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'HOW HARD AN ENTERPRISE IT IS': AUTHORIAL SELF-FASHIONING IN JOHN DOWLAND'S PRINTED BOOKS

THE / FIRST BOOKE / of Songes or Ayres / of fowre partes with Ta- / *bleture for the Lute*: / So made that all the partes / together, or either of them seue-/rally may be song to the Lute, / Orpherian or Viol de gambo. / Composed by *Iohn Dowland* Lute-/nist and Batcheler of musicke in / both the Vniuersities. / Also an inuention by the sayd / Author for two to playe vp-/on one Lute.[1]

The naming of John Dowland as 'Author' on the title page of his publication *The First Booke of Songes or Ayres* (1597) suggests a proprietary relationship between the composer and his work. This proprietary relationship is, perhaps, reinforced with the alignment of Dowland's intellectual activities as 'author' with the notions of 'composition' and 'invention' in the same passage.[2] All three terms could be used by the late sixteenth century to refer to notions of creativity, individual intellectual labour or origination. While many early examples of the use of 'author' refer specifically to God or Christ as creator, such as Chaucer's declaration that 'The auctour

1 J. Dowland, *The First Booke of Songes or Ayres* (London, 1597), title page. This book was originally printed by Peter Short. It was reprinted by Short in 1600, by Thomas Adams for E. Short in 1603 and by Humfrey Lownes in 1606 and 1613.

2 On the application of the word 'invention' alongside 'author' and 'composed' it is worth noting Elisabeth L. Eisenstein's observation that during the Renaissance, 'possessive individualism began to characterise the attitude of writers [read also composers] to their work. . . . [B]oth the eponymous inventor and personal authorship appeared at the same time and as a consequence of the same process.' E. L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1991; first edn 1979), i, p. 121. It has also been noted that during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries English society witnessed an increasing emphasis on individual ownership, as opposed to household or family ownership, of property and land. The possibility of such ownership, along with social mobility, indicates that by the early modern period English society, though still predominantly agrarian, could no longer be characterised as a peasant society in which there was an absence of absolute ownership of land invested in a specific individual. See A. Macfarlane, *The Origins of English Individualism: The Family, Property, and Social Transaction* (Oxford and Cambridge, Mass., 1994; first edn 1978), pp. 62–79 and pp. 80–101. The increasing availability of individual ownership may have contributed to the early modern English imagination of the self.

of matrimonye is Christ',[3] by the sixteenth century it was increasingly used to refer to an individual originator of intellectual or artistic creation closer to the modern sense of the word. Its sixteenth-century usage is, for instance, reflected in the title 'A tretys, excerpte of diverse labores of auctores', or as in a reference in 1509 to 'The noble actor plinius'.[4] Likewise, 'invent' or 'inventor' could be used to refer to the process of individual intellectual creation, exemplified by its use in 1576 'Your brain or your wit, and your pen, the one to invent and devise, the other to write',[5] while 'compose' could mean to make, to compose in words, 'to write as author' or, more specifically, to write music.[6] Both 'author' and 'composer' were used interchangeably by Henry Peacham (junior) in 1622 to list individual composers he considered worthy of honour: 'For composition I preferre next *Ludouico de Victoria* . . . after him *Orlando di Lasso*, a very rare and excellent Author. . . . He hath published as well in Latine as French many sets.'[7] For Peacham, Lasso's authorial credibility and reputation seem to be related to the dissemination of a wide range of his works in print.[8]

The figure of the author was not entirely new with the dawning of the Renaissance, or with the establishment of print culture, and a longer cultural trajectory of various manifestations of authorial self-awareness might be found in a number of earlier textual traditions. As Roger Chartier notes, for certain classes of texts, the 'author was functional as early as the Middle Ages'.[9] Alan Sinfield has, likewise, pointed out that Chaucer, Langland, Gower and

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[3]   *Oxford English Dictionary* (2nd edn; Oxford, 1989), s.v. 'Author', (1a). The reference is given as *c*. 1386, Chaucer, *Parsons Tale*, 808. *Oxford English Dictionary* will subsequently be abbreviated to *OED.*

[4]   *OED*, 'Author', (3a). The references are given respectively as follows: 1432–50, tr. *Higden* (1865) I. 7 A tretys, excerpte of diverse labours of auctores; 1509, Barclay, *Shyp of Folys* (1874) II. 26.

[5]   *OED*, s.v. 'Invent', (2b): reference given as 1576, Flemming *Panolp. Epist. 323 note.*

[6]   *OED*, s.v. 'Compose', (5) and (6).

[7]   H. Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman* (London, 1622), pp. 100–1.

[8]   See J. Haar, 'Orlando di Lasso, Composer and Print Entrepreneur', in K. van Orden (ed.), *Music and the Cultures of Print* (New York, 2000), pp. 125–62.

[9]   R. Chartier, 'Figures of the Author', in id., *The Order of Books: Readers, Authors, and Libraries in Europe between the Fourteenth and the Eighteenth Centuries*, trans. L. G. Cochrane (Stanford, Calif., 1994), pp. 25–59, at p. 31. Chartier observes that the (Foucauldian) 'author-function' is also present in many examples of the late manuscript book. See also H. Love, *The Culture and Commerce of Texts: Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (2nd edn; Boston, 1998). An earlier example of a composer's authorial awareness can be found in S. Williams, 'An Author's Role in Fourteenth-Century Book Production: Guillaume de Machaut's "Livre ou je met toutes mes choses" ', *Romania* (France), 90 (1969), pp. 433–54.

Skelton all 'manifest aspects of the [Foucauldian] author function as we recognize it today'.[10] Writers working in pre-print culture had formulated various strategies for authorising their works, including, according to Wendy Wall, 'the medieval writer's claims of divine authority, spiritual modesty (*humilitas*), and the *auctoritas* of past writers'.[11] Musicologists, in particular, have noted the medieval composer Guillaume Machaut's 'authorial' self-awareness.[12] Yet, as Foucault has argued in his seminal essay 'What is an Author', although we might find similarities between modern notions of the 'author function' and those of past cultures, we should not suppose our own understanding of relations between a text and its production to be 'given', universal or transhistorical.[13] The particular circumstances engendered by early modern print culture, that is, the relatively large public audience for which it was becoming available, and the social 'stigma' of appearing in print cultivated by gentleman amateurs,[14] all contributed to a reformulating of authorship in early modern England. Print culture generated a socially and materially redefined articulation of authorship, although there was a certain amount of continuity from the manuscript to the printed book.[15] As

[10] A. Sinfield, '*Poetaster*: The Author, and the Perils of Cultural Production', in L. C. Orlin (ed.), *Material London, ca. 1600* (Philadelphia, 2000), pp. 75–89, at p. 82.

[11] W. Wall, *The Imprint of Gender: Authorship and Publication in the English Renaissance* (Ithaca, 1993), p. x.

[12] See Williams, 'An Author's Role'; ead., 'Machaut's Self-Awareness as Author and Producer', *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, 314 (1978), pp. 189–97; K. Brownlee, 'The Poetic Oeuvre of Guillaume de Machaut: The Identity of Discourse and the Discourse of Identity', *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, 314 (1978), pp. 219–33; L. Earp, 'Machaut's Role in the Production of Manuscripts of his Work', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 42 (1989), pp. 461–503. Earp writes: 'Because Guillaume de Machaut considered the copying of large and comprehensive manuscripts a normal function of his activity as an author, his complete works have survived. By his own testimony, he had a strong interest in the process of manuscript production, and various scholars have identified particular codices as ones that the author may in some senses have supervised. Besides the rather direct evidence of the heading of the original index in A (f.A') . . . "Vesci l'ordenance que G. de Machau wet qu'il ait en son livre" (Here is the order that G. de Machaut wants his book to have) – such identifications have been based on the fact that the extent of the contents of the manuscripts gradually and systematically increases, implying that we are following the chronological developments of the author's oeuvre.' Earp, 'Machaut's Role', p. 461.

[13] M. Foucault, 'What is an Author', in D. Lodge (ed.), *Modern Criticism and Theory: A Reader* (London and New York, 1988), pp. 196–210. This seminal essay, and Foucault's understanding of the author function, is discussed below.

[14] See J. W. Saunders, 'The Stigma of Print: A Note on the Social Bases of Tudor Poetry', *Essays in Criticism*, 1 (1951), pp. 139–64.

[15] See Chartier, 'Princely Patronage and the Economy of Dedication', in id., *Forms and Meanings: Texts, Performances, and Audiences from Codex to Computer*, trans. L. G. Cochrane and L. Mason (Philadelphia, 1995), pp. 25–42. See also C. J. Brown, 'Text, Image, and Authorial

Sinfield goes on to argue, 'Clearly . . . printing, the development of London, and the commercial organization of theater, occurring together, made early modern England one place where modern ideas of the relations between writers and texts were constituted.'[16] These developments were not restricted to London music print culture. Commenting on early to mid-sixteenth-century printed Italian song miscellanies, Martha Feldman observes a 'shift around 1555 to a new concept of authorship within anthologies'. 'Consistent', she continues, 'with this new strategizing of fame, authorship had already gained clearer definition in print markets as early as the late 1540s through the sharpened wordings used on title pages both in miscellanies and monographs.'[17] As the printed book emerged as the primary form of mass-produced text the social functions of the manuscript text were likewise redefined.

In the 'Address to the courteous Reader' contained in *The First Booke* Dowland articulates the relationship between himself as composer and his intellectual labours by referring to the ensuing songs contained within his printed book as 'my first fruits' and 'priuate labours':

How hard an enterprise it is in this skilfull and curious age to commit our priuate labours to the publike view, mine owne disabilitie, and others hard successe doe too well assure me: and were it not for that loue I beare to the true louers of musicke, I had concealde these my first fruits, which how they will thriue with your taste I know not, howsoeuer the greater part of them might haue been ripe inough by their age.[18]

Using such language, Dowland not only attempts to negotiate the 'stigma' of print but also draws attention both to his position as the originator of his songs and claims, in a sense, intellectual ownership of his compositions long before the modern legal concepts of intellectual property rights or copyright had come into being.[19] An

Self-Consciousness in Late Medieval Paris', in S. Hindman (ed.), *Printing the Written Word: The Social History of Books, circa 1450–1520* (Ithaca, 1979), pp. 141–60.

[16] Sinfield, '*Poetaster*', p. 82.

[17] M. Feldman, 'Authors and Anonymous: Recovering the Anonymous Subject in *Cinquecento* Vernacular Objects', in van Orden (ed.), *Music and the Cultures of Print*, pp. 163–99, at p. 178. 'Concomitantly', writes Feldman, 'monographs that were not exclusively composed of works by a single author came to be more clearly marked as hybrids – part monograph, part anthology – with the presence on their title pages of an "aggiunta", no longer signalled merely as "altri autori" but as "nova gionta di madrigali" or a portion of compositions "aggiuntovi".' Feldman, 'Authors and Anonymous', p. 178.

[18] Dowland, *The First Booke*, 'Address to the courteous Reader'.

[19] J. 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*, 80 (1999), pp. 511–30.

elite group of composers in Elizabethan England – William Byrd, Thomas Tallis and later Thomas Morley – enjoyed a certain amount of control over the printing presses, not to mention the dissemination of their own and others' music in print and potential economic gain from print production, through the granting of a royal music printing monopoly.[20] Yet, their position was both exceptional and somewhat limited. As Jeremy L. Smith has succinctly pointed out, even this 'Lasso-like' group of favoured Elizabethan composers found 'they had to depend on their countrymen and the co-operation of professional printers and publishers for any direct economic benefits'.[21] Still, relatively little is known about the social and economic relationships between printers, publishers, patrons and composers – particularly those not endowed with a royal music printing monopoly – in the production and dissemination of printed music books in early modern England.

