>	1653	Ob Don.c.57
	<i>An Introduction to the Skill of Musick</i>	1655	
	<i>Select Ayres and Dialogues</i>	1659	
'Bacchus, Iacchus, fill our brains'	<i>The Treasury of Musick</i> , Book 1	1669	
	<i>Ayres and Dialogues</i>	1653	Lbl Add. 53723
	<i>The Musical Companion</i>	1673	Gu R.d.58-61 US-NYp Drexel 4257
'Beauties have ye seen a toy'	<i>The Second Book of Ayres and Dialogues</i>	1655	Lbl Add. 53723
	<i>The Treasury of Musick</i> , Book 2	1669	Lbl Add. 11608 US-NYp Drexel 4257

'Bid me but live'	<i>Select Musically Ayres and Dialogues</i>	1652	Lbl Add. 53723
	<i>Select Musically Ayres and Dialogues</i>	1653	US-NYp Drexel 4257
	<i>Select Ayres and Dialogues</i>	1659	
	<i>The Treasury of Musick, Book 1</i>	1669	
'Can so much beauty'	<i>The Second Book of Ayres and Dialogues</i>	1655	Lbl Add. 53723
	<i>The Treasury of Musick, Book 2</i>	1669	
'Celia, thy sweet Angel's face'	<i>Ayres and Dialogues</i>	1653	Lbl Add. 53723
'Come heavy souls, oppressed'	<i>Ayres and Dialogues</i>	1653	Lbl Add. 53723
'Come Lovers all to me'	<i>Select Musically Ayres and Dialogues</i>	1652	Lbl Add. 53723
	<i>Select Musically Ayres and Dialogues</i>	1653	Ob MS Don.c.57
	<i>Select Ayres and Dialogues</i>	1659	
	<i>The Treasury of Musick, Book 1</i>	1669	
'Come my sweet whilst'	<i>Ayres and Dialogues</i>	1653	Lbl Add. 53723
	<i>Select Ayres and Dialogues</i>	1659	F-Pn Rés. 2489
	<i>The Treasury of Musick, Book 1</i>	1669	
'Come, O Come I brook no stay'	<i>Select Ayres and Dialogues</i>	1659	Lbl Add. 53723
	<i>Musick's Delight on the Cithren</i>	1666	US-NYp Drexel 4257
	<i>The Treasury of Musick, Book 1</i>	1669	
'Dearest do not now delay me'	<i>Ayres and Dialogues</i>	1653	Lbl Add. 53723
'Dear throw that flatt'ring glass away'	<i>The Treasury of Musick, Book 2</i>	1669	US-NYp Drexel 4257
	<i>Ayres and Dialogues</i>	1658	Lbl Add. 53723
'Dear, thy face is heaven'	<i>The Treasury of Musick, Book 3</i>	1669	
	<i>The Second Book of Ayres and Dialogues</i>	1655	Lbl Add. 53723
'Do not delay me'	<i>The Third Book of Ayres and Dialogues</i>	1658	Lbl Add. 53723
	<i>The Treasury of Musick, Book 3</i>	1669	
'Fain would I Chloris ere I die'	<i>Select Ayres and Dialogues</i>	1659	Lbl Add. 53723
'Hark how the Nightingale displays'	<i>The Treasury of Musick, Book 1</i>	1669	Lbl Add. 29396
	<i>The Treasury of Musick, Book 2</i>	1669	Lbl Add. 53723
			F-Pn Rés. 2489

'Hither we come into this world of woe'	<i>The Second Book of Ayres and Dialogues</i>	1655	Lbl Add. 53723 Lbl Add. 11608 Lbl Egerton 2013 Ob Don.c.57
'I am confirmed a woman can'	<i>Select Musically Ayres and Dialogues</i>	1652	Lbl Add. 53723
	<i>Select Musically Ayres and Dialogues</i>	1653	US-NYp Drexel 4257
	<i>Select Ayres and Dialogues</i>	1659	US-NYp Drexel 4041
	<i>The Treasury of Musick, Book 1</i>	1669	
'If my mistress fix her eye'	<i>Ayres and Dialogues</i>	1653	Lbl Add. 53723
'If the quick spirit of your eye'	<i>Select Musically Ayres and Dialogues</i>	1652	Lbl Add. 53723
	<i>Select Musically Ayres and Dialogues</i>	1653	NYp Drexel 4257
	<i>Select Ayres and Dialogues</i>	1659	US-LAuc C6967M4
	<i>The Treasury of Musick, Book 1</i>	1669	
'I have praised with all my skill'	<i>Ayres and Dialogues</i>	1658	Lbl Add. 53723
	<i>The Treasury of Musick, Book 3</i>	1669	
'I lov'd thee once'	<i>The Treasury of Musick, Book 2</i>	1669	Lbl Add. 53723 F-Pn Rés. 2489
'I prithee send me back my heart'	<i>Select Musically Ayres and Dialogues</i>	1653	Lbl Add. 53723
	<i>The Third Book of Ayres and Dialogues</i>	1658	Och 1114
	<i>Musick's Delight on the Cithren</i>	1666	
	<i>The Treasury of Musick, Book 3</i>	1669	
'I prithee sweet to me be kind'	<i>The Treasury of Musick, Book 2</i>	1669	Lbl Add. 53723 Ob Don.c.57 Lbl Add. 10337
'Keep on your veil'	<i>Ayres and Dialogues</i>	1653	US-NYp Drexel 4257 Lbl Add. 53723 US-LAuc C6967M4
'Ladies fly from love's smooth tale'	<i>Select Musically Ayres and Dialogues</i>	1653	Lbl Add. 53723
	<i>Select Ayres and Dialogues</i>	1659	Ob Don.c.57
	<i>The Treasury of Musick, Book 1</i>	1669	US-NYp Drexel 4257
	<i>The Treasury of Musick, Book 2</i>	1669	

