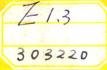
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FOUR AND TWENTY FIDDLERS

The Violin at the English Court 1540–1690





PETER HOLMAN

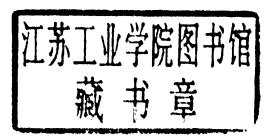


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Preface

THE origins of this book go back more than twenty years, to a moment one day in June 1969, at the end of the summer term of my second year at King's College, London. Thurston Dart asked me what academic work I was going to do during the holidays, and I answered on the spur of the moment that I wanted to investigate the origin of the violin in England. My main motive must have been to please him, for Dart had virtually invented the subject. He was the first person to question the received opinion—which went back to Roger North and Thomas Mace—that the violin was little known in England before the Restoration. In a series of influential articles, editions, and recordings in the 1950s and 1960s he suggested that some of the so-called viol consort repertoire, including music by Orlando Gibbons, John Dowland, John Coprario, and William Lawes, had been written for violins rather than viols, or for a mixture of the two. Thus his response to my proposal was unexpected, to say the least: he was sure I would only find enough pieces of evidence to be counted on the fingers of one hand. Whether he intended it or not, his words brought my natural obstinacy to the fore: I went straight to the library, and managed to cover a sheet of paper with references before I went home that night.

At first the subject seemed straightforward enough: it would take the form of a history of the English court violin consort from its inception on 1 May 1540, when a group of six Jewish string-players from Venice received posts at Henry VIII's court. An obvious end to the study presented itself when I discovered that almost exactly 150 years later, on 2 May 1690, William III ordered a retrenchment in the royal household that had the effect of removing the court from the centre of English musical life. After that the royal band, the descendant of Henry VIII's violin consort, became a part-time institution whose members spent most of their time working in London's commercial theatres and concert halls. In that form it survived, on paper at least, into the twentieth century.

However, over the years the project has become rather more than a history of an institution. Indeed, I now find it easiest to define its boundaries in negative terms. I have not attempted to deal in detail with the physical development of the violin: I am not qualified to comment on the technical aspects of its construction, and in any case such comments would have little validity, for no English violin-family instruments seem to have survived from before the middle of the seventeenth century. Violins are not usually depicted accurately enough in sixteenth- and seventeenth-

century pictures to be of any use in this context; we often cannot be sure that the pictures are of English provenance, and it is impossible to tell whether the artists intended to depict English instruments.

I have not attempted to deal with the technical aspects of violinplaying. I am not a violinist, and no English treatises on violin-playing survive from before the 1690s. What little can be deduced from English treatises on viol-playing is discussed in David Boyden's classic book The History of Violin Playing from its Origins to 1761 (London, 1965; 2nd edn., 1990), as is the information contained in Continental violin treatises which may or may not be relevant to England. I have, however, tried to bring Boyden's account of the origin of the violin up to date in my first chapter, taking into account the mass of important new material relating to fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century instruments and instrumental music that has come to light since the 1960s. We can now be reasonably sure that the violin was developed in the decade 1495-1505, and that the process was accomplished in a workshop within the orbit of the courts of Ferrara and Mantua. More important, we are now beginning to understand the historical and musical context from which the violin emerged; we are beginning to be able to answer the questions 'how?' and 'why?', as well as 'where?' and 'when?'.

The book is not a work of analysis in the conventional sense: the reader will not find bar-by-bar commentaries on the harmonic and melodic structure of the early English violin repertoire; it mostly consists of simple dances, and does not need a garrulous guide. Instead, I have approached the music largely through its textures and scorings-issues, usually neglected by analysts, that are of crucial importance to the understanding of early instrumental music. Indeed, one of the main themes of this book is that the disposition of the parts of a piece of early violin music is often a clue to its instrumentation, and to the identity of the ensemble for which it was written. In recent years the revival of 'original' instruments has tended to run ahead of our understanding of how they were used in ensembles. It is not uncommon to hear 'authentic' performances of Purcell in which Baroque instruments are beautifully and stylishly played in combinations that only came into being decades after the composer's death. The history of the violin has often been equated with the history of the soprano member of the family, and with its solo repertoire. But, in common with other instruments, the violin was mainly played in ensembles or consorts throughout the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and in England a significant solo repertoire did not develop until after the Restoration. For that reason my emphasis throughout has been on the violin as a family, and on its ensemble repertoire.