The troubled history of Dowland's *The Second Booke of Songs or Ayres*, published in 1600, provides a rare insight into these transactions as a series of legal cases arose between publisher, George Eastland, and printer, Thomas East.[22] Dowland, it seems, had sent the manuscript for publication from Denmark to his wife in London. She, in turn, sold it to Eastland for £20 and half the hoped-for dedication reward. The agreement drawn up between East and Eastland stated that East was employed to print 1,000 copies of Dowland's book, and twenty-five excess prints, which

On the development of composer's rights from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century see D. Hunter, 'Music Copyright in Britain to 1800', *Music & Letters*, 67 (1986), pp. 269–82. On the development of copyright law in the eighteenth century see M. Rose, 'The Author as Proprietor: *Donaldson v. Becket* and the Genealogy of Modern Authorship', *Representations*, 23 (1988), pp. 51–85. As Rose points out, traditionally copyright had been a publisher's rather than an author's right. 'Under the Stationers' Company regulations', writes Rose, 'only members of the guild could hold copyright. Authors had no explicitly recognized place in the scheme' (p. 54).

[20] Elizabeth first granted the monopoly jointly to William Byrd and Thomas Tallis in 1575, to last twenty-one years. The monopoly covered the printing of 'any and so many as they will of set songe or songes in partes, either in English, Latine, French, Italian, or any other tongues that may serve for musicke either in Church or chamber, or otherwise to be either plaid or soonge'. This citation is given in D. W. Krummel, *English Music Printing 1553–1700* (London, 1975), p. 15.

[21] J. L. Smith, 'Print Culture and the Elizabethan Composer', *Fontes Artis Musicae*, 48 (2001), pp. 156–72, at p. 158.

[22] See M. Dowling, 'The Printing of John Dowland's *Second Booke of Songs or Ayres*', *The Library*, 4th ser., 12 (1932), pp. 365–80. The documents related to these cases, and cited by Dowling, can be found at the Public Record Office (hereafter PRO) in: C2Eliz/E1/64; K.B. 27/1364/ m.534; Req. 2/202/63; Req. 2/203/4.

would be the property of Eastland. Thomas Morley, holder of the music printing monopoly since 28 September 1598, would receive 40 *s*. prior to the printing and along with Christopher Heybourn would claim 6 *s*. for every ream printed during the production of the 1,000 copies. Once the first edition was sold, it was agreed that East would have the right to print further editions which could be sold at his liberty.[23] After the draft agreement between Eastland and East had been signed by Eastland's representatives East changed his mind about the ownership of the excess copies and demanded that on the first printing these copies were to become his, not Eastland's, property.[24] These problems were further complicated by the fact that East's apprentices surreptitiously printed thirty-three copies in excess of the agreed number and put them, along with three copies they had been given by East and Eastland for their services, into circulation without East's knowledge. Although the book was ready for sale by 2 August 1600, East accused Eastland of withholding the sale of the book to the Stationers Company. He believed that Eastland was concerned that he might get less money from the dedicatee, Lucy Countess of Bedford, if he sold the book publicly before she was given her complimentary copy. The Countess of Bedford was out of town at this time.

The legal issue of ownership did not involve the composer at all once his manuscript had been sold to the publisher. While *The Second Booke* was Dowland's only printed book to involve a publisher in its

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[23] It was standard practice that the printer who registered the original printing of a book with the Stationers' Company retained the right to print further editions for his own profit. This practice might be highlighted by a case brought before the Court of Assistants of the Stationers' Company between East and the then holder of the printed music monopoly William Barley on 25 June 1606. The central question of this case was focused on who had the 'rightful control over the music East had earlier printed'. While Barley relied on the rights of his patent, East relied on the power of his registration of his books with the Stationers' Company, which itself constituted a form of protection for the property rights of printers. The court upheld East's basic rights, but also conceded to Barley that East must include Barley's name on title pages, must inform him of any plans to print further editions, and would have to pay him 20 *s*. in advance of any print. Furthermore, both men agreed that any further disputes would be brought to the Stationers' Company, Barley, therefore, conceding his rights to appeal to the Royal Courts in any future dispute. While Barley's rights as monopoly holder were diminished, the Stationers' Company expanded their powers. See Smith, 'From "Right to Copy" ', p. 525.

[24] As Smith comments, 'East, it should be noted, was a bookseller as well as a printer and publisher, and a survey of the advertisements in his imprints suggests that he sold much of the music he printed from his shop. Even when he worked as a trade-printer and sent the bulk of his printed work to a publisher to distribute [as in the case of Dowland's *Second Booke*], he found ways to retain some of the finished prints for his own retail business.' *Ibid.*, p. 517.

production, it was common practice for the printer, rather than the publisher, composer or monopoly holder, to retain the right to print further editions after the first printing of a book. As Smith points out, 'The craft of printing . . . was a "mystery" restricted to members of a single institution, the Worshipful Company of Stationers. Stationers enjoyed the exclusive rights to run presses and they, more than anyone else, could protect their rights to the "copy" of a text if they registered their books in the Company Registers.'[25] The print history of Dowland's *The First Booke* reflects this practice. It was entered into the Stationers' Company registers on 31 October 1597 by Peter Short, who printed both the first and second editions. The third edition of 1603, however, includes the colophon on its title page 'Printed at London by E. Short, and are to be sold by Thomas Adams, at the signe of the white Lyon in Paules Church-yard'. This edition was printed after the death of Peter Short, and was thus printed by 'E. Short' (Emma Short), Peter's wife, who had inherited the rights to 'copy' from her husband. After Emma Short's marriage to Henry Lownes the manuscript seems to have passed to Lownes, who printed the subsequent editions.

For a composer such as Dowland, who held no privileges or monopoly for the printing of his own music, once he had sold his manuscript to a publisher or printer he no longer legally owned his works, nor was he party to profit beyond the hoped-for customary financial reward from the noble dedicatee and the initial sale of the manuscript, or perhaps, in some cases, the first edition. *Lachrimae*, entered in the Stationers' Company register by Thomas Adams on 2 April 1604, for instance, seems, according to the directions on the title page, to have been sold by Dowland himself from his home at Fetter Lane.[26] Yet, despite the composer's relatively limited hopes of profit and the lack of rights pertaining to legal ownership, the appearance of his name in print nevertheless also enabled him to promote his role as the originator of his works, and thereby to at least publicise the intellectual ownership of his works. By disseminating his songs and consort music in the printed book, on which his

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[25] Smith, 'Print Culture', pp. 158–9.

[26] E. Arber, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London* (London, 1875–94), iii, p. 258. The title page reads 'Printed by IohnWindet, dwelling at the signe of the Crosse Keyes at Povvles Wharfe, and are to be solde at the Authors [*sic*] house in Fetter-lane *neare Fleet-streete.*'

authorial identity was clearly imprinted, Dowland was able to exploit the resources of print in order to 'authorise' his work, and to aggrandise his sociocultural status as a composer.

Recent literary criticism, in particular, has highlighted the 'appropriation' of print technology by early modern poets such as Edmund Spenser and Ben Jonson in acts of 'textual self-monumentalization', or in order to 'shape a distinctive and cultur-ally authoritative authorial persona'.[27] The publication of Jonson's *Workes* (1616) has especially elicited much attention as, in Joseph Loewenstein's words, 'a major event in the history of what one might call the bibliographic ego'.[28] Jonson's choice to publish ultimately in print rather than in theatrical performance (a form of performative '*public*ation' that was inherently collaborative),[29] and his personal editorial involvement during the print process, is indicative of a strategy through which he could establish not only a proprietary relationship to his texts as their author but also the role of authorship itself as culturally and literarily significant. The role of Jonson in shaping figurations of authorship in the early modern printed book may have been exceptional, yet the shaping of the author as a culturally and socially significant figure in print during the early modern period became possible only through the precedents set by earlier single-authored printed books.

The increasing cultural and social acceptability of folio editions of writers' works in print in late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century England was, in particular, influenced by the posthumous publications of Philip Sidney's writings. These publications consist of Thomas Newman's two quartos of *Astrophil and Stella* (1591),

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[27] L. A. Montrose, 'Spenser's Domestic Domain: Poetry, Property, and the Early Modern Subject', in M. De Grazia, M. Quilligan and P. Stallybrass (eds.), *Subject and Object in Renaissance Culture* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 83–130, at p. 83. See also Montrose, 'The Elizabethan Subject and the Spenserian Text', in P. Parker and D. Quint (eds.), *Literary Theory/Renaissance Texts* (Baltimore and London, 1986), pp. 303–40; J. Loewenstein, 'The Script in the Marketplace', in S. Greenblatt (ed.), *Representing the English Renaissance* (Berkeley, 1988), pp. 265–78; S. Fish, 'Author-Readers: Jonson's Community of the Same', *ibid.*, pp. 231–63; R. C. Newton, 'Jonson and the (Re)-Invention of the Book', in C. J. Summers and T. L. Pebworth (eds.), *Classic and Cavalier: Essays on Jonson and the Sons of Ben* (Pittsburgh, 1982), pp. 31–55; R. Helgerson, *Self-Crowned Laureates: Spenser, Jonson, Milton and the Literary System* (Berkeley, 1983); A. F. Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca and London, 1995).

[28] Loewenstein, 'The Script in the Marketplace', p. 265.

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 266. Here Lowenstein describes performance in the playhouse as 'an important market activity, since performance was the culture's primary means of dramatic *public*ation during most of Jonson's career'. Italics are as given in the article.

Matthew Lownes's 1592 quarto of *Astrophil and Stella*, William Ponsonby's 1590 and 1593 publications of the *Arcadia* texts, his 1595 edition of *Defence of Poesie* and his 1598 folio of Sidney's collected works. While sixteenth-century printed folios of Chaucer's works, such as those by Pynson (1526), Francis Thynne (1532) and Thomas Speght (1598), might also be considered as having contributed to this trend,[30] it was the 1598 folio of Sidney's collected works that, as Arthur Marotti suggests, 'both memorialized this author and helped establish the authority of printed literature'.[31] The 'Sidney model', argues Marotti, most notably contributed to 'the realization of the possibility of canonizing contemporary or recently deceased writers',[32] and initiated, perhaps, an outpouring of early seventeenth-century folio editions of works by contemporaneous writers such as Spenser (1611, 1617), Jonson (1616, 1640–1), Shakespeare (1623, 1632), Daniel (1601), Drayton (1619) and Beaumont and Fletcher (1647).

Although in England composers such as Dowland, Byrd, Tallis, Morley and Thomas Whythorne also clearly employed print as a means of authorising their works, the focus on interpreting figurations of early modern English authorship within the printed book has remained predominantly literary.[33] Dowland's printed songbooks and consort music perhaps did not achieve for him the establishment of a 'bibliographic ego' to the extent that Jonson's print projects did, and certainly there was no definitive folio edition of his works produced by himself or his contemporaries. Yet, as Jeremy L. Smith has observed in his work on William Byrd, although there 'is little account' of a London-based author's interests in intellectual property, or the 'tell-tale trace of what has been called the "bibliographic ego" ' prior to 1616, 'within the realm of the London music trade, there were some key movements

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[30] On editions of Chaucer folios Marotti points out: 'It is significant that Speght's 1598 Chaucer edition contains a prefatory pedigree and life of Chaucer, a sign of the growing importance of authorship.' Marotti, *English Renaissance Lyric*, p. 236.

[31] *Ibid.*

[32] *Ibid.*

[33] Recent explorations of the role of authorship in early English musical print culture can be found in Smith, 'From "Rights to Copy" ' and id., 'Print Culture'. On Continental music print culture see R. Freedman, *The Chansons of Orlando di Lasso and their Protestant Listeners: Music, Piety, and Print in Sixteenth-Century France* (Rochester, NY, 2001); van Orden (ed.), *Music and the Cultures of Print.*

away from this situation well before the 1616 landmark'.[34] Although Dowland was not involved in the music print trade to the extent that Byrd was, it might also be possible to place him in the context outlined by Smith. By choosing to disseminate a substantial amount of his music in print, not to mention his possible, though unproven, involvement in the editorial process in the reprints of the highly successful *First Booke*, Dowland was able explicitly to promote his social and cultural status as a musician, and to enhance further his cultivation of a highly distinctive authorial persona, through the dissemination of his works in print.