'Ladies, you yet seem so nice'	<i>Ayres and Dialogues</i>	1655	Lbl Add. 53723
	<i>Select Ayres and Dialogues</i>	1659	
	<i>The Treasury of Musick, Book 1</i>	1669	
'Lovely Chloris though thine eyes'	<i>Ayres and Dialogues</i>	1653	Lbl Add. 53723
'No fair heretic it cannot be'	<i>Select Musicall Ayres and Dialogues</i>	1652	Lbl Add. 53723
	<i>Select Musicall Ayres and Dialogues</i>	1653	US-NYp Drexel 4041
	<i>Select Ayres and Dialogues</i>	1659	US-NYp Drexel 4257
	<i>The Treasury of Musick, Book 1</i>	1669	
'Old poets Hippocrene admire'	<i>The Second Book of Ayres and Dialogues</i>	1655	Lbl Add. 53723
			Gu R.d. 58-61
			US-NYp Drexel 4041
			US-NYp Drexel 4257
'O now the certain cause'	<i>Ayres and Dialogues</i>	1653	Lbl Add. 53723
			US-NYp Drexel 4257
'See Chloris see how nature brings'	<i>Ayres and Dialogues</i>	1658	Lbl Add. 53723
	<i>The Treasury of Musick, Book 3</i>	1669	Lbl Add. 11608
'See my Chloris comes'	<i>Ayres and Dialogues</i>	1658	Lbl Add. 53723
	<i>The Treasury of Musick, Book 3</i>	1669	Lbl Add. 29396
'Sure thou framed'	<i>Ayres and Dialogues</i>	1658	Lbl Add. 53723
	<i>The Treasury of Musick, Book 3</i>	1669	
'Sweet lovely Nymph'	<i>The Treasury of Musick, Book 2</i>	1669	Lbl Add. 53723
			F-Pn Rés. 2489
'Tell me ye wandring spirits'	<i>Select Musicall Ayres and Dialogues</i>	1652	Lbl Add. 53723
	<i>Select Musicall Ayres and Dialogues</i>	1653	Ob Don.c.57
	<i>Select Ayres and Dialogues</i>	1659	Lbl Harley 7549
	<i>The Treasury of Musick, Book 1</i>	1669	US-NYp Drexel 4041
'Though my torment far Exceeds'	<i>Ayres and Dialogues</i>	1653	Lbl Add. 53723
	<i>The Musical Companion</i>	1673	
'Tis Christmas now'	<i>The Treasury of Musick, Book 2</i>	1669	Lbl Add. 53723
			F-Pn Rés. 2489
'Transcendent beauty'	<i>The Treasury of Musick, Book 2</i>	1669	Lbl Add. 53723
			Ob Don.c.57
			F-Pn Rés. 2489

'Venus redress a wrong'	<i>Ayres and Dialogues</i>	1653	Lbl Add. 53723
	<i>The Treasury of Musick</i> , Book 2	1669	
'Was it a forme, a gate'	<i>Ayres and Dialogues</i>	1655	Lbl Add. 53723
'Weep not my dear'	<i>The Treasury of Musick</i> , Book 2	1669	Lbl Add. 53723
			F-Pn Rés. 2489
'Whether so gladly and so fast'	<i>The Treasury of Musick</i> , Book 2	1669	Lbl Add. 53723
			F-Pn Rés. 2489

Devotional Songs (Matthew Locke)

Sources

Barry Cooper, 'Catalogue of Pre-1900 Music Manuscripts in the John Rylands University Library of Manchester', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, lxxix (1997), 27-101.

Rosamond E. M. Harding, *A Thematic Catalogue of the Works of Matthew Locke With a Calendar of the Main Events of His Life*, Oxford, 1971.

First Line	Print Source	Date of Print	MS Source
'Agnosce O Christiane'	<i>Cantica Sacra... The Second Sett</i>	1674	Lbl Add. 31437 Ob Mus.d.10 Cfm Mus.735 Och Mus.749 Och Mus. 623, 625, 626 Ob Mus.c.12,16,19
'And a Voice came out of the throne'	<i>Harmonia Sacra</i>	1688	Och Mus.43 Och Mus.48 DRc Mus.B.1
'Ascendit Deus'	<i>Cantica Sacra... The Second Sett</i>	1674	Ob Mus.d.10 Cfm Mus.735
'Behold! How good'	<i>Catch that Catch can</i>	1663	Lbl Add. 31437 Gu R.d.58-61
'O How Pleasant and How Fair'	<i>Cantica Sacra... The Second Sett</i>	1674	Ob Mus.d.10 Cfm Mus.735 B-Bc 1035
'Then from a whirlwind'	<i>Harmonia Sacra</i>	1688	Lbl Add. 22100 Lbl Add. 31460 Mr 1407 Cfm Mus.735
'The Passing Bell'	<i>Harmonia Sacra</i>	1688	Lbl Add. 31460 Cfm Mus.735

Devotional Songs (John Blow)

Sources

RISM Series A/II: Music Manuscripts after 1600 Online Catalogue

Robert Shay and Robert Thompson's *Purcell Manuscripts: The Principal Musical Sources*, Cambridge, 2000.

Harold Watkins Shaw, 'The Autographs of John Blow', *The Music Review*, xxv (1964), 85-95.

Harold Watkins Shaw, 'John Blow and Oxford', *Bodleian Library Record*, xvi (1997-8), 133-50.

First Line	Print Source	Date of Print	MS Source
'And art you griev'd'	<i>Harmonia Sacra</i>	1688	CH Cap. VI/I/I
'Enough my Muse'	<i>Harmonia Sacra</i>	1688	CH Cap. VI/I/I Lbl Add. 22100
'Peaceful is he'	<i>Harmonia Sacra</i>	1688	Och Mus.350 CH Cap. VI/I/I Lbl Add. 33234

Extracts from Large-Scale Works (Henry Purcell: Fairy Queen)

Sources

Robert Shay and Robert Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts: The Principal Musical Sources*, Cambridge, 2000.