When David Boyden wrote his book in the 1960s it was possible to fit a comprehensive history of the violin 'from its origins to 1761' between two

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covers. To take account of all the research published since then, a Boyden for the 1990s would have to be in many volumes. But it no longer seems important or even desirable to write general histories of particular instruments. The need now is for focused studies of particular times and places, relating archival material to the surviving musical repertoire; to some extent my model has been the admirable recent books on music in particular fifteenth-century cities, such as Lewis Lockwood's Music in Renaissance Ferrara and Reinhard Strohm's Music in Late Medieval Bruges. The English court is an ideal vehicle for a study of this sort. The Tudors and earlier Stuarts maintained one of the largest musical institutions in Europe, and controlled it with a labyrinthine bureaucracy that recorded every transaction in minute detail-and in numerous copies. England has largely escaped the repeated wars, invasions, and civil strife that resulted in the destruction of so many archives on the Continent, and the Public Record Office houses the most complete government records in Europe, possibly in the world.

It is odd, therefore, that archival research into music at the Tudor and Stuart court, so flourishing in Victorian and Edwardian times, never really revived after the Great War. When I began my research I had to rely almost entirely on publications such as Willibald Nagel's 'Annalen der englischen Hofmusik von der Zeit Heinrichs VIII. bis zum Tode Karls I.' (1894), Henry Cart de Lafontaine's The King's Musick (1909), on articles in The Musical Antiquary (1909-13), and on contemporary government publications such as the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, the Calendar of Treasury Books, and the Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, 1509-47. These volumes were cited by all the standard histories of English music, biographies of English composers, and studies of English musical sources, so when I finally began to work in the Public Record Office it came as a shock to find out that they were mostly inaccurate, incomplete, and thoroughly misleading. The situation has since been transformed by the publication of Andrew Ashbee's admirable Records of English Court Music [RECM]—in part a revision of The King's Musick. But in general English music is still less well served by archival studies than the music of most European countries. One of my aims is to show that seemingly 'dry as dust' documents can contribute a good deal to our understanding of music of the past, and often have a direct bearing on how we should perform it.

Part of the problem is that we have tended to undervalue the role of the court in the musical life of Tudor and Stuart times. The court did not just employ more musicians than any other institution in England—there were nearly a hundred by the end of Henry VIII's reign. It also employed most of England's prominent composers, and was the source of most new ideas—or the main route by which new ideas from the Continent reached

The state of the s

the wider musical community. The history of the violin in England illustrates the process particularly clearly. The violin probably reached England for the first time in the luggage of the string-players who arrived at court from Venice in 1540 (Ch. 4). It gradually spread outside the court, to professional musicians in aristocratic households, in the theatre, and in waits groups (Ch. 6); amateurs only took it up in large numbers in the 1650s and 1660s (Ch. 11).

At first the violin was used almost entirely for dance music professional string-players would have used the viol for contrapuntal music, and for accompanying the voice—but a repertoire of contrapuntal music was created for it in James I's reign by Orlando Gibbons, Thomas Lupo, and John Coprario; significantly, they all worked at court in Prince Charles's household (Ch. 9). Again, the new forms they created, such as the fantasia suite, were not taken up generally by composers outside the court until the Civil War. A new type of dance music in three or four parts with two violins came into England from Germany in the 1620s: it seems to have been brought to court by Maurice Webster, and it was developed there by Charles Coleman and William Lawes before being taken up by waits and theatre musicians outside (Ch. 11). At the Restoration the royal violin band was enlarged to become the Twenty-four Violins in imitation of the French Vingt-quatre Violons; its composers, such as John Banister and Matthew Locke, began to use French genres such as the overture and the branle—which were rapidly taken up in the London theatres and elsewhere (Chs. 12, 13, and 14). Finally, the Restoration court ode and its derivatives (such as the annual odes on St Cecilia's day) became a mainstay of London's burgeoning concert life in the 1690s (Ch. 17).