While musicians and poets who used the resources of print in order to authorise their works undoubtedly partook in similar authorising processes, the blurring of distinctions between textual, musical and musico-textual forms of cultural production in which the figure of the author is inscribed has tended to erase the specificities at play in each instance of authorisation. The tendency to study literary authorisation in print specifically, or to consider print culture more generally without regard for the particular mode of cultural production, has also failed to take into account the different social and cultural circumstances surrounding the production of literary and musical texts. Considerations of authorial 'self-fashioning' in early modern music prints need to examine both the social position of the early modern professional musician and the specific (material and economic) circumstances surrounding the self-authorised publications of their music.

Examining Dowland's printed books as material objects facilitates a consideration of early modern figurations of authorship as they were negotiated in print, and the ways, more particularly, in which a non-patent-holding Elizabethan composer such as Dowland could exploit such figurations in the fashioning of his own artistic persona.

THE SOCIAL DIMENSIONS OF PRINT

The differing social contexts of print and manuscript dissemination

In late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century England, writers and musicians could choose to disseminate their works in either the

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[34] Smith, 'From "Right to Copy" ', p. 527.

manuscript system or in the newly emerging print market. While there was a certain amount of fluidity between print and manuscript genres and dissemination, they were perceived as occupying differing roles, appealing to different types of 'reading communities', and as engendering different cultural functions. Manuscript texts encompassed a variety of types of what Harold Love describes as 'scribal publication'.[35] Genres that continued to be transmitted predominantly in handwritten form in the age of print included various types of political text, newsletters, volumes of single-authored and miscellaneous poetry and certain types of musical text such as viol consort music or solo lute music.[36] The production of these texts included at least three different forms of 'publication' – authorial, entrepreneurial and user. Despite diversity in the production of manuscript texts, however, there were also certain characteristics that distinguish it from print publication. Authorial manuscript texts, that is, copies of texts written or corrected by the author, allowed authors to maintain strict control over the physical appearance and accuracy of their works. Such texts were also limited in number and could be disseminated to an exclusive audience. Conversely, many manuscript texts also circulated in coterie circles as malleable, collectively produced texts without the designation of the author necessarily as a central feature of the text.[37] Although the author could still have played a role in the dissemination and interpretation of such texts, these texts, in part, derived authority and status from their occasional nature and their positions within elite coterie circles.[38] Despite their differences,

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[35] I am here using a term coined by Love in his *The Culture and Commerce of Texts*. Defining his notion of 'scribal publication' Love writes: 'The root sense . . . is of publication as a movement from a private realm of creativity to a public realm of consumption. The problem is to determine whether any given text – in our case a text transmitted through handwritten copies – has made the transition. We will need to recognize both a "strong" sense in which the text must be shown to have become publicly available and a more inclusive "weak" sense in which it is enough to show that the text has ceased to be a private possession. A further condition is that scribal publication should be something more than the chrysalis stage of an intended print publication.' Love, *Culture and Commerce*, p. 36.

[36] *Ibid.*, pp. 3–34. See also Chartier, 'Afterword', in van Orden (ed.), *Music and the Cultures of Print*, pp. 325–41.

[37] See Wall, *Imprint of Gender*, p. 8.

[38] See, for example, Marotti, *English Renaissance Lyric*. Commenting on the nature of manuscript dissemination of lyric poetry, Marotti draws attention to the nature of these texts primarily as social interaction within a particular community, rather than to the importance of the individual author in 'authorising' these texts. He writes, 'In the English Renaissance, the composition of lyric poems was part of social life, associated with a variety of practices in polite

a central feature of both of these types of manuscript text seems to have been their association with the transmission of privileged information. As Love notes, 'inherent in the choice of scribal publication, including the more reserved forms of entrepreneurial publication (for instance, professionally produced political news-letters), was the idea that the power to be gained from the text was dependent on possession of it being *denied* to others'.[39] Manuscript dissemination implied, amongst other things, exclusivity and social exclusion.

As part of the burgeoning commercial market, a vast array of printed texts (from broadside ballads and psalm books to folio editions and plush music collections) were available to anyone with the financial means to acquire them. Print signalled a loss of control for many writers and musicians, since it was perceived as engendering a potential corruption of the original text: it altered the physical appearance of the text itself; it was prone to the inaccuracies of typesetters; it made texts available to those who were perceived not necessarily to have the skills to interpret and understand them; and, for socially elite writers, it degraded the status of their texts by transporting them from what was often the original context of their creation as selfless social exchange to the realm of commercial economic exchange.[40] The lack of privileges or protection for most writers and musicians also meant that their work could be printed without their consent, attributed or anonymous. Even for those with a royal patent for printing music, such as Byrd, Tallis, Morley or William Barley, 'a composer's rights *per se* did not extend beyond those of a typical publisher'.[41]

Yet the potential for widespread dissemination offered by print, coupled with the frequent use of the author's name as a promotional technique on title pages, meant that print could also serve as a

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and educated circles. Read aloud to live audiences or passed from hand to hand in single sheets, small booklets, quires, or pamphlets, verse typically found its way into manuscript commonplace books rather than into printed volumes – though, of course, printers often eventually gained access to manuscripts preserving the work of single writers or groups of authors and exploited them for their own economic and social purposes. Single poems as well as sets of poems were written as occasional works. Their authors professed a literary amateurism and claimed to care little about the textual stability or historical durability of their socially contingent productions.' Marotti, *English Renaissance Lyric*, p. 2.

[39] Love, *Culture and Commerce*, p. 183. Italics my own.
[40] See Chartier, 'Afterword', in *Cultures of Print*, p. 327.
[41] Smith, 'From "Right to Copy" ', p. 528.

means of furthering the reputation and status of the author, while accruing cultural, if not economic, capital. As James Haar has shown, Orlando di Lasso was 'published and republished' because of his reputation, a reputation that was based on the 'variety and quality of his music', though paradoxically 'it was through the medium of print that his international fame was circulated and increased'.[42] Likewise, another Continental musician, Gioseffo Zarlino, seems to have used print dissemination for 'self-promotion' and 'as a means of not only enhancing, but shaping, his public image; the evidence suggests he was a masterful manipulator of his printed persona'.[43] The cases of Lasso and Zarlino were, of course, to an extent exceptional. Like Lasso and, perhaps, to a lesser extent Zarlino, however, Dowland's reputation was both enhanced through the widespread dissemination of his music in print and, conversely, used to make printed editions containing his work appealing to the print-buying public. According to George Eastland, publisher of *The Second Booke of Songs or Ayres*, Dowland's 'very name is a large preface of commendacions to the booke'.[44]

It appears that anxiety concerning the lack of control over the dissemination of his work in print, alongside recognition of the

[42] Haar, 'Orlando di Lasso', pp. 126–7. See also Eisenstein's comments that early printers 'also extended their new promotional techniques to the authors and artists whose work they published, thus contributing to the celebration of lay culture-heroes and to their achievement of personal celebrity and eponymous fame'. This extract from Eisenstein, *Printing Press*, is cited in Haar, 'Orlando di Lasso', p. 127.

[43] C. C. Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory: Hearing with the Eyes* (Cambridge, 2002), p. 188. Although there may be distinctions to be drawn between composers such as Dowland and Lasso and those who promoted themselves as theorists, not to mention the subtleties of time and place, the self-authorised use of print dissemination by a musician such as Zarlino also points towards similar attitudes to the benefits of print. As Judd observes, 'Zarlino stands in a long and venerable line of writers who produced theory treatises and were employed as a *maestro di cappella* of a major religious institution. But unlike writers such as Gaffurio, Zarlino's first major treatise and the book for which he is most remembered, *Le istitutioni harmoniche*, was not a product of his years as *maestro di cappella* at San Marco: its publication preceded his employment there by some seven years. Indeed . . . among Zarlino's reasons for publishing the volume was an attempt to position himself for an appointment like the one at San Marco. Its date of publication neatly coincided with the advent of the Accademia Veneziana but also, more significantly, with the declining health of Willaert and his extended absence from his duties at San Marco. Yet unlike Gaffurio or . . . other humanist writers about music for that matter, Zarlino's earliest publication was not a treatise, but a book of music. As I will elaborate, it was a book that conveys in numerous (non-musical) ways that its author was not *merely* a practitioner but a true *musicus*, a theorist of great erudition steeped in humanistic learning. With remarkable canniness, Zarlino masterfully and meticulously manipulated his public image through the medium of print over a forty-year period beginning with his first publication in 1549' (pp. 183–4).

[44] J. Dowland, *The Second Booke of Songs or Ayres* (London, 1600), 'Address to the curteous reader'.

potential for increased fame and status that print offered, encouraged Dowland to disseminate his songs and consort music in print. Dowland was evidently aware that print could act as a prime means through which he could accrue national, if not European, reputation and status as a composer. He boasts that his music had been 'printed in eight most famous Cities beyond the Seas' in his address to the reader in *A Pilgrimes Solace* (1612).[45] These Continental printings of his music were unauthorised by Dowland himself, and he was also anxious that the printing of his works was as textually and musically authoritative as possible. His anxiety is reflected in his complaint that the inclusion of some of his lute pieces in William Barley's *A New Booke of Tabliture* (1596) were 'printed without my knowledge, falce and vnperfect'.[46] Concern over the unauthorised, and sometimes unattributed, appearances of his work in print was again expressed some years later in his publication of consort music, *Lachrimae* (1604):

Hauing in forren parts met diuers Lute-lessons of my composition, publisht by strangers without my name or approbation; I thought it much more conuenient, that my labours should passe forth vnder mine owne allowance, receiuing from me their last foile and polishment; for which consideration I haue vndergone this long and troublesome worke, wherein I haue mixed new songs with olde, graue with light, that euery eare may receiue his seuerall content.[47]

Dowland acknowledged that the unauthorised circulation of his compositions in print was indicative of his growing reputation and perhaps even 'marketability'. Yet, he was also acutely aware of his position as the originator of his works and his claim to intellectual ownership, the relative control that he could maintain over his musical texts and of their possible social, cultural and material value when mediated through his own personal involvement in their production and dissemination.

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[45] J. Dowland, *A Pilgrimes Solace* (London, 1612). The eight cities are given as '*Paris, Antwerpe, Collein, Nurenburge, Franckfort, Liepsig, Amsterdam*, and *Hamburge*'. According to Diana Poulton publications which fulfil the conditions of time and place are: Antoine Francisque, *Le Trésor d'Orphée* (Paris, 1600), which includes an arrangement of 'Piper's Galliard' by Francisque not attributed to Dowland; J. B. Besardus, *Thesaurus Harmonicus* (Cologne, 1603); Valentin Haussman, *Rest von Polnischen und andern Tänzen* (Nuremberg, 1603); T. Simpson, *Opusculum* (Frankfurt, 1610); Zacharias Füllsack, *Auserlesener und Galliarden* (Hamburg, 1607). Poulton was unable to find publications in Antwerp, Amsterdam and Leipzig before 1612 that contain compositions by Dowland. See D. Poulton, *John Dowland* (2nd edn; London, 1982), p. 289.

[46] Dowland, *First Booke*. Dowland is seemingly referring to W. Barley, *A New Booke of Tabliture* (London, 1596).

[47] J. Dowland, *Lachrimae, Or Seaven Teares* (London, [1604]).