Bruce Wood and Andrew Pinnock, eds., *Henry Purcell: The Fairy Queen*, Purcell Society Edition, 12, London, 2009.

Franklin B. Zimmerman, *Henry Purcell 1659-1695: An Analytical Catalogue of His Music*, London, 1963.

First Line	Print Source	Date of Print	MS Source
'A thousand ways we'll find'	<i>Some Select Songs</i>	1692	Lam 3 Lbl Add. 62671
'Come let us leave the town'	<i>Comes Amoris... The Fifth Book</i> <i>Orpheus Britannicus</i>	1694 1698	Lam 3 Lbl Add. 22099 Lbl Add. 35043 Lg Safe 3 Ob Mus.Sch.c.95 Lbl Add. 63626
'Here's the summer sprightly gay'	<i>Some Select Songs</i> <i>Joyful Cuckoldom</i>	1692 ?1693	Lam 3 Lbl Add. 62671
'I am come to lock all fast'	<i>Some Select Songs</i> <i>Joyful Cuckoldom</i>	1692 ?1693	Lam 3 Lbl Add. 62671
'If love's a sweet passion'	<i>Some Select Songs</i> <i>Joyful Cuckoldom</i> <i>Wit and Mirth</i>	1692 ?1693 1699	Ob Mus.Sch.c.95 Lbl Add. 62671 Lbl Add. 39569 Lam 3 Ob Mus.Sch.g.614
'Now the maids and the men'	<i>The Dialogue in the Last Opera</i> <i>Orpheus Britannicus</i>	[1692] 1698	Lam 3 Lg Safe 3 Lbl Add. 62671 Lbl Add. 35043

'O let me weep'	<i>Orpheus Britannicus</i>	1698	Lbl Add. 22099 Och 363 Och 470 Och 469
'One charming night'	<i>Some Select Songs</i>	1692	Lam 3 Lbl Add. 62671
'Sing while we trip it'	<i>Some Select Songs</i> <i>Joyful Cuckoldom</i> <i>Wit and Mirth</i>	1692 ?1693 1699	Lam 3 Lbl Add. 62671
'Thus happy and free'	<i>Some Select Songs</i>	1692	Lam 3 Lbl Add. 62671
'Thus the ever grateful spring'	<i>Some Select Songs</i>	1692	Lam 3 Lbl Add. 62671
'Turn, then thine eyes'	<i>Comes Amoris... The Fourth Book</i>	1693	Lam 3 Lg Safe 3
'When I have often heard'	<i>Some Select Songs</i> <i>Joyful Cuckoldom</i>	1692 ?1693	Lbl Add. 62671

‘Symphony’ Songs and Extracts from Large-Scale Works (John Blow)

Sources

RISM Series A/II: *Music Manuscripts after 1600 Online Catalogue*

Robert Shay and Robert Thompson’s *Purcell Manuscripts: The Principal Musical Sources*, Cambridge, 2000.

Harold Watkins Shaw, ‘The Autographs of John Blow’, *The Music Review*, xxv (1964), 85-95.

Harold Watkins Shaw, ‘John Blow and Oxford’, *Bodleian Library Record*, xvi (1997-8), 133-50.

First Line	Print Source	Date of Print	MS Source
‘Alexis, dear Alexis’	<i>Choice Ayres, Songs and Dialogues... The Fifth Book</i>	1684	Gu R.d.47 Bu Barber 5002 Lbl Add. MS 33234
‘Arms he delights in arms’	<i>Amphion Anglicus</i>	1700	Gu R.d.47
‘As on Septimius’ panting breast’	<i>Theater of Music... The First Book</i>	1685	Lbl Add. MS 22100
	<i>Amphion Anglicus</i>	1700	Bu Barber 5002 Lbl Add. MS 33234 Lbl Add. 33287
‘Awake my lyre’	<i>Choice Ayres, Songs and Dialogues... The Third Book</i>	1681	Och Mus. 23 Och Mus. 49 Ob Mus.Sch.c.122 Bu Barber 5002 Lbl Add. 22100 Lbl Add. 33234 Ob Mus.Sch.c.12-29
‘Come Poetry’	<i>Banquet of Musick... The Second Book</i>	1688	Och Mus. 350 Lbl Add. 33234

'Go, perjur'd man'	<i>Choice Ayres, Songs and Dialogues... The Fourth Book</i>	1683	Och Mus. 23
	<i>Theater of Musick... The Fourth Book</i>	1687	Lbl Add. 22100
	<i>Amphion Anglicus</i>	1700	Bu Barber 5002
			Lbl Add. 63626
			Ob Mus.Sch.c.12-29
			Lbl Add. 33234
			Lbl Add. 33287
			Och Mus. 628
'How I have serv'd'	<i>Theater of Musick... The Fourth Book</i>	1687	Och Mus. 350
			CH Cap. VI/I/I
			Bu Barber 5002
'Musick's the Cordial of a troubled beast'	<i>A Second Musical Entertainment</i>	1685	Gu R.d.47
	<i>Amphion Anglicus</i>	1700	
'Philander, do not think of arms'	<i>Amphion Anglicus</i>	1700	Och Mus.389
'Rise mighty monarch'	<i>Amphion Anglicus</i>	1700	Gu R.d.47
			Lbl Add. 33287
			Ob Mus. c. 26
'Stay gentle Echo'	<i>Choice Ayres, Songs and Dialogues... The Fifth Book</i>	1684	CH Cap. VI/I/I
'When from the old chaos'	<i>Banquet of Musick... The Second Book</i>	1688	Och Mus. 350
'Why weeps Asteria?'	<i>Banquet of Musick... The Second Book</i>	1688	Och Mus. 350
	<i>Amphion Anglicus</i>	1700	

Keyboard Pieces (John Blow)

Sources

Robert Klakowich, ed., *John Blow: Complete Harpsichord Music*, Musica Britannica, lxxiii, London, 1998.