Many people have helped me over the years with information, advice, encouragement, and criticism. In the early stages I was in constant contact with David Lasocki, who was in London working on his dissertation, 'Professional Recorder Players in England, 1540–1740'. David virtually educated me in the techniques of archival research, and gave me a great deal of information; many of the references in parish registers and wills were found by him. More recently, Andrew Ashbee has been a constant source of advice and information. In particular, he gave me access to many references before they appeared in RECM, and allowed me to read each volume at proof stage. It is to Dr Roger Prior of Belfast University that we owe the discovery that many of Henry VIII's court musicians were Jews; his knowledge of Elizabethan Jewry enabled me to understand many puzzling features of the early history of the court violinconsort. He has been generous with his advice and criticism. Robert Spencer allowed me access to manuscripts in his private library, and has

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regularly supplied me with valuable information. Herbert Myers read successive drafts of the first chapter, and improved it greatly with his perceptive and detailed comments. I owe many of the references to violinists outside the court to Lynn Hulse, who is researching music in Elizabethan and Iacobean aristocratic households. She also put me in touch with a number of historians, including Dr David Starkey, Dr Pauline Croft, and Lord Russell of the Tudor Seminar at the Institute of Historical Research, University of London. David Starkey's help, given in person and in his published writings, has been crucial in helping me to understand the place of music in the court scene. Gordon Dodd, custodian of the Viola da Gamba Society's Thematic Index of Music for Viols, encouraged me at an early stage, and has patiently answered my queries over the years. I am grateful to Bruce Phillips of Oxford University Press for encouraging me over a long period, and to Bonnie

Blackburn, my editor, for her invaluable help.

I am also grateful to the following for reading portions of this book in draft, or for providing me with help in various ways: Lisa Agate, Margaret Downie Banks, Clifford Bartlett, Anne Batchelor, David Blackwell, Stephen Bonta, Roger Bowers, Malcolm Boyd, Donald Burrowes, the late John Buxton, Mark Caudle, Tim Crawford, Paul Denley, Peggy Dixon, Mary Edmond, Jack Edwards, Warwick Edwards, John Elliott, Suzanne Eward, David Fallows, John Ferris, Kristine Forney, Nigel Fortune, Johan Giskes, Penelope Gouk, Basil Greenslade, Dominic Gwynn, Ian Harwood, Robert D. Hume, Lewis Jones, Michael Lowe, Calum McCart, Rosamond McGuinness, Margaret Mabbett, Judith Milhous, John Milsom, Karel Moens, Paul O'Dette, Christopher Page, Andrew Parmley, Ian Payne, Lionel Pike, Andrew Pinnock, David Pinto, Curtis Price, John Pringle, William Prizer, Rowland Ross, Ian Spink, Piet Strychers, Robert Thompson, Ruby Reid Thompson, the late Michael Tilmouth, Peter Tourin, Tony Trowles, Jonathan Wainwright, Andrew Walkling, Peter Walls, John Ward, Pamela Willetts, Bruce Wood, Christopher Wool, and Neal Zaslaw.

I have received unfailing help by post or in person from the staff of many institutions, including the following: the Bodleian Library, Oxford; the British Library, Reference Division; Cambridge University Library; the library of Christ Church, Oxford; the library of the Duchy of Cornwall; Edinburgh University Library; the Euing Music Library, Glasgow; the Greater London Record Office; the Guildhall Library, London; the library of Hatfield House; the Institute of Historical Research, University of London; Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Kraków; Kent Archives Office, Maidstone; the library of King's College, University of London; the University of London Library; the library of Longleat House; Murhardsche Bibliothek der Stadt Kassel und Landesbibliothek;

the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh; the New York Public Library; the Public Record Office, Chancery Lane; the Rowe Music Library, King's College, Cambridge; the library of the Royal College of Music, London; the Sibley Library, Eastman School of Music, Rochester, NY; Universitetsbiblioteket, Uppsala; Westminster Abbey Muniment Room; Westminster City Libraries, Archives Department; the School of Music Library, Yale University.