Putting one's work in print, however, required careful social positioning for the aspiring early modern 'author'. Given the differing social dimensions associated with manuscript and print publication, early modern figurations of authorship in print can be characterised, following Wall's suggestion, as a 'collision between manuscript and print practices on the one hand, and between aristocratic amateurism and the marketplace on the other'.[48] The so-called 'violent enlargement' of texts, engendered by their appearance in print, was a cause of anxiety for both writers and musicians. In particular, because of the potential for print to reach beyond socially enclosed circles into more public environs, and because of the sociocultural importance placed on the notion of courtly amateurism, having one's work print-published, for a large public audience, involved negotiating what J. W. Saunders identifies as the 'stigma of print'.[49] John Selden expressed the attitude that it was ungainly, or even vulgar, for courtiers to allow their works to appear in print. ''Tis ridiculous for a Lord to print Verses', writes Selden; ''tis well enough to make them to please himself, but to make them public, is foolish'.[50] The position exemplified by Selden draws on advice given in a range of courtly conduct books published during the period, the most famous, and probably most influential, being Baldassare Castiglione's *The Courtier*. Henry Peacham (junior) also attempts to displace some of the social stigma attached to print by distancing himself from associations between print and economic gain. In his essay 'Of making and publishing books' Peacham writes: 'I have, I confess, published things of mine own heretofore, but I never gained one halfpenny by any dedication that ever I made save *splendida promissa* and, as Plutarch saith, *byssina verba* [Splendid promises . . . silken words]. Niether cared I much, for what I did was to please myself only.'[51] By asserting that his print ventures were 'to please myself only', Peacham presents himself as a gentleman writer, writing selflessly for pleasure rather than profit.

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[48] Wall, *Imprint of Gender*, p. 3.
[49] See Saunders, 'The Stigma of Print'.
[50] J. Selden's *Table Talk* is cited in Marotti, *English Renaissance Lyric*, p. 228.
[51] H. Peacham (the younger), *The Truth of our Times: Revealed out of one Man's Experience by Way of Essay* (London: N[icholas] O[akes] for James Becket, 1638); reprinted as *The Complete Gentleman, The Truth of our Times and The Art of Living in London*, ed. V. B. Heltzel (Ithaca, 1962), 'Of Making and Publishing Books', pp. 188–92, at p. 192.

The lower-ranking writer, however, for whom appearing in print was a means of generating 'personal profit, social promotion and a national reputation', according to Saunders, had to pursue such aims 'without ceasing to look and write as much like a Courtier as possible, and without thereby forfeiting the sympathy and interest of the courtly and patronistic audience in whom his social aspirations rested'.[52] Whether one was a member of the nobility or not, it became customary rhetoric, particularly during the 1590s, to express one's unease or embarrassment at one's works, or name, appearing in print. Dowland's own strategy is evident. In the *First Booke* he modestly claims 'were it not for that loue I beare to the true louers of musicke, I had concealde these my first fruits', while he also expresses his anxiety of exposing his 'priuate labours' to the 'publike view'. Whereas amateur poets and musicians of noble birth may have genuinely wished to avoid what they perceived as the social degradation of print publication, the conventional outward show of reluctance at appearing in print by their lesser-born contemporaries functioned to disguise what were often aspirational motives. Dowland's choice to disseminate his works in print, like Spenser's and Jonson's, was almost certainly bound with what seems to have been his relatively humble social origins.

Print and the social aspirations of musicians

Born in the early 1560s and employed in the service of aristocratic and royal patrons at least as early as 1580, Dowland was raised in the milieu of what Anthony Esler has identified as the 'generation of 1560'.[53] This younger generation of Elizabethan men coming to maturity in the 1580s and 1590s and working within, or on the margins of, the court – 'aristocrats, lesser gentry, common-born but university educated writers and servant-bureaucrats' – could effectively be characterised as 'a generation "of high aspiration, revealed most commonly in intense personal ambition" '.[54] The possibility of social ascent during this period was, perhaps,

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[52] Saunders, 'Stigma of Print', p. 155.
[53] A. Esler, *The Aspiring Mind of the Elizabethan Younger Generation* (Durham, NC, 1966). Esler is cited in L. A. Montrose, 'Celebration and Insinuation: Sir Philip Sidney and the Motives of Elizabethan Courtship', *Renaissance Drama*, 8 (1977), pp. 3–35, at p. 4.
[54] Montrose, citing Esler, 'Celebration and Insinuation', p. 4.

generated by Tudor policy to recruit its nobility and gentry from university-educated loyal servants of middle and lower social origins.[55] Literary and musical talent was often a factor that enabled ambitious young men to advance socially and economically either to positions of civic or bureaucratic significance or those in which their artistic talent was itself highly prized and rewarded.[56] Spenser's ascent from a relatively humble lower middle-class origin as a 'poor scholar' of the Merchant Taylor's School to a colonial servant of the Queen, and subsequently a landowning member of the gentry, was made possible primarily through his university education and his profession of letters, both in his capacity of published poet and as a secretary-servant.[57] Others who utilised their literary skills and the printing press in order to advance socially included Sir John Davies, whose appointment as Attorney General in Ireland has been purported to be due wholly to James I's liking of *Nosce Teipsum*.[58]

Musicians, too, could use their talents to climb the social ladder. The lutenist Daniel Batcheler, for instance, seems to have exploited his musical education and aptitude to ascend from the trade classes as the son of a yeoman farmer to the position of Groom of the Privy Chamber of Queen Anne of Denmark, with his own coat of arms. Although his royal appointment was not ostensibly musical, his socio-economic ascent was initiated by being apprenticed at the age of seven to his uncle, who was a lutenist and dancing master at

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[55] Saunders, 'Stigma of Print', p. 141, n. 2. Saunders remarks that of those admitted to Oxford University between 1567 and 1622, 6,635 (almost half the entire intake) were the sons of 'plebeians' – the sons of yeomen, ambitious traders and merchants and the younger sons of country squires.

[56] Stephen Greenblatt has recognised similar trends in his seminal study *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago, 1984). Of the figures Greenblatt considers in terms of their own self-fashioning he writes: 'We should note in the circumstances of the sixteenth-century figures on whom this study focuses a common factor that may help to explain their sensitivity as writers to the construction of identity: they all embody, in one form or another, a profound mobility. In most of the cases, this mobility is social and economic: More, the son of a reasonably successful London lawyer, becomes a knight, Speaker of the House of Commons, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Steward of Cambridge University, and finally Lord Chancellor of England, the confidant of Henry VIII; Spenser, the son of a modest free journeyman of the Merchant Taylors Company, becomes a substantial colonial landowner. . . . All of these talented middle-class men moved out of a narrowly circumscribed social sphere and into a realm that brought them in close contact with the powerful and the great' (p. 7).

[57] See Montrose, 'Spenser's Domestic Domain', pp. 83–4.

[58] Saunders, 'Stigma of Print', p. 157.

Queen Elizabeth's court.[59] This was followed by a further apprenticeship in the household of Sir Francis Walsingham, and subsequently employment in the household of the Earl of Essex. In both cases, it was, perhaps, his outstanding musical talent that might originally have afforded him employment. Yet, his role as 'servant' placed him in a trusted and privileged position within these households and his duties also included the sensitive work of carrying letters between Essex and Elizabeth during Essex's deployment in Ireland.[60] While Batcheler's astronomical rise might have been exceptional, employment as a musician within noble or royal households enabled many musicians at least to enter into a new social stratum. For musicians who wished to ascend socially, but to remain employed primarily in the capacity of musician (rather than as servant-bureaucrat) the ultimate objective was to secure a position in the Royal Household or Royal Household Chapel. From such a position the musician could style himself as 'gentlemen', often appearing as such in the New Year's gift exchange roll, and thus would be eligible to receive various royal gifts and rewards. Musical ability, and the possibility of social networking it provided, placed musicians in a position from which they could seek further reward, favour and advancement through various means, musical and non-musical. The route to social advancement for a musician was relatively fluid once admitted into the higher strata of the patronage system of the court and its satellite environments.

Dowland's own socially limited, yet aspirational, position is reflected in what is known about his career. Little is known about his origins at birth, or his musical education. It is probable, however,

[59] On apprenticeship and social mobility see C. Brooks, 'Apprenticeship, Social Mobility and the Middling Sort, 1550–1800', in J. Barry and C. Brooks (eds.), *The Middling Sort of People: Culture, Society and Politics in England, 1550–1800* (London, 1994), pp. 52–83.

[60] J. Craig-McFeely, 'English Lute Manuscripts and Scribes 1530–1630' (D.Phil. thesis, Oxford University, 1994), pp. 23–5. On the employment and social status of musicians see also D. C. Price, *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance* (Cambridge, 1981); W. Woodfill, *Musicians in English Society from Elizabeth to Charles I* (Princeton, 1953); L. Hulse, 'The Musical Patronage of the English Aristocracy c.1590–1640' (Ph.D. thesis, King's College, University of London, 1993), p. 19. Hulse argues against Woodfill's assumption that there were few professional musicians who earned a living from private employment in noble households specifically as musicians. She argues that the vagaries of early modern accounting can give a misleading picture of the nature of musical employment, both due to the way in which musicians may have been paid, and by the fact that men employed primarily as musicians within households are not always easy to identify since they were not always described with the title 'musician' in accounts. In such cases it is a servant's connection with musical instruments and music that implies that his primary duty was of a musical nature.

that he learned to play the lute to a professional standard through an apprenticeship with a professional lutenist, perhaps as an apprentice servant in the household of a wealthy merchant or aristocratic family.[61] This was was the route taken by Dowland's son, Robert, during Dowland's employment at the Danish court between 1598 and 1606. Dowland's first known employment can be dated to 1580 when he travelled to Paris as a 'servant' of Sir Henry Cobham (the English ambassador to France), and he continued working until 1612 for a series of wealthy and influential royal and noble patrons including Henry Noel (before 1596), the Landgrave of Hesse (1594–5), Baron Hunsdon (1597), Christian IV of Denmark (1598–1606) and Lord Walden (1612). Yet throughout this period Dowland openly acknowledged his ambition and desire of gaining a post in the English Royal Household. As late as 1612 Dowland publicly, though perhaps exaggeratedly, claims to his English audience that 'I haue long lien obscured from your sight, because I receiued a Kingly entertainment in a forraine climate, which could not attaine to any (though neuer so meane) place at home'.[62]

Dowland maintained it was his involvement with Catholicism while in Paris that had prevented him repeatedly from gaining royal favour or recognition. While working at the Paris embassy during the 1580s Dowland, as he reports it to Robert Cecil in November 1595, had become acquainted with 'on[e] smith a priest, & on[e] morgan sometime of her majesties Chapell, on[e] verstigan who brake out of Englande being apprehended & on[e] moris a welchman that was our porter, who is at Rome', who, he claims, 'thrust many Idle toies into my hed of Relygion, sainge that the papists was the truthe & ours in England all falce'.[63] This long confessional letter was written to Cecil after Dowland seems unwittingly to have become involved with a group of Catholics plotting against Elizabeth while he was in Florence during the

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[61] John M. Ward, 'A Dowland Miscellany', *Journal of the Lute Society of America*, 10 (1977), pp. 5–153, at pp. 6–7. See also Craig McFeely, 'English Lute Manuscripts'.

[62] Dowland, *Pilgrimes Solace*, 'To the reader'.