[K numbers below refer to the numbering applied by Klakowich.]

Composition	Print Source	Date of Print	MS Source
[Almand] K1	<i>A Choice Collection of Lessons</i>	1698	CDu MC 1.39 (j) Lbl Add. 52363 Och 1179 HAdolmetsch II E 17
Corant K2	<i>A Choice Collection of Lessons</i>	1698	Lbl Add. 52363 HAdolmetsch II E 17
Sarabrand K3	<i>Second Part of Musick's Hand-maide</i> <i>A Choice Collection of Lessons</i>	1689 1698	Lbl Add. 52363 Och 1179
Gavatt K4	<i>Second Part of Musick's Hand-maide</i> <i>A Choice Collection of Lessons</i>	1689 1698	Lbl Add. 52363 Och 1179
Saraband K10	<i>Second Part of Musick's Hand-maide</i>	1689	Och 1179
[Aire] K23	<i>A Choice Collection of Lessons</i>	1698	Lbl Egerton 2959 HAdolmetsch II E 17
Tune K24	<i>A Choice Collection of Lessons</i>	1698	Lbl Egerton 2959
Jigg K25	<i>Second Part of Musick's Hand-maide</i> <i>A Choice Collection of Lessons</i>	1689 1698	Lbl Add. 52363
Ground K26	<i>A Choice Collection of Lessons</i>	1698	B-Bc 15139
[Rondo] K27	<i>A Choice Collection of Lessons</i>	1698	Lbl Egerton 2959
Minuet K28	<i>A Choice Collection of Lessons</i>	1698	Lbl Add. 52363 Lbl Egerton 2959
Almand K29	<i>A Choice Collection of Ayres</i>	1700	Lbl Add. 52363
Corant K30	<i>A Choice Collection of Ayres</i>	1700	B-Bc 15139 Lbl Add. 52363 Lbl Egerton 2959
Minuett K31	<i>A Choice Collection of Ayres</i>	1700	Lbl Add. 52363

Morlake Ground K60	<i>Second Part of Musick's Hand-maide</i>	1689	F-Pn Rés 1186bis (1) Lbl Add. 31403 Lbl Add. 31465 Och 1177
Almand K62	<i>The Second Book of the Harpsicord Master</i>	1700	F-Pn Rés 1186bis (1) Cfm 653 Lbl Add. 31468 Och 1179
Sarabrand K63	<i>The Second Book of the Harpsicord Master</i>	1700	Lbl Add. 31468
Aire K64	<i>The Second Book of the Harpsicord Master</i>	1700	B-Bc 15139 Cfm 653
Gavot in Gamut K67	<i>Second Part of Musick's Hand-maide</i>	1689	Lbl Add. 39569
Almand K72	<i>A Choice Collection of Lessons</i>	1698	Lbl Add. 31403 HAdolmetsch II E 17
Corant K73	<i>A Choice Collection of Lessons</i>	1698	Lbl Add. 31403 HAdolmetsch II E 17
Saraband K74	<i>A Choice Collection of Lessons</i>	1698	B-Bc 15139 Lbl Add. 31403 HAdolmetsch II E 17
Jigg K75	<i>A Choice Collection of Lessons</i>	1698	Lbl Add. 31403 HAdolmetsch II E 17
Chacone K81	<i>Second Part of Musick's Hand-maide</i>	1689	B-Bc 15139 F-Pn Rés 1186bis (1) Cfm 653 Lbl Add. 31465

Appendix C

Brief Descriptions of Manuscript Sources

The following catalogue refers to manuscript sources examined and listed in Appendix B. A short description is given with select bibliographical references and concordances.

Reference Abbreviations

- Callon* Gordon J. Callon, ed., *William Lawes: Collected Vocal Music*, Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era, cxx-cxxiii, Wisconsin, 2002, 4 vols.
- Chan* Mary Chan, 'A Mid-Seventeenth-Century Music Meeting and Playford's Publishing', in John Caldwell, Edward Olleson and Susan Wollenberg, eds., *The Well Enchanting Skill: Music, Poetry, and Drama in the Culture of the Renaissance. Essays in Honour of F. W. Sternfeld*, Oxford, 1990, 231-244.
- Harding* Rosamund Harding, *A Thematic Catalogue of the Works of Matthew Locke With a Calendar of the Main Events of His Life*, Oxford, 1971.
- Klakowich* Robert Klakowich, ed., *John Blow: Complete Harpsichord Music*, Musica Britannica, lxxiii, London, 1998.
- Milsom* John Milsom, *Christ Church Library Music Catalogue*, <http://library.chch.ox.ac.uk/music/>
- ST* Robert Shay and Robert Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts: The Principal Musical Sources*, Cambridge, 2000.
- Wainwright* Jonathan P. Wainwright, *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England: Christopher, First Baron Hatton (1605-70)*, Aldershot, 1997.
- Wood* Bruce Wood and Andrew Pinnock, eds., *Henry Purcell: The Fairy Queen*, Purcell Society Edition, 12, London, 2009.
- Woolley* Andrew Lawrence Woolley, 'English Keyboard Sources and their Contexts, c. 1660-1720', Ph.D, University of Leeds, 2008.

Belgium (B)

Brussels, Conservatoire Royal, Bibliothèque MS 1035

Copied c. 1690, a derivative of GB-Lbl MS R.M.20.h.8. Contains sacred and secular music, copied from each end and originally bound all together.

ST, 260-1.

Brussels, Conservatoire Royal, Bibliothèque MS 15139

Keyboard manuscript, c. 1695-c. 1705, the six-line staves are hand ruled. One hand throughout by unknown copyist. This is an important source of John Blow's harpsichord music including 3 unique pieces.

Klakowich, 115; Peter Holman, 'A New Source of Restoration Keyboard Music', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, xx (1986-7), 53-7.

France (F)

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France MS Rés 2489

Miscellaneous manuscript of vocal music. Title 'Glees to H. Lawes and Playford' on the binding. Probably compiled by John Playford.