Over the years my colleagues in The Parley of Instruments have rehearsed and performed most of the music mentioned in this book; I have greatly benefited from their enthusiasm, advice, and criticism. We have been able to record much of the repertoire thanks to Ted Perry of Hyperion Records, and Hugh Keyte, Chris Sayers, and Graham Dixon of BBC Radio 3. My daughter Louise helped with translations and the index, and checked most of the references; I am grateful to her and the rest of my family for their constant support and encouragement. The book would never have been finished without it.

P.H.

Colchester January 1993

Note to the Reader

ARCHIVAL documents and other original written sources have been transcribed without changing spellings, capitalization, or punctuation, though I have not retained the distinction between italic and roman type in printed documents, except when it is required by modern conventions of setting out play-texts. Also, 'y' used as a thorn (as in 'ye' and 'yt') has been rendered as 'th', and the interchangeable letters 'i' and 'j', 'u' and 'v' have been modernized. Contractions have been expanded within parentheses; editorial additions are within square brackets. Wherever possible, I have quoted from original sources, especially when the correct identification of instruments is in question; readers should be alert to the possibility that quotations taken from secondary sources may have been modernized.

Proper names outside quotations are mostly given in the form used in Grove 6, though there are some cases where I have preferred the form used by the individual concerned in autograph documents: 'Dietrich Stoeffken', for instance, rather than 'Theodore Steffkin'. Many musicians mentioned in the book are too obscure to have an accepted modern form of their name, and I have often had to make an arbitrary choice between several alternatives; significant variants appear in brackets after their first appearance. For simplicity's sake, I have mostly preferred Anglicized forms of the names of immigrants—'Albert of Venice', for instance, rather than 'Alberto da Venezia'. To keep the length of the book within manageable bounds, I have not put together full biographies of the violinists who served the English court; they will appear in the Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians, to be published in conjunction with RECM.

The music examples are simple quotations from the given sources rather than critical editions, so obvious errors have been corrected without notice. Changes to time signatures, key signatures, clefs, and notevalves are indicated by the use of prefatory staves. In the text pitches are indicated using the system in which the open strings of the modern violin family are C G d a, c g d' a', and g d' a' e''. Clefs are indicated using the system in which the modern treble, alto, and bass clefs appear as g2, g3, and g3.

In sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England the year was normally reckoned in official documents from Lady Day (25 March) rather than 1 January. Thus '1634' covers what we think of as 25 March 1634 to 24 March 1635; I have rendered dates between 1 January and 24 March

using the form '1634/5'. The 'Old Style' or Julian calendar was still used in England until 1752, which means that after 1582, when Pope Gregory XIII instituted the 'New Style' or Gregorian calendar, dates in English documents were ten days (eleven after 1700) behind those on the Continent. In some cases it is not clear whether Englishmen abroad or foreign visitors in England were using Old or New Style.

Official documents often use regnal years, which were reckoned from the date of the sovereign's accession. Henry VIII came to the throne on 22 April 1509, so 6 Henry VIII covered 22 April 1514 to 21 April 1515. The accession dates of Henry VIII's successors were: Edward VI, 28 January 1547; Mary, 6 July 1553; Philip, 25 July 1554; Elizabeth, 17 November 1558; James I, 24 March 1603; Charles I, 27 March 1625; Charles II (calculated from the death of his father), 30 January 1649; James II, 6 February 1685; William and Mary, 13 February 1689. Payments to courtiers were often made on, or reckoned from, the four 'quarter days': Lady Day (25 March), St John the Baptist or Midsummer Day (25 June), Michaelmas (29 September), and Christmas (25 December). The date given for payments or appointments is the one that appears on the particular document quoted; it is not necessarily the date when the recipient actually received payment, or when the monarch signed the appropriate warrant, for transactions frequently took several weeks to pass through the court system (see Ch. 2).