[63] This letter and one he enclosed from the English priest John Scudamore are nos. 91 and 94 in volume 174 of the Marquis of Salisbury's Papers at Hatfield House. Dowland was eventually granted a place in the royal household under James I in 1612. This transcription is taken from D. Pinto, 'Dowland's True Teares', *The Lute: The Journal of the Lute Society*, 42 (2002), pp. 1–26, at pp. 15–19. I have modernised abbreviations. It is also contained in Historical Manuscripts Commission, *A Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Honourable the Marquis of Salisbury, KG, &c, Preserved at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire*, 24 vols. (London, 1883–1976), v, pp. 445–7.

summer of 1595. Dowland swiftly returned to Nuremberg, from which he wrote the letter in what appears to be an attempt to forge some distance from a highly dangerous situation, and also to salvage his client relationship with the all-powerful Cecil. The extent and nature of Dowland's Catholic sympathies, however, remain obscure, while the complexity of motives for writing the letter to Cecil, not to mention the pressures he found himself under, render any direct interpretation of the letter difficult. 'I hav bin thrust of[f] of all good fortunes because I am a catholike at home, for I hard that her majesty beinge spake to for me', continues Dowland to Cecil, 'saide, I was a man to serve any princ in the world, but that I was an obstinat papist.' Dowland's admission that 'I am a catholike at home' has led David Pinto to claim that Dowland here openly acknowledged his status as a recusant in England, and certainly if this was open knowledge at the English court, as the queen's opinion of him might suggest, it is not something he could, or would have attempted to, withhold from the 'ubiquitous' Cecil.[64] The wording of Dowland's statement beginning 'I am a catholike at home', however, does not necessarily indicate that Dowland was making an admission of recusancy specifically, but could be taken to mean that he believed himself unable to secure a position at the English court because of the queen's opinion of him as 'an obstinat papist', given his known involvement with Catholics when in France, and his admitted distaste for the English persecution of Catholics on the grounds of religion alone.[65] Certainly, in the context of post-Armada paranoia following 1588, Elizabeth might have regarded Dowland with suspicion, despite her support of long-standing and loyal recusant musicians of the older generation such as Byrd. Nevertheless, his statement in the same letter 'I hav reformed my self to lyve according to her majesties lawes' would seem to indicate that, in Pinto's words, Dowland 'now realigned to the non-Jesuit "Appellant" camp in England, resigned to attendance on the ritual of "Calvin's Supper" '.[66] Despite the obvious reasons for making

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[64] Pinto, 'Dowland's True Teares', pp. 1–26.

[65] Dowland writes that 'within ij years after I cam into Englande wher[e] I saw men of the faction condemde & executed, which I thought was great InJustic[e] taking Relygion for the only cause, & when my best frends wold perswade me I wold not beleve them'. This citation is taken from Dowland's letter to Cecil, cited in Pinto, 'Dowland's True Teares', p. 15.

[66] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

such a claim to Cecil, Dowland, in his maturity, perhaps reconciled himself to religious pragmatism.

Dowland was finally offered a position in the Royal household in 1612, at the age of 50. Yet his attempts to gain royal approval and support during these years of frustration and repeated disappointments might also be witnessed in his subsequent involvements with the English authorities. His letter to Cecil in 1595, for, perhaps, apparent reasons, included the intelligence he had gathered on Catholic activity on the Continent. At some point, it seems, Dowland was enlisted, or perhaps forcibly coerced, given the precariousness of his predicament and proven ability as an informant, to provide information from the Continent in the service of Elizabeth. It is also possible that he may have been willing to do so in order to court royal favour. This might be evidenced in a more recently discovered letter written to Dowland while he was lutenist at the Danish court by the English diplomat Stephen Lesieur (given in full in the Appendix).[67] Lesieur, apparently already in correspondence with Dowland at this time, asks for information on the Danes, for which in return, he writes, 'I will make your true hart & service to her majestie knowen to your good', an allusion, perhaps, to Dowland's complaints in 1595 about his reputation at the English court as being an 'obstinat papist'. Having spent his youth working at the English embassy in Paris, Dowland would have been well aware of the workings of the English intelligence networks, and of the potential rewards such work could offer.[68]

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[67] Copenhagen, Det kongelige bibliotek, NKS 1305 2°, læg 5. I thank Peter Hague for allowing me to read a draft of his article 'A Dowland Document in the Royal Library, Copenhagen'. This article has now been published as 'Dowland in Denmark 1598–1606: A Rediscovered Document', *The Lute: Journal of the Lute Society*, 41 (2001), pp. 1–27. Hague argues that this letter may not have reached Dowland, or was confiscated, as it was found amongst the correspondence of Jonas Charisius, who was secretary of Christian IV's German Chancellery from 1598 until his death in 1619 (p. 3).

[68] Although Dowland may have been employed primarily for his musical skills while in Paris, it seems that he was also expected to work more generally in the capacity of embassy servant. This is demonstrated by his appearance in a petition made by imprisoned English merchants in 1584. The petition is addressed to Cobham's successor Sir Edward Stafford, PRO, State Papers 78/12/142: 'And whereas your good Lo: did send your favourable charyttie by your servand John Dowland he gevynge vs to vnderstand that your good Lo: yf we herd ony thinge of our goinge towards the galleys which newes of our going we herd from your said servante beinge with vs / most humbly besechynge your good Lordshepe to take some order for vs that we may be stayd from going vnto yᵗ most vylle playse wᶜʰ other wyse we are worse then ded men remaynynge contynually in torments.' This petition is cited in Poulton, *Dowland*, p. 27. The English embassy in Paris during the 1580s served as a busy and important channel

It is also notable that all of Dowland's self-authorised printed books were originally published in the years in which he pursued royal favour and recognition. His final book, *A Pilgrimes Solace*, published in 1612, was dedicated to his then patron Theophilus Walden, Lord Howard. Howard was a member of one of the most prominent noble recusant families in England, and it was only a matter of months after the publication that Dowland was finally offered a position at court. The early modern printed book might be viewed as representing a materialisation of an author's aspirations, acting as a vehicle through which musicians, writers, translators and editors could effectively lobby for petitions on their behalf or seek reward and recognition from their social superiors. The motto appearing on the title page of *Lachrimae*, 'Thou shalt Labour for Peace and Plenty', is perhaps indicative of Dowland's, or at least his printer's, awareness that the materialisation of his 'labours' in the printed book could act as a source for gaining preferment, while it also marks the book as a material symbol of the writer's petition for favour. The inclusion of the motto 'Aut Furit, aut Lachrimat, quem non Fortuna beauit' ('He whom fortune has not blessed either rages or weeps') on the same title page also bears witness to Dowland's highly stylised textually and musically constructed authorial persona, in which he, or perhaps his printer, explicitly draws on the themes of unfulfilled desire and sorrow represented primarily through the tropes of tears, melancholy, and spiritual and erotic complaint. This reference could only have been further enhanced by the inclusion in the book of Dowland's most explicit piece of musical self-portraiture, 'Semper Dowland, Semper Dolens' (Always Dowland, Always Sorrowful), and his by then famous pavan, *Lachrimae*. Recognising, perhaps, both the fame of *Lachrimae*

through which sensitive information was filtered back to the English authorities, and provided an environment in which ambitious young men could gain diplomatic experience and increase their network of social contacts. It functioned, as Alan Haynes comments, as 'a narrow window on to the hectic, random activities of the many exiled English Catholics who forged links with the strongest Catholic powers, as well as Scotland and the papacy'. See A. Haynes, *Invisible Power: The Elizabethan Secret Services 1570–1603* (Stroud, 1992), p. 91. It is perhaps not insignificant that in the same year that Dowland had travelled to Paris as a servant in the English embassy, Cobham had been involved in bargaining for the release of Queen Elizabeth's imprisoned musician and intelligencer Alfonso Ferrabosco. See R. Charteris, 'New Information about the Life of Alfonso Ferrabosco the Elder (1543–1588)', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 17 (1981), pp. 97–114, at pp. 106–7. See also C. Monson, 'The Composer as "Spy": The Ferraboscos, Gabriele Paleotti, and the Inquisition', *Music & Letters*, 84 (2003), pp. 1–18.

and the musical tears with which his authorial persona was associated, Dowland is known to have signed himself in one manuscript as 'Jo dolandi de Lachrimae'.[69] The presentation of Dowland's title page authorial persona, weeping the tears of unfulfilled desire, reflects, perhaps, his subordinate yet aspirational position in the social world and in the early modern system of patronage in which he courted favour.

It is perhaps no accident that *The Third and Last Booke of Songs or Aires* (1603), dedicated to the soon to be knighted John Souch, and including a number of songs that directly pay overt compliments to the aging queen, was being compiled around the same time as Dowland's correspondence with Lesieur. Peter Hague has suggested that it is possible that the consort publication *Lachrimae* (1604), dedicated to James I's wife, Anne of Denmark, may also have originally been intended for Elizabeth. 'It is conceivable that he [Dowland] had already started ordering the collection during the winter of 1602, after or at the same time that he sent his third book of airs to the printer in London', writes Hague, adding

Elizabeth was still alive and it was during this period that he was asked to procure information for the English delegation in Bremen. . . . Perhaps the original intention was to dedicate *Lachrimae* to Elizabeth, in a gesture suggested by Lesieur's promise of a reward and introduction to the queen, on condition that Dowland undertake and be a successful informant.[70]

Likewise, the *First Booke* printed in 1597 was dedicated to Dowland's well-placed and influential patron George Carey, Baron Hunsdon, who had recently been appointed Lord Chamberlain of the royal household. It was printed shortly after Dowland's return to England from the service of the Landgrave of Hesse following a promising letter from his old patron Sir Henry Noel who had, it seems, lobbied Elizabeth on Dowland's behalf. Noel writes: 'her Ma[jesty] hath wished divers tymes your return: Ferdinando hath told me her pleasure twice, which being now certified you, you may therewith answer all objections. Therefore forbeare not longer then other occasions (then your doubts here) do detain you.'[71] By the time Dowland returned to England, however, his advocate at the

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[69] London, British Library (hereafter GB-Lbl), Add. MS 27579, fol. 88. This source is cited in P. Holman, *Dowland*, Lachrimae *(1604)* (Cambridge, 1999), p. 51.

[70] Hague, 'Dowland in Denmark', p. 16.

[71] Folger Shakespeare Library, MS V.a.321, fols. 52ᵛ–53. This source is cited in Poulton, *Dowland*, p. 47.

court had died. Having seemingly once again lost his chance of a court position, Dowland appears to have found employment in the Carey household. Whether or not *Lachrimae*, or any of Dowland's other publications, had been designed with the specific intention of attracting the Queen's attention, they were planned, at least in part, to attract the attention and potential rewards of influential patrons who were often close to the queen in some capacity. Read in such a context, the publications are inseparable from the social and economic contexts in which they were produced.

Empowerment of the author in print

Yet, for the socially subservient musician constrained within the official system of patronage, self-authorised dissemination of one's work in the printed book, through which one was also able to fashion a socially and culturally distinctive authorial identity, may have offered the composing subject a limited degree of power and, at least discursive (in Dowland's case musico-textual), autonomy.[72] While the traditional Marxist position fosters the view of a tangible difference between 'real' and 'discursive' power, some later accounts, such as those by Foucault, have pointed towards a more subtle and complex relationship between these two forms of power.[73] On the one hand, as an early modern subject, Dowland was constrained both within the system of patronage and the early modern surveillance state. His position as author and composer converging in his self-authorised printed books, on the other hand, might have provided a delimited sense of autonomy and freedom, at least within the pages of his printed books. Foucault's answer to his

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[72] One way this notion of discursive autonomy might be realised is in terms of the creation of a fictional 'domain' within the printed book. See P. Alpers, 'Pastoral and the Domain of Lyric in Spenser's *Shepheardes Calander*', in Greenblatt (ed.), *Representing the English Renaissance*, pp. 163–80. 'By writing a book of eclogues, conceived as the performance of pastoral roles', writes Alpers, 'Spenser created . . . a "domain of lyric"', an 'aesthetic space' that gave him a certain amount of freedom, not always available to poets. Alpers goes on to argue that 'because of his literary assumptions and practices' Spenser could establish a 'domain of lyric' that remained 'a certain distance from courtly and social accountability'. Alpers, 'Pastoral', p. 174. Many of the musico-textual identities created in Dowland's ayres, though implicitly political, are coded in terms of love, melancholy and sometimes the pastoral world and might, therefore, be considered as a kind of domain in which the author–composer explores a variety of fictional roles, some of which are ostensibly more removed from 'social and courtly accountability' than others.