John P. Cutts, 'Seventeenth Century Songs and Lyrics in Paris Conservatoire MS Rés. 2489', *Musica Disciplina*, xxii (1969), 117-139

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France MS Rés 1186bis (1)

Miscellaneous English keyboard manuscript in two unknown hands. The first copyist is dated probably c. 1680, the second dates c. 1690-1700.

Klakowich, 115; *Woolley*, 229.

Great Britain (GB)

Birmingham, Birmingham University Barber MS 5002

Miscellaneous collection of secular and sacred songs. Shay and Thompson relate this manuscript to an Oxford group of sources, and the repertory of the Mermaid Club. Two hands, the second of which belonged to Edward Hull and dates prior to the 1690s.

ST, 266-270.

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum MS Mus. 653

English keyboard manuscript, c.1720, in one hand and inscribed 'Harpsichord Lesson's /MS' and 'To Pretty Miss Carr/without blemish or marr'. Additional ornamentation and rhythmic alterations in comparison with earlier sources of the pieces contained.

Klakowich, 115-6; *Woolley*, 231.

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum MS Mus. 735

Eighteenth-century paper, manuscript consists entirely of music by Matthew Locke. Bought by the Fitzwilliam Museum from Mr B. B. Bales on 17 June 1913. No earlier provenance known.

Harding, xxi; Private correspondence with Stella Panayotova, Keeper of Manuscripts and Printed Books, Fitzwilliam Museum, June 2008.

Cardiff, University of Wales Library MS MC 1.39 (j)

Keyboard manuscript in the reverse end, early eighteenth century, signed 'Herbert Mackworth'. Unknown scribe.

Klakowich, 116; *Woolley*, 232; Malcolm Boyd, 'Music Manuscripts in the Mackworth Collection at Cardiff', *Music & Letters*, liv (1973), 133-141.

Chichester, West Sussex Record Office, Cap. VI/I/I

Manuscript partially in the hand of John Walter and transcribed c. 1680, prior to his appointment at Eton College.

ST, 260-1.

Durham, Cathedral Church Library MS Mus.B.1

Organ book of anthems and services. Not of Durham origin, dated c. 1665-75. Unique source of anthems by Richard Hosier, whose hand the manuscript probably belongs.

Brian Crosby, *A Catalogue of Durham Cathedral Music Manuscripts*, Oxford, 1986, 23-24.

Glasgow, University Library Euing MS R.d.47

Book of song, dating c. 1700. Contains a bookplate of William Gosling, 1696-1772.

Glasgow University Library, Special Collections Manuscripts Online Catalogue, <http://special.lib.gla.ac.uk/manuscripts/search/>

Glasgow, University Library Euing MS R.d.58-61

Four part-books, vellum covers bear the initials 'I.P.', and dates c. 1660. The second part-book bears the note 'Decemi. 30. 1674. Note that I James Clifford bought this sett of musick books of Mr Rich. price's widow Mrs Dorothy Price for 7s.-6d.' Flyleaf of fourth part-book contains names of 'our Musicall Clubb'.

Ian Spink, 'The Old Jewry "Musick-Society": A 17th-Century Catch Club', *Musicology*, ii (1965-7), 35-41; Robert Thompson, 'Manuscript Music in Purcell's London', *Early Music*, xxiii (1995), 605-18; *Glasgow University Library, Special Collections Manuscripts Online Catalogue*.

Haslemere, Dolmetsch private collection MS II E 17

Manuscript additions bound with a copy of John Playford's *Select Musickall Ayres and Dialogues* (1653). Consists of vocal and keyboard music. Woolley affirms that the manuscript paper is contemporary with print. Two scribes, the first copied Commonwealth vocal music and the second copied vocal and keyboard music dating from the 1680s and 1690s.

Woolley, 124-5, 235.

London, British Library Add. MS 10337

Folio manuscript containing music for solo voice and solo keyboard. Folio 1 contains the name Elizabeth Fayre, and 'E F' is tooled on the front cover. The inscription 'Elizabeth Roger hir virginal booke'. Ffebruary ye 27 1656' appears above a table of contents on f.1v. Four music hands can be discerned in this manuscript.

Candace Bailey, 'Blurring the Lines: "Elizabeth Roger Hir Virginal Book" in Context', *Music & Letters*, lxxxix (2008), 510-546.

London, British Library Add. MS 11608

Song miscellany manuscript, probably begun in the early 1640s with the latest date on f.73v, 'Oct: 1659'. Mostly in the hand of John Hilton (1599-1657), Organist of St Margaret's, Westminster from 1628. Compiled both as a record and as a working copy of an anthology of songs by different composers including Hilton. Songs transcribed from both ends of the manuscript beginning at about the same time. Other hands have entered the occasional song or additional ornamentation, and are closely associated with the manuscript's initial compilation and use. On f.63, it reads 'The treble I tooke & prickt/downe as mr Thorpe sung it', and on f.77, 'The last close of ye third verse as mr Elliston sung it'. Some composers represented in this manuscript formed a musical group with Hilton in the 1640s, including Henry Lawes, Thomas Brewer and Simon Ives. Related manuscripts are Ob MS Don.c.57 and Lbl Egerton MS 2013.

Chan, 233; Scott Nixon, 'The Sources of Musical Settings of Thomas Carew's Poetry', *The Review of English Studies*, xlix (1998), 427; Mary Chan, 'John Hilton's Manuscript, British Library Add. MS 11608', *Music & Letters*, lx (1979), 442.

London, British Library Add. MS 22099

Manuscript mostly in one hand, probably compiled c. 1705. Contains a mixture of keyboard and vocal music, and treble and bass pieces.

Woolley, 239.