I have retained the old system of English currency throughout the book. There were twelve pence (d.) to the shilling (s.), and twenty shillings to the pound (f.).

Abbreviations

(based on those used in Grove 6)

AcM Acta musicologica
AnnM Annales musicologiques
CMc Current Musicology

CMM Corpus mensurabilis musicae

CSPD Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series

DDT Denkmäler deutscher Tonkunst

DTÖ Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich

EDM Das Erbe deutscher Musik

EM Early Music

EMH Early Music History

Grove 6 The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians

GSJ The Galpin Society Journal

HMC Historical Manuscripts Commission

INV a portion of a manuscript written from the end with the volume

inverted

JAMIS Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society
JAMS Journal of the American Musicological Society

JLSA Journal of the Lute Society of America JRMA Journal of the Royal Musical Association

JVGSA Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America

LSJ The Lute Society Journal
MA The Musical Antiquary
MB Musica Britannica
MD Musica disciplina
ML Music and Letters

MLE Music in London Entertainment
MMg Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte
MMR The Monthly Musical Record

MQ The Musical Quarterly
MR The Music Review

MSD Musicological Studies and Documents

MT The Musical Times

NA Note d'archivio per la storia musicale

OED The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary

PRMA Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association

RBM Revue belge de musicologie

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XXVI			

RdM Revue de musicologie

RECM Records of English Court Music

ReM La Revue musicale

RIM Rivista italiana di musicologia

RMARC Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle RMFC Recherches sur la musique française classique

RMI Rivista musicale italiana

SIMG Sammelbände der Internationalen Musik-Gesellschaft

SMw Studien zur Musikwissenschaft

LIBRARY SIGLA

Abbreviations

(following the RISM system as used in *Grove 6*)

GERMANY

D-B Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz D-Hs Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek

D-Kl Kassel, Murhardsche Bibliothek der Stadt und Landesbibliothek

D-LEm Leipzig, Musikbibliothek der Stadt D-Mbs Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek

SPAIN

E-SE Segovia, Catedral

IRELAND

EIRE-Dm Dublin, Marsh's Library EIRE-Dtc Dublin, Trinity College

FRANCE

F-Pn Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale

GREAT BRITAIN

GB-Bu University of Birmingham, Barber Institute of Fine Arts

GB-Cfm Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum GB-Cu Cambridge, University Library

GB-Drc Durham, Cathedral

GB-En Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland

GB-Ge Glasgow, Euing Music Library

GB-Lbl GB-Lcm GB-LEc GB-Lgc GB-Lkc GB-Lpro GB-Mr GB-Ob GB-Och	London, British Library, Reference Division London, Royal College of Music Leeds, Public Libraries, Music Department, Central Library London, Gresham College / Guildhall Library University of London, King's College, Faculty of Music London, Public Record Office Manchester, John Rylands University Library Oxford, Bodleian Library Oxford, Christ Church		
I-FZc I-MOs I-Rc	Faenza, Biblioteca Comunale Modena, Archivio di Stato Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense		
THE NETHERLANDS			
NL-Lt	Leiden, Biblioteca Thysiana		
POLAND			
PL-Kj	Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska		
SWEDEN			
S-Uu	Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket		
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA			
US-AUS US-LAuc	Austin, University of Texas Los Angeles, University of California, William Andrews Clark Memorial Library		
US-NH US-NYp	New Haven, Yale University, School of Music Library New York, Public Library at Lincoln Center, Library and Museum		
US-OAm	of the Performing Arts Oakland, Mills College, Margaret Prall Music Library		
US-R US-Ws	Rochester, Eastman School of Music, Sibley Library Washington, DC, Folger Shakespeare Library		
0.5 773	Transmission, 120, 1 orgen smakespeare Library		

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