[73] See, for example, M. Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge* (New York, 1972).

now famous question 'What is an author' is that the 'coming into being of the notion of "author" constitutes the privileged moment of *individualization* in the history of ideas, knowledge, literature, philosophy, and the sciences'.[74] While Foucault's model is both wide-ranging and fruitful, it is also, risking potential oversimplification, problematic in relation to the question of human agency in processes of authorisation. The ascription of texts to an individual that we call 'author', argues Foucault, is the result of 'complex operations' in which the appearance of an individual named as 'author' is merely 'a projection, in more or less psychologizing terms, of the operations that we force texts to undergo'.[75] The author function, according to Foucault, is thus an 'ideological product', essentially reduced to acting as a function of the text. That the coming into being of the notion of 'author' constitutes a privileged moment of individualisation is a problematic and paradoxical point. Louis Montrose has, for instance, argued that 'such individualization is itself a socially produced technique for delimiting and controlling the interpretive activity of the state's subjects' in which 'the self-monitoring interiority of the individual subject becomes the very medium of ideological containment and social reproduction'.[76] Foucault's position provides a valuable critique of the (essentially Romantic) notion of the 'author' as a timeless and entirely autonomous being transcending both historical context and discourse, and while Montrose attempts to redress the position of human agency in processes of authorship, his response, perhaps, also reduces agency. The results of both Foucault's and Montrose's positions with regard human agency are problematic, although Foucault, rather than reducing agency specifically, leaves it un(der)specified.

Robert Weimann, countering and extending Foucault's account of the author function, proposes that Foucault's polemical position invites, and in fact necessitates, a complementary exploration of the way in which discourses may also act as a function of the early modern subject(s) through whose labour they were created.[77]

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[74] Foucault, 'What is an Author', p. 197.

[75] *Ibid.*, p. 203.

[76] Montrose, 'Spenser's Domestic Domain', pp. 91–2.

[77] R. Weimann, ' "Appropriation" and Modern History in Renaissance Prose Narrative', *New Literary History*, 14 (1983), pp. 459–95.

Although this suggestion arises out of a consideration of the author function in late Renaissance prose narrative, this model might also be effectively adapted and applied to certain instances of musical production and dissemination during the period. Weimann's position is an attempt to expand on the notion of human agency in the production and interpretation of texts, and enables, perhaps, a more comprehensive consideration of the figure of the early modern author as a historically contextualised subject. Drawing attention to the 'rise of capitalism [and] the emerging pre-eminence of exchange value' during the sixteenth century, coupled with 'corresponding patterns of social mobility and individual choice', Weimann suggests that 'people begin to live, to produce, to write and read under circumstances which . . . are less "given" '.[78] Under such conditions, Weimann continues, 'means, modes, and materials of production' themselves became 'subjected to appropriation' since a 'distancing' between the individual and the conditions and means of production, no longer 'unquestioningly consider[ed] as part of the existence of his own self', enabled the individual to choose his own 'productive strategies vis-à-vis the increasing availability of those means, modes, and materials'.[79] An individual choosing specific means of production through which to disseminate his own intellectual labours consequently found himself in the position of being able to inscribe the meanings within the text through his own 'appropriating' agency. The study of certain discourses in the context of the early modern period is therefore possibly best served when they are studied not only as 'objects of appropriation', but also as subjects of appropriation, that is, as 'agencies of knowledge, pleasure, energy, and power'.[80] The notion of choice here is, of course, problematic. Grounded on a post-Enlightenment notion of subjective agency, Weimann's concept of choice has a tendency, perhaps, to romanticise the extent to which the individual was invested with the power of choice in the late sixteenth century.[81] While Weimann's model is

[78] *Ibid.*, p. 468.
[79] *Ibid.* The use of the classic Marxist term 'mode of production' is, of course, problematic here, especially given its post-Enlightenment origins. It should be noted that in early modern Europe the relationship between so-called 'mode(s) of production' and products, such as books, were much more fluid than we find in post-Enlightenment capitalism.
[80] Weimann, ' "Appropriation" ', p. 469.
[81] On the delimited 'choices' of early modern writers and, by extension, composers, see Sinfield, '*Poetaster*', pp. 85–6. 'Today a writer can live in London and be only occasionally aware of the

both useful and perceptive, the notion of 'choice' here might be refined as being relative to, and set against, the delimited context of the Elizabethan state. In early modern England, nevertheless, the newly emerging book trade and the media of print provided a significant 'mode of production' that was becoming increasingly available to composers for the dissemination of both their works and their reputations.

Through their own 'appropriating' activities musicians, like writers, styling themselves as 'author' or 'composer' in print, could potentially assume the role, within the perimeters of their printed books, of signifying subjects. As typographically fixed objects, printed books encouraged the notion of the 'authorised' text, whether produced with or without the author's consent, and thereby implied authorial agency in the production of meaning within the text.[82] In the preface to George Gascoigne's *The Poesies*, for example, the author scolds readers of his previous publication *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowers* for not having understood 'the meaning of the Authour, nor the sense of the figurative speeches'.[83] This position perhaps resonates in Dowland's anxieties over the 'false and vnperfect' appearance, and therefore misinterpretation, of his own work in Barley's *A New Booke of Tabliture*. The possibility of determining meaning within the discursive and fictional, or musico-textual, domain of one's printed book becomes increasingly significant when placed in the context of the absolutist Elizabethan 'surveillance-state' in which control of the signifying process was, at least in theory, the privilege of the ruling monarch.[84] Attempts at Elizabethan control over the production

system and panoply of government. [Ben] Jonson's London [and indeed I would add Dowland's London] was not only smaller and its elite more integrated, there was also less reticence about surveillance, conspicuous consumption, and other mechanisms of power. There were all those people staggering around branded and flogged, with their noses slit, joints wracked, hands, tongues, and ears cut off. Of course it was sensible to align yourself as a writer [or composer] in the service of the state if you got the chance.'

[82] Marotti, *English Renaissance Lyric*, p. 230.

[83] Quoted *ibid.*, pp. 242–3. Marotti makes the point here that the 'new conditions of literature in a print culture . . . made possible what was virtually impossible in a system of manuscript transmission, where the uses and interpretation of texts were more obviously under reader control. In print, authorial authority applied not only to property rights over corrected texts but also to issues of meaning and interpretation' (p. 242).

[84] James Knowles gives an excellent account of the political environment of England in the 1590s, characterised by 'post-Armada paranoia' of Catholic invasion and the threat of internal unrest: 'Faced with external and internal threats, the Elizabethan polity used coercion, surveillance

and circulation of printed texts extended to the publication of music through the granting of monopolies for the printing of music. The monopoly granted by Elizabeth to William Byrd and Thomas Tallis in 1575, lasting twenty-one years, covered the printing of 'any and so many as they will of set songe or songes in partes, either in English, Latine, French, Italian, or any other tongues that may serve for musicke either in Church or chamber, or otherwise to be either plaid or soonge'.[85] Under this patent, the printing of music could be regulated through the hands of two of the foremost musicians in Elizabeth's service, and both its quality, and by implication its legitimacy, could be policed.[86] Byrd's printing of Catholic liturgical music, most particularly his three masses, however, demonstrates that Elizabeth's powers of suppression were by no means absolute, wholly effective or always strictly enforced.[87]

It is, perhaps, no accident that Dowland's own self-authorised print debut with *The First Booke of Songes or Ayres* (1597), establishing the lute song as a new English print genre, came to fruition in the period between the patent's lapse and its renewal in the hands of Thomas Morley in 1598. It may be that Byrd had suppressed

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and terror to achieve its own continuance. Intelligence operations, such as the abduction of Dr John Story, showed the would-be rebel how "he is no where safe from his prince" and that the authorities would exercise "wonderfull vigillancye".' J. Knowles, ' "Infinite Riches in a Little Room": Marlowe and the Aesthetics of the Closet', in G. McMullan (ed.), *Renaissance Configurations: Voices/Bodies/Spaces, 1580–1690* (Houndmills, 2001; first edn 1998), pp. 3–29, at p. 6. On censorship and control over Elizabethan texts see also J. Clare, *'Art Made Tongue-Tied by Authority': Elizabethan and Jacobean Dramatic Censorship* (Manchester, 1990); R. Dutton, *Mastering the Revels: Regulation and Censorship of English Renaissance Drama* (Iowa City, 1991); D. M. Loades, 'The Theory and Practice of Censorship in Sixteenth-Century England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, ser. 5, vol. 24 (1974), pp. 141–57; A. Patterson, *Censorship and Interpretation: The Conditions of Reading and Writing in Early Modern England* (Madison, Wis., 1990; first edn 1984).

85 Given in Krummel, *English Music Printing*, p. 15. See also R. Steele, *The Earliest English Music Printing – A Description and Bibliography of English Printed Music at the Close of the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1903).

86 Krummel argues that the monopoly was 'completely restrictive, to the extent that music itself could be regulated. Performances of music (at least of art music, the kind known to Tallis and Byrd) could be administered only through control over written musical notation. The object of the patent was to promote fine music and to suppress inferior music – as they knew it – and indirectly to subsidize the patentees through the sale of copies. Byrd and Tallis were recognized as the finest musicians of their day; only in their hands could such a coercive plan be acceptable. The patent, in sum, was intended mainly to control not music printing, but music itself.' Krummel, *English Music Printing*, pp. 15–16.

87 On the effects of the print monopoly on music publication, and the practice of subversive print practices, see also J. L. Smith, 'The Hidden Editions of Thomas East', *Notes: Quarterly Journal of the Music Library Association*, 53 (June 1997), pp. 1059–91.

the printing of tablature music since no tablature books were printed in England between 1574 and 1596.[88] Alternatively, the absence of printed tablature books may have been due to a lack of adequate up-to-date print resources, since Dowland's publication closely followed the importation of a font for printing lute tablature from France.[89] Yet it is also striking that Dowland's first self-authorised appearance in print marked the establishment of a genre and specific print format, tablebook format, for which the idealised performance space was the private sphere in which friends might gather inward-facing around a table in a domestic chamber to enjoy their own company and music-making. The placement of the tablature part specifically with the Cantus line also offered the possibility of solitary musical practice, in which one could accompany oneself when singing in much the same way as the inclusion of the tablature part in the Cantus book of Morley's *Canzonets* (published the same year) was intended, according to his dedication to Hunsdon, 'for one to sing and plaie alone when your Lordship would retire your selfe and bee more priuate'.[90] The print format adopted for Dowland's ayres allowed for, at least in theory, their performance in specifically private domestic settings removed from public scrutiny. Dominant textual themes of the ayres privilege notions of 'privacy', interiority and retreat into pastoral domains and contain both Petrarchan and anti-Petrarchan, courtly and anti-courtly sentiment. Many of the mainly anonymous verses Dowland chose to set, in addition, have been read as subversively politicised texts, surreptitiously referring to tensions within the Elizabethan court, particularly to the fraught Essex–Elizabeth relationship.[91] Daniel Fischlin also draws attention to the genre's potentially subversive under-currents, noting that 'the popularity of the ayre as a form of elite entertainment coupled with its often hermetic and anonymous provenances, not to mention its miniaturist aesthetic, suggests,

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[88] See Krummel's discussion, *English Music Printing*, p. 103.

[89] See L. M. Ruff and D. A. Wilson, 'The Madrigal, the Lute Song and Elizabethan Politics', *Past and Present*, 44 (1969), pp. 3–51, at p. 24.

[90] T. Morley, *Canzonets* (London, 1597).