London, British Library Add. MS 22100

Scorebook of miscellaneous songs, odes and anthems including John Blow's *Venus and Adonis* with stage directions and singers' names. Copied by John Walter, Organist of Eton College between 1681 and 1705, and who may have been a chorister of the Chapel Royal under Blow in 1674. On f.151v is inscribed 'Mr Dolbins Book Anno Domini 1682/1', suggesting the date of completion of the manuscript.

ST, 169; Bruce Wood, 'A Note on Two Cambridge Manuscripts and Their Copyists', *Music & Letters*, lvi (1975), 309-310.

London, British Library Add. MS 29396

Commonplace book owned by Edward Lowe (1610-1682) containing mostly secular songs as a personal collection of pieces. Compilation dates from mid-1630s to 1670s. Majority of contents entered in Lowe's hand, with annotations in a nineteenth-century hand.

Mary Chan, 'Edward Lowe's Manuscript British Library Add. MS 29396: The Case of Redating', *Music & Letters*, lix (1978), 443.

London, British Library Add. MS 31403

Large folio keyboard manuscript, mostly in the hands of Edward Bevin and Daniel Henstridge, the latter's copying is dated c.1680-c.1715.

Woolley, 143-8, 240.

London, British Library Add. MS 31432

Autograph folio score in the hand of William Lawes, containing songs and airs for the lute in tablature. Along with Ob MS Mus.Sch.B.2, manuscript is part of a set of autograph volumes probably compiled and bound in Oxford in early 1640s and comprise earlier material from 1620s and 1630s. All the volumes are bound exactly alike in brown calf and bear the arms of Charles I and, on either side of the design, an initial, first W and later L. Inscription on reverse side of first folio reads, 'Richard Gibbon, his booke, given to him by Mr. William Lawes all of his owne pricking and composing. Given to me J.R., by his widow, Mrs Gibbons. J.R.'

Murray Lefkowitz, *William Lawes*, Oxford, 1960, 29-33 and 150; John P. Cutts, 'William Lawes' writing for the Theatre and the Court', *The Library*, 5th ser., vii (1952), 225-234; *Callon*, cxxi, 117.

London, British Library Add. MS 31437

Autograph vocal score in the hand of Matthew Locke. A note prefixed to f.1 in the handwriting of Dr Philip Hayes, states that the score 'contains many of his [Locke's] own productions which were given by himself to the Musick School' at Oxford.

Harding, 3.

London, British Library Add. MS 31460

Collection of Latin motets and English anthems largely in the hand of Henry Bowman. Manuscript owned by Simon Child, singing-man at Christ Church, Oxford between 1688 and 1694 and subsequently Organist of New College, 1702-1731.

ST, 271.

London, British Library Add. MS 31465

Keyboard manuscript dating early eighteenth century, in the hand of north-eastern musician Nicholas Harrison (*fl.* 1709).

Klakowich, 116; *Woolley*, 240.

London, British Library Add. MS 31468

Keyboard manuscript, dating around 1700 and apparently copied by William Davis, lay clerk at Worcester Cathedral.

Klakowich, 116; *Woolley*, 241.

London, British Library Add. MS 33234

Closely related to Och MS Mus. 350 (see below). Two volumes, the first (ff.1-170) belonged to Charles Morgan of Magdalene College, Oxford in 1682, the second to Dr Philip Hayes in 1757. Morgan is related to the Mermaid Club.

ST, 271; Margaret Crum, 'An Oxford Music Club, 1690-1719', *Bodleian Library Record*, ix (1974), 80.

London, British Library Add. MS 33287

Compiled by 1687 by Shay and Thompson's 'London D' copyist.

ST, 164-8.

London, British Library Add. MS 35043

Small folio manuscript of pieces and arrangements for flute or violin, and a few songs and fragments of incidental music. Inscription 'John Channing, 1694'.

Augustus Hughes-Hughes, *Catalogue of Manuscript Music in the British Museum*, 3 vols., London, 1906-9, ii, 230-232.

London, British Library Add. MS 39569

Keyboard manuscript in the hand of Charles Babel. English and French keyboard music and Francophile in character.

Klakowich, 117; *Woolley*, 242.

London, British Library Add. MS 52363

Keyboard manuscript, signed 'Elizabeth Batt 1704'. Probably compiled c.1704-7. Many of the pieces derive from contemporary printed sources.

Klakowich, 117; *Woolley*, 244-245.

London, British Library Add. MS 53723

Autograph song book in the hand of Henry Lawes, containing 325 songs. Compiled mostly in chronological order with a few items entered subsequently on blank lower leaves, between early 1630s, if not before, and early 1650s: 'Those Heav'nly Rays of thine' on f.172v is a song 'On the Lady Anne Percy', which must date before 21 June 1652 when she married Lord Stanhop, and 'Ladies, who gild the glittering noon' on f.182 alludes to the death of Charles I. In the possession of the Rev. William Gostling (d.1777), son of John Gostling, singer and Gentleman of the Chapel Royal.

Eric Ford Hart, 'Introduction to Henry Lawes', *Music & Letters*, xxxii (1951), 220; Ian Spink, *Henry Lawes: Cavalier Songwriter*, Oxford, 2000, 10-11; Pamela J. Willetts, *The Henry Lawes Manuscript*, London, 1969.

London, British Library Add. MS 62671

Formerly British Council MS Op. 45. Mostly derived from printed sources available in early 18th century.

ST, 240; *Wood*, xxxvi; Curtis Price, *Henry Purcell and the London Stage*, Cambridge, 1984, 331-336.

London, British Library Add. MS 63626

Formerly Stoneleigh Abbey MS. Scorebook of anthems, and songs in the reverse. Originally the 'Song Book of Mr. Monriot', c. 1700.

Wood, xxxviii; John P. Cutts, 'An Unpublished Purcell Setting', *Music & Letters*, xxxviii (1957), 1-13.

London, British Library Egerton MS 2013

English vocal manuscript, mostly copied prior to 1644 by unknown hand. Harmonisation of the scale for the lute at the beginning of manuscript and some songs have tablature accompaniment. Connected to a London music meeting surrounding John Hilton, and related to Lbl Add. MS 11608 and Ob MS Don.c.57.

Chan, 237; *Callon*, cxx, 71.

London, British Library Egerton MS 2959

Keyboard manuscript, compiled c.1695-c.1700 by Shay and Thompson's copyist London F. Once belonged to bass singer John Gostling.

Klakowich, 117; *Woolley*, 247.

London, British Library Harley MS 7337

One of six quarto volumes (Lbl Harley MS 7337-7342) containing miscellaneous services and anthems. Set of volumes entitled the 'Collection of Ancient and Modern Church Music'. Compiled by Dr Thomas Tudway between 1714 and 1720 for Lord Harley.

Edward Turnbull: 'Thomas Tudway and the Harleian Collection', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, viii (1955), 203-7; Ian Spink, 'Tudway, Thomas (c.1650-1726)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27798>

London, British Library Harley MS 7549

Miscellaneous collection of songs in Italian, English and French, dating from the late seventeenth century. At the end there are some sol-fa exercises.

London, Guildhall Library Safe 3 ('The Gresham Autograph Songbook')

Autograph song book in the hand of Henry Purcell, mostly for solo soprano and continuo. Possibly copied in the 1690s in connection with the court.

Wood, xxxv; ST, 263-6; Henry Purcell, 'The Gresham Autograph', facsimile ed. with introduction by Margaret Laurie and Robert Thompson, London, 1995.

London, Royal Academy of Music Library MS 3

Partial autograph theatre score of Henry Purcell. Four hands. Probably file copy made for the first series of performances in 1692 and mislaid after the 1693 revival.

Wood, xxxv; Bruce Wood and Andrew Pinnock, 'The Fairy Queen: a fresh look at the issues', *Early Music*, xxi (1993), 44-62.

London, Royal College of Music Library Printed Books II.c.15

Manuscript additions bound to a copy of John Hilton's *Catch that Catch can* (1652). Apparently copied from 1667 edition of *Catch that Catch can*. From the collection of William Gostling.

Callon, cxxi, 118.

Manchester, John Rylands Library Deansgate MS 1407 ('Tabley House Songbook')

Manuscript additions bound with Henry Lawes' *Ayres and Dialogues* (1653) and John Playford's *Select Musically Ayres and Dialogues* (1653). Manuscript section of vocal music and dance tunes, copied c.1660-70.

Barry Cooper, 'Catalogue of Pre-1900 Music Manuscripts in the John Rylands University Library of Manchester', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, lxxix (1997), 27-101.

Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Don.c.57

Large folio manuscript of songs, compiled c.1631-1660. Connected to a London music meeting surrounding John Hilton, and related to Lbl Add. MS 11608 and Lbl Egerton MS 2013. Unique source of Robert Ramsey's biblical and mythological dialogue songs. Around 1800, horticultural information was written over the original contents in a heavier ink.

Callon, cxx, 72; *Chan*, 233-236.

Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Harding Mus.e.1

Miscellaneous collection of catches, compiled in the late seventeenth century. Manuscript entitled, 'M.S. English and Scottish Songs (with the Music) during the reign of K. Charles I. 1630-1650'.

Callon, cxxi, 118.

Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Mus.c.12, 16, 19

Treble, Bass and Continuo Part books, form part of a set of six.

Harding, 24.

Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Mus.c.26

Guardbook. Partial autograph in the hand of Henry Purcell, and f.71-94 is a score of *Arise my muse* copied by what Shay and Thompson identify London A. Inscription 'Richardson book' may indicate a provenance to Organist of Winchester Cathedral, Vaughan Richardson, between 1692 and 1729.

ST, 172-173.

Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Mus.d.10

Early eighteenth-century copy, in score, of the contents of John Playford's *Cantica Sacra... The Second Sett* (1674).

Jonathan P. Wainwright, 'Richard Dering's Few-Voice "Concertato" Motets', *Music & Letters*, lxxxix (2008), 191.

Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Mus.E.451

Collection compiled by Edward Lowe between c.1636 and 1682.

Callon, cxxi, 118; Mary Chan, 'Edward Lowe's Manuscript British Library Add. MS 29396: The Case for Redating', *Music & Letters*, lix (1978), 441.

Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Mus.Sch.B.2

Autograph score in the hand of William Lawes, from the same set of autograph volumes as Lbl Add. MS 31432 and Ob Mus.Sch.B.3. Contains instrumental and vocal music. Stave ruling suggests Lawes used a stock of old music paper, and flyleaves are unlikely to date from later than 1630. Set of volumes may have been bound in mid- or late 1620s, incorporating earlier material.

Murray Lefkowitz, *William Lawes*, London, 1960, 30 and 158; Robert Thompson, 'Paper in English Music Manuscripts: 1620-1645', in Andrew Ashbee, ed., *William Lawes (1602-1645): Essays on His Life, Times and Work*, Aldershot, 1998, 144.

Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Mus.Sch.c.12-29

Eight partbooks containing English and Italian sacred and secular music. Mostly in the hand of Edward Lowe.

Wainwright, 304-313.

Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Mus.Sch.c.95

Miscellaneous collection of vocal and instrumental English pieces in an early eighteenth-century hand. Part of Richard Rawlinson's (1690-1755) bequest to the Oxford Music School in 1755.

ST, 116; Falconer Madan, et al., *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, 7 vols., Oxford, 1895-1953, v, 259.

Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Mus.Sch.c.122

Partial autograph part books in hand of Edward Lowe of Blow's 'Awake, awake my lyre'. Second page of each string part copied onto another sheet by Blow. Copied before 10 December 1677.

Peter Holman, 'Original Sets of Parts for Restoration Concerted Music at Oxford', in Michael Burden, ed., *Performing the Music of Henry Purcell*, Oxford, 1996, 14.

Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Mus.Sch.g.614

Miscellaneous manuscript of instrumental music in an unknown hand, c.1680-1690.