[91] See Ruff and Wilson, 'Elizabethan Politics'. See also Ruff and Wilson, 'Allusion to the Essex Downfall in Lute Song Lyrics', *Lute Society Journal*, 12 (1970), pp. 31–6.

among other things, a dissimulative response to the intrusive political agendas of the Elizabethan surveillance-state'.[92]

Despite the seeming aspirations of Elizabethan, and later Jacobean, absolute rule to extend its control over subjects' interpretative agency, the complexity and diversity of social reality, extending to the production and dissemination of musical texts, suggests that state rule over the signifying process was less absolute than it would wish to be. As Montrose proposes, therefore, 'within the delimited discursive space of their own printed texts, writing subjects [*sic;* read also composing subjects] of the Early Modern state might contest, appropriate, or merely evade its semiotic prerogatives', under which conditions 'the author-function may have helped *disseminate* discursive authority more than it worked to contain it'.[93] The potential to partake in the signifying process in early modern England did not, of course, simply apply to authors (composers, writers), since with the advent of Protestantism, the Counter-Reformation, printing, literacy – not to mention musical literacy, proto-market capitalism and the growth of a merchant class with increased spending power and leisure time – printers, publishers, editors, translators, dedicatees, booksellers and readers were all able to participate in processes through which the meanings of texts could be negotiated, interpreted and appropriated.[94] The new ideological milieu that was forming at the dawn of technological, religious, ideological and socio-economic upheaval, in which awareness of notions of individualisation and 'privacy' were becoming increasingly prominent, marks the initial stages of the emergence of both the modern state and the modern notion of authorship. In the early modern printed book, perhaps more intensely than its manuscript predecessor, the friction between competing modes of authorship placed the duplicitous nature of the author in sharp relief.

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[92] D. Fischlin, *In Small Proportions: A Poetics of the English Ayre 1596–1622* (Detroit, Mich., 1998), p. 20.

[93] Montrose, 'Domestic Domain', p. 93. Italics author's own.

[94] See C. M. Jagodzinski, *Privacy and Print: Reading and Writing in Seventeenth-Century England* (Charlottesville, Va., and London, 1999). Richard Freedman's account of Protestant *contrafacta* publications of Orlando di Lasso's chansons (see n. 33) is an excellent example of ways in which printed texts could be appropriated and reinterpreted by different communities of listeners/readers in early modern France.

Situating the author within the printed book

The material form of the early modern printed book itself demonstrates the coexisting, and perhaps competing, modes for musical and literary production of the patronage system and the burgeoning commercial marketplace. Entering the boundaries of the book, readers had to pass through the threshold of the prefatory material before reaching the work itself. Title page, dedicatory epistles to patrons, addresses to readers, and commendatory verses to patrons and/or authors all acted as sites at which the social positioning of authors, patrons, printers and readers were explicitly negotiated. Although the prefatory material of the printed book could well have been glossed over as conventionalised preamble by sixteenth-century readers in much the same way as modern readers might skip the acknowledgement pages of the modern book, it also provided a significant textual space in which the authorial persona might be presented and fashioned. In particular, the juxtaposition of the author's dedicatory epistle to a noble or royal patron against the address to the reader is illustrative of two modes of 'patronage' on which the author claimed to be dependent, and for whose benefit he claimed to compose. Such seemingly opposite modes of patronage not only demonstrate the rise of a new type of consumer – namely the reader – but are also indicative of the gradually changing social world wherein, according to Marotti, a new set of 'social relations was emerging in which the patron was ultimately eclipsed by the increasing sociocultural authority of authors as well as by the economic and interpretive importance of the reader'.[95] By presenting the early modern printed book as both an offering to a noble or

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[95] Marotti, *English Renaissance Lyric*, p. 292. This chapter was also published as 'Poetry, Patronage, and Print', *The Yearbook of English Studies*, 21 (1991), pp. 1–26. See also Jagodzinski, *Privacy and Print*, in which she notes that 'Alongside the technological and social changes of the seventeenth century, the idea of common, shared authorship and the virtues of imitation so valued in the medieval era began to give way to the voice of the individual author. The security and shared friendships of the coterie audience are gradually replaced by the marketplace: publishers, printers, and paying readers are the new coterie. . . . The give-and-take of the coterie disappears as reading moves to private spaces and readings are performed, not by the author, but by readers outside the author's private circles.' Jagodzinski, *Privacy and Print*, pp. 8–9. On the decline of patronage see L. Stone, *Family, Sex, and Marriage in England 1500–1800* (New York, 1977), and id., *The Crisis of the Aristocracy 1558–1641* (Oxford, 1965). See also Chartier's

royal patron and simultaneously as a market commodity, the author is presented, or may self-consciously present himself, paradoxically, as both subservient subject bound within the system of patronage, and as a socioculturally autonomous figure partaking in the newly emerging marketplace, empowered by his imaginative autonomy, to problematise his otherwise subjected position.

The author as client

Dowland's dedicatory epistles to patrons, abundant with the conventional rhetoric of flattery, present some of the most common objectives expressed by authors in the dedicating of their works to noble or royal patrons, while they also situate the composer as obsequious servant. The dedicatory epistle was often used as a vehicle to express gratitude to past or present patrons while expressing hope for continued favour. It also allowed authors to approach and ingratiate potentially new patrons, and to appeal for noble protection for their work as its prospective social range of dissemination was enlarged by its appearance in print. Bound by the conventions of dedicatory rhetoric, Dowland presents his relationship to patrons in the conventional terms of dependency and supplication. Dedicating his *First Booke* to George Carey, Baron Hunsdon in 1597, Dowland writes that he is dedicating it to him on account of his 'vertue & nobility [that] are best able to protect it, and for your honourable fauors towards me best deseruing my duety and seruice',[96] while he dedicates his *Third and Last Booke* to Sir John Souch 'as a token of my thankefulnes' for the 'estimation and kindnes which I haue euer bountifully receiued from your

discussion of the coexistence of the patronage system of the *ancien régime* and the developing capitalist market in the printed book, which he argues extended into the eighteenth century in 'Figures of the Author'. 'The traditional system of patronage', writes Chartier, 'far from being dismantled by the diffusion of the printed book, adapted to the new technique for the reproduction of texts and to the market logic that it set up. This is true for the Renaissance, and it was probably still partially true in the eighteenth century, at the time of the first "professionalization" of authors who were eager and at times capable of living (not necessarily well) by their pens. . . . The new phenomenon of a social status founded solely on the remuneration of writing emerged only with difficulty within the mental framework of the ancien régime, a situation expressed by Voltaire in his diatribes against "the miserable species that writes for a living". Freedom (of ideas or of commerce) seemed in no way contradictory to the protection of authority, beginning with the protection of the king, dispenser of positions and favours.' Chartier, 'Figures of the Author', p. 48.

96 Dowland, *First Booke*, dedicatory epistle.

fauour'.[97] Dowland's dedication to Robert Cecil of his translation of *Andreas Ornithoparcus* (1609) makes reference to Cecil's 'speciall Fauors and Graces', reminding Cecil that he remains 'humbly deuoted' to him,[98] and in Dowland's dedication of *A Pilgrimes Solace* to Theophilus, Lord Walden he writes that he can 'shew no other meanes of thankfulnes then these simple fruits of my poore endeauors which I most humbly present as a publike pledge from a true and deuoted heart', since Dowland claims to be 'held vp onely by your gratious hand'.[99]

The dedications to Lucy Countess of Bedford in *The Second Booke of Songs or Ayres* (1600) and to Anne of Denmark in *Lachrimae*, furthermore, act as vehicles through which to encourage favour, asking of Lucy Bedford 'to receiue this worke, into your fauour . . . because it commeth far to beg it, of you',[100] and reminding Anne of Denmark that 'I haue endeuoured by my poore labour and study to manifest my humblenesse and dutie to your highnesse, being my selfe one of your most affectionate Subiects'.[101] Dowland's dedicatory epistles employ the conventionalised rhetoric of flattery, which always inevitably mask his personal sentiments, sincere or insincere, towards his patrons. Bound by convention, Dowland, as author, is inevitably presented as a dutiful, devoted, grateful and dependent servant. The display of such sentiment was entirely conventional, and it is unlikely, therefore, that these dedicatory epistles were read unequivocally or naively at face value by contemporaneous readers. Yet, whatever Dowland's personal sentiments, the conventions of the dedicatory epistle, to which early modern authors were obliged to conform, engendered a figuration of the author that nonetheless reflects the social reality of the professional early modern musician, and his dependency on patronage for financial support and social advancement.

The presentation of the book as a gift through dedication engendered a reciprocal process of exchange between the giver (composer) and the receiver (patron), however, that Patricia

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[97] Dowland *The Third and Last Booke of Songs or Aires* (London, 1603), dedicatory epistle.
[98] J. Dowland, *Andreas Ornithoparcus – His Micrologus* (London, 1609), dedicatory epistle.
[99] Dowland, *Pilgrimes Solace*, dedicatory epistle.
[100] Dowland, *Second Booke*, dedicatory epistle.
[101] Dowland, *Lachrimae*, dedicatory epistle.

Fumerton has characterised as the 'multidirectional flow of Elizabethan gifts'.[102] Under such conditions

A process of exchange operates not only between but also within these dedications as they hover on the threshold of gift. In these liminal moments, wherein the gift given invokes the gift returned – and poet [read also musician] and patron are simultaneously givers and takers . . . both partners reap the sustaining communion of gift. In this sense, these 'gift' dedications are as much equalizers as definers of hierarchical differences: both poet and patron enter the gift circle that consumes and dilates ego, mingling selves in the hope of self-growth, peace, and culture.[103]

In return for the gift of his intellectual labours and public praise of the patron the composer could expect a customary financial reward, if not also the possibility of further graces and favours. The appearance of a particular patron in one's printed book could also, theoretically, enhance the prestige of one's work, while the process of dedication also conversely functioned to aggrandise the status of the patron by not only publicly displaying their hierarchically exalted social position, but also by frequently portraying them as refined, knowledgeable and sophisticated patrons of the arts. Lucy Bedford, for instance, is likened by Dowland 'as to the worthiest Patronesse, of Musicke' while Carey is praised for his 'noble inclination and loue to all good Artes, and namely the diuine science of musicke'.[104] Dowland's status and reputation could also be bolstered through the advertisement that print allowed of the prominent and lucrative positions he had achieved within the patronage system, and through the status of the patrons who favoured him, even if his then patron was not also his chosen dedicatee. On the title page of *The Third and Last Booke of Songs or Aires* Dowland is styled as 'IOHN DOWLAND, Bacheler in Musicke, and Lutenist to the most high and mightie CHRISTIAN the fourth

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[102] P. Fumerton, 'Exchanging Gifts: The Elizabethan Currency of Children and Poetry', *English Literary History*, 53 (1986), pp. 241–78, at p. 253. Although her work focuses on French print culture see also N. Z. Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (Oxford, 2000). See also Feldman, who writes of early Italian examples of gift dedications in printed song anthologies that 'these "gifts" clearly formed part of larger systems of exchange whereby things "given" were reciprocated . . . with other things and/or acts – rewards, favors, connections, further obligations, additional gifts, further reciprocations. At the same time it is also clear that such gifts never lay far from a fast-developing consciousness of commodities – hence Giulio Ongaro's point that commissioning music was doubtless part of how Bonagiunta assembled anthologies, and also how he developed strategies for marketing anthologies *as* commodities in ways that were fundamental to their creation and perpetuation.' Feldman, 'Authors and Anonymous', pp. 177–8.

[103] Fumerton, 'Exchanging Gifts', p. 270.

[104] Dowland, *Second Booke* and *First Booke* respectively.

by the grace of God king of Denmark and Norwey, &c.', a connection he advertises also on the title pages of *The Second Booke* and, in its most extended form, in *Lachrimae*. Likewise, though outside the context of print, Dowland signs himself as 'Iohn dowlande Lutanist to the Kinges maiestie' on a receipt for the relatively high fee of £5 for playing, with his consort, at Middle Temple on 2 February 1612–13.[105] Evidently conscious of the status it afforded him, Dowland was seemingly eager to advertise his new appointment as a lutenist in the Jacobean royal household. The appearance of a patron's name in print promised him posterity, though it was through the author's representation of the patron that this initially became possible. Although an appearance in print could enhance the public image of the patron, its potential to raise the sociocultural status of the musician, presented as 'composer' or 'author', was possibly even greater.

The sociocultural autonomy of the composer as author

The rising sociocultural status of the figure of the composer during the Renaissance is perhaps reflected in the growing number of poems and accolades written in praise of famous musicians that appear in music treatises from the late fifteenth century onward. Josquin des Prez, Adrian Willaert and Orlando di Lasso are notable examples of composers whose extensive praise from theorists such as Heinrich Glareanus and Gioseffo Zarlino contributed to their fame and celebrity.[106] Although manuscript dissemination had enabled the widespread circulation of music, and by extension the composer's eminence, print extended this possibility. The appearance of verses in praise of musicians in sixteenth-century printed books possibly points to the increasingly elevated status of musicians during this period that was, perhaps paradoxically, perpetuated by

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[105] This document is cited by J. R. Elliott, Jr., 'Invisible Evidence: Finding Musicians in the Archives of the Inns of Court, 1446–1642', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 26 (1993), pp. 45–57, at pp. 53–4. The source for this document is described by Elliott as 'MT3'. This is Middle Temple loose sheets dating from the first half of the seventeenth century, which are kept in a cardboard box labelled 'Masques and Entertainments'. They are not further titled or numbered.

[106] See J. A. Owens, 'Music Historiography and the Definition of "Renaissance" ', *Notes: Quarterly Journal of the Music Library Association*, 40 (1990), pp. 305–30.

the possibility of print dissemination.[107] That print was considered a contributory factor to the propagation of the music, reputation, fame and eminence of an individual composer was also articulated by Thomas Campion in a Latin epigram that appears in the prefatory material to Dowland's own self-authorised print debut:

> Famam, posteritas quam dedit Orpheo,
>   Dolandi melius Musica dat sibi,
> Fugaces reprimens archetypis sonos;
>   Quas & delitias præbuit auribus,
> Ipsis conspicuas luminibus facit.[108]
>
> The renown which posterity gave to Orpheus,
> The music of Dowland better gives to herself.
> By capturing the ephemeral sounds in type:
> She makes visible to our sight,
> The delights which she afforded to our ears.

For Campion, the apparent fixity of print enables the preservation of Dowland's musical texts and by extension his reputation in a way that had not been possible for earlier musicians. Whereas the fame of ancient musicians was reduced to legend, their music inaudible to Renaissance audiences, Dowland's music, captured in written form and objectified in the materiality of the printed book, could be preserved. The excellence of Dowland's music, memorialised in print, becomes its own posterity. Yet, the potential longevity of Dowland's music in a book clearly marked with the name of the author could also ensure the lasting fame of its composer. Celebrations of musicians that were perpetuated in print reflect, perhaps, a more general trend witnessed towards the end of the sixteenth century of a 'heightened investment of professional identity in artistic creation'.[109]

Dowland was no stranger to celebratory poetic effusions, appearing in a number of poems and lists of worthy musicians. Both Henry

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[107] As Haar notes, 'Poems in praise of literary figures were very common features in sixteenth-century books. Many of these are humanistic exercises, opportunities to display learning and verbal dexterity in addition to, often rather than, sincere praise. The same thing is of course true of poetical effusions about musicians; but it is an important feature of music prints that they should contain them at all. Their appearance is testimony that composers, their work far more widely circulated than it had been before the advent of printed music, were now being regarded as artists, the equals of painters and poets, not mere craftsmen who put harmonic science into practice like builders putting architectural programs into tactile form. Musical rhetoric was now regarded, in other words, as just as much a liberal art as verbal rhetoric.' Haar, 'Orlando di Lasso', p. 136.

[108] T. Campion, in Dowland, *First Booke*.

[109] Greenblatt, *Self-Fashioning*, p. 161.

Peacham (junior) and Francis Meres include Dowland in their lists of famous English musicians,[110] while Elias Mertelius includes him in a Latin verse prefacing *Hortus Musicalis Novus*: 'Est ita: naturâ regio quæqunque laborat / Artifices celebri laude suos. / Musica testatum facit hoc: namque Anglia summè / Artem Doulandi suspicit, ornat, amat' (Thus it is: every land strives to exalt the renown of its own artists. Music bears witness to this truth. England puts Dowland first, honours and loves him).[111] It was commonplace in celebratory verses written in praise of musicians during the sixteenth century to liken them to mythical musicians of ancient legend, and it is not unusual in poems written in praise of Dowland to find that he is associated with Orpheus, or is at least endowed with Orphic powers. Campion claims that Dowland 'alone hast the power to restore belief in ancient legend' ('Tu solus offers rebus antiquis fidem') in his Latin verse published in *Poemata* (1595).[112] He continues by suggesting that the powers of Dowland's playing are so great that he is able to steal both the listener's mind and his soul. This portrait of Dowland is also reflected in Richard Barnfield's verse in which Dowland's 'heavenly touch / Upon the lute doth ravish human sense'.[113]

In shaping his own identity as a musician in print, Dowland, like Campion and others, evokes Orpheus, and classical accounts of music:

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[110] See F. Meres, *Palladis Tamia – Wits Treasury. Being the Second part of Wits Commen wealth* (London, 1598). Meres writes: 'As Greece had these excellent Musitians; *Arion, Dorceus, Timotheus Milesius* . . . so Englande hath these; *Maister Cooper, Maister Fairfax, Maister Tallis, Maister Tauerner, Maister Blithman, Maister Bird, Doctor Tie, Doctor Dallis, Doctor Bull, M. Thomas Mud, . . . M. Edward Iohnson, Maister Blankes, Maister Randell, Maister Phips, Maister Dowland*, and *M. Morley*' (fol. 288ᵛ). Peacham writes: 'I willingly, to auoide tediousnesse, forbeare to speake of the worth and excellency of the rest of our English composers, Master Doctor *Douland, Tho: Morley*, M. *Alphonso*, M. *Wilbie*, M. *Kirbie*, M. *Wilkes, Michael East*, M. Bateson, M. *Deering*, with sundry others, inferior to none in the world (how much soeuer the Italian attributes to himselfe) for depth of skill and richnesse of conceipt.' Peacham, *Compleat Gentleman*, p. 103.

[111] E. Mertelius, *Hortus Musicalis Novus* (Strasbourg, 1615). The translation is given in Poulton, *Dowland*, p. 84.

[112] T. Campion, *Thomae Campiani Poemata ad Thamesin* (London, 1595), sig. Giii, part of 'Epigrammatum liber'. The verse and translation are given in full in Poulton, *Dowland*, at p. 46. On this verse see also R. Harmon, 'Listeners in Depictions of Orpheus and Francesco da Milano', *The Lute: Journal of the Lute Society*, 36 (1996), pp. 17–36, at pp. 25–7.

[113] R. Barnfield, *The Encomion of Lady Pecunia, or: the Praise of Money; the Compliant of Poetrie for the Death of Liberalitie . . . the Combat Between Conscience and Covetousnesses in the Minde of Man . . . Poems In Divers Humors* (London, 1598), sig. E2. This source is cited in Poulton, *Dowland*, pp. 50–1.

That harmony . . . which is skilfullie exprest by Instruments, albeit, by reason of the variety of number & proportion, of it selfe it easilie stirs vp the minds of the hearers to admiration & delight, yet far higher authoritie and power hath been euer worthily attributed to that kinde of Musicke, which to the sweetnes of instruments applies the liuely voice of man, expressing some worthy sentence or excellent Poeme. Hence (as al antiquitie can witnesse) first grew the heauenly Art of musicke: for *Linus Orpheus*, and the rest, according to the number and time of their Poems, first framed the numbers and times of Musicke: So that *Plato* defines melody to consist of harmony, number, & words; harmony, naked of it selfe, wordes the ornament of harmony number the common friend & vniter of them both. *This* small booke containing the consent of speaking harmony, ioyned with the most musiciall instrument, the Lute, being my first labour, I haue presumed to dedicate to your Lordship . . .[114]

Here, Dowland figures himself as a modern descendant of the Orphic genealogy and in so doing claims for himself and his art classical validity and prestige. By referencing classical accounts of music to define his own musical practice, Dowland seemingly sought to heighten the status of his art, and, with it, his social position as a composer, in a mode akin to the self-conscious presentation of what Richard Helgerson identifies as the English laureate poets. These early modern English poets (Spenser and Jonson included) sought to reclaim for poetry its classical and humanist status. While it is likely that these poets were primarily motivated by their desire to elevate the status of poetry itself, the investment of poetry with classical and humanist values also generated the possibility for such poets to raise their own sociocultural status. In particular, these poets drew on the quintessentially humanist model of the laureate.[115]

The apparent humanistic agenda displayed by early modern English musicians and poets venturing into the commercial world of print reflects a trend that was also emerging in Continental practices for authorising works and genres. Discussing the commercial beginnings of opera, for instance, Susan McClary points out that 'the eagerness with which the humanist myth was constructed and

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[114] Dowland, *First Booke*, dedicatory epistle. Italic emphasis on 'this' is my own.

[115] R. Helgerson, 'The Elizabethan Laureate: Self-Presentation and the Literary System', *English Literary History*, 46 (1979), pp. 193–220. Helgerson points out that those poets fashioning themselves as laureates had to negotiate the appropriation of poetry as a vehicle of expression by amateurs, those they termed 'dilettantes and hacks'. In reclaiming poetic practice for themselves, the laureate, writes Helgerson, 'dismissed the usurpers as poetasters or versifiers and elevated the laureate as *vates*; they translated "poet" into "maker", equated it with "priest", "prophet", "lawmaker", "historiographer", "astronomer", "philosophist", and "musician", and adorned it with adjectives like "good", "right", and "true" ' (p. 197).

elaborated sought both to conceal the vulgar origins of its techniques and to flatter the erudition of its cultivated patrons'.[116] Somewhat like the Italian poets and musicians involved in the early production of opera, Dowland and his contemporaries, by drawing on the humanist agenda, perhaps sought simultaneously to elevate the status of their art, to displace anxieties about negative social attitudes towards the commercial elements of their musical practice, exemplified most particularly by the appearance of their works in print, and to flatter the cultural sophistication of their aristocratic patrons. In such instances 'The usefulness of classical models', as Sinfield writes, 'resided, precisely, in the interpretive gap that challenged Jonson [and, of course, his literary and musical contemporaries] and his audience to make sense of their own developing reality in newly emergent material conditions'.[117] In other words, the attraction of classical models lay in their ability not so much simply to link the early modern present with classical and mythological past paradigms and values, but to forge and reformulate models for negotiating the social, material and economic circumstances of the early modern world in which writers and musicians lived and worked.

Dowland's repeated references to Platonic theory and *musica speculativa* in the prefatory passages of his printed books, furthermore, demonstrate the musical standards that he clearly believed himself to have attained. Such references allowed him to promote the musical values in which he believed, while they could also fulfil the need to advertise himself in print as a learned or 'true' musician, endowed with speculative as well as practical musical skills.[118] Demonstrating such skill and knowledge could serve as a means for Dowland to display his lineage in the musical ancestry with which he evidently associated himself. His academic credentials and classically influenced theoretical knowledge of the art of music are repeatedly articulated in his presentation on the title pages of his publications as 'Iohn DOVLAND LUTENIST, Lute-player,

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[116] S. McClary, 'Afterword: The Politics of Silence and Sound', in J. Attali, *Noise: The Political Economy of Music*, trans. B. Massumi (Minneapolis, 1999; first edn 1985), pp. 149–58, at p. 155.

[117] Sinfield, '*Poetaster*', p. 82.

[118] A similar strategy was, perhaps, taken some years earlier by Zarlino. See Judd, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory*, pp. 183–4.

and Bachelor of *Musicke* in both the *Uniuersities*',[119] while his translation of the early sixteenth-century music treatise by Andreas Ornithoparcus, published in 1609, perhaps also functions to reinforce this image. Ornithoparcus, drawing on Boethius, characterises him 'Who is truly to be called a Musitian' as one 'who hath the faculty of speculation and reason, not he that hath only a practick fashion of singing',[120] a position that is reflected in Dowland's own lengthy public attack on men who 'shroude themselves vnder the title of Musitians' ('simple Cantors' and 'young-men, professors of the Lute, who vaunt themselves') in the address to the reader of *A Pilgrimes Solace*.[121]

Yet, Dowland's claims of authorial credibility, professional status and sociocultural autonomy were