Oxford, Christ Church Library MS Mus. 23

Manuscript consisting of secular and sacred pieces. Mostly in the hands of Edward Lowe and Richard Goodson senior, dated late 17th century. Goodson clearly arranged performance of London odes regularly in Oxford.

Milsom

Oxford, Christ Church Library MS Mus.43

Manuscript in score of Italian and English sacred music, copied largely by Henry Aldrich.

Milson

Oxford, Christ Church Library MS Mus.48

Manuscript in score of Italian and English secular and sacred vocal music. Related to Och Mus. 43. Five hands, including Richard Goodson Sr, Henry Aldrich and John Church.

Milson; Wainwright, 377.

Oxford, Christ Church Library MS Mus. 49

Guardbook in the hand of an unidentified copyist dating from the late 17th century. English and Italian vocal music and English keyboard music. Manuscript compiled in late 18th century at Christ Church. Possibly part of the Aldrich bequest.

Milson; Wainwright, 378-382.

Oxford, Christ Church Library MS Mus. 350

Compiled by Richard Goodson senior, mostly copied by 1678 though subsequent additions were made over a lengthy period. Shay and Thompson relate it to an Oxford group of sources, and the repertory of the Mermaid Club. Vocal music, mostly for solo voice and continuo.

Milson; ST, 266-267.

Oxford, Christ Church Library MS 363

Small manuscript mostly compiled by Musgrave Heighington (1679-1764), dated '1703'. Contains pedagogical materials, violin music, songs and solo keyboard pieces.

Milson; Woolley, 261; Charles Cudworth, 'Heighington, Musgrave', New Grove Online Dictionary.

Oxford, Christ Church Library MS Mus. 389

Begun by Richard Goodson senior, and extended by unidentified copyists (who copied the Blow case study). Apparently used as pedagogy for inexperienced singers, who may have included boy choristers at Christ Church.

Milson.

Oxford, Christ Church Library MS 469 and 470

Parts of complete set of five part-books. Two layers of contents: fantasias copied by William Ellis, and the later miscellaneous vocal and instrumental parts copied mostly by Richard Goodson Sr.

Milsom; ST, 175.

Oxford, Christ Church Library MS Mus. 623-6

Four partbooks containing sacred music. Copied by Henry Bowman, c. 1670-85. Part of the Goodson bequest.

Milsom; Wainwright, 393-396.

Oxford, Christ Church Library MS Mus. 628

Partial autograph, mostly sacred music by Henry Purcell, John Blow and Pelham Humfrey in the hand of John Blow. In score, dated c. 1678.

Milsom; ST, 100-101; Harold Watkins Shaw, 'The Autographs of John Blow', *The Music Review*, xxv (1964), 89-90.

Oxford, Christ Church Library MS Mus. 749

Part books in the hand of John Playford dated c.1650 except for the later additions of Matthew Locke's 'Agnosce O Christiane' and William Child's 'Come Hymen come'. Basso continuo part book is missing. Contains sacred and secular music principally by Richard Dering and George Jeffreys.

Wainwright, 'Richard Dering's Few-Voice "Concertato" Motets', 171.

Oxford, Christ Church Library MS 1114

Possibly begun as a song book in mid-17th century. Miscellaneous contents of instrumental and vocal music. Various hands including John Blow, and vocal items added in Oxford, into the 18th century, by Richard Goodson senior, Richard Goodson junior, and unidentified hands that may have been choristers. Annotations include the names 'Richard Thornton' and 'Mr Goodson'. The Henry Lawes case study was copied by what Milsom describes the 'first-layer copyist', dating from the mid-17th century.

Milsom; Harold Watkins Shaw, 'John Blow and Oxford', *Bodleian Library Record*, xvi (1997), 142.

Oxford, Christ Church Library MS 1177

English keyboard manuscript of Oxford provenance. Mostly in the hands of Edward Lowe and Richard Goodson senior, copied in the 1670s and 1680s.

Milsom; Klakowich, 188; *ST*, 283; *Woolley*, 265-266; Candace Bailey, 'Keyboard Music in the Hands of Edward Lowe and Richard Goodson I: Oxford, Christ Church Mus. 1176 and Mus. 1177', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, xxxiii (1999), 119-135.

Oxford, Christ Church Library MS 1179

English keyboard manuscript in two hands. Important source of John Blow's harpsichord music. First hand dates c. 1660s, second belongs to what Shay and Thompson name FQ4, who contributed to Lam MS 3 (theatre score of *The Fairy Queen*). '1690' is written on the final leaf, dating FQ4's copying around the late 1680s.

Klakovich, 118; *Woolley*, 266.

United States of America (US)

Los Angeles, University of California William Andrews Clark Memorial Library MS C6967M4

Volume of solo songs with unfigured bass, two instrumental duos, and two part-song fragments. Unknown hand, copyist's inscription 'June the ffirst 1639' on front fly-leaf.

Callon, cxx, 72; Wainwright, 'Richard Dering's Few-Voice 'Concertato' Motets', *Music & Letters*, lxxxix (2008), 165-194; Richard Charteris, 'Four Caroline Part-Books', *Music & Letters*, liv (1973), 49-51.

New York, Public Library MS Drexel 4041

Imprint [164?]. Possibly in hand of John Atkins, collected c. 1640-50. Important source of pre-Commonwealth play-songs for solo and multiple voices. Related to NYp 4257 and possible may have belonged to John Gamble.

Callon, cxx, 72; John P. Cutts, "Drexel Manuscript 4041," *Musica Disciplina*, 18 (1964), 151-202; Ian Spink, 'Atkins, John', *New Grove Online Dictionary*.

New York, Public Library MS Drexel 4257

'John Gamble his booke amen 1659 ano domino' (f. 1v). Commonplace book of songs for one voice and continuo in score. Probably begun c. 1630 and continued after 1660 (there are a number of songs referring to the reign of Charles II). Manuscript is in three different hands; two of these are probably of Ambrose Beeland and John Gamble.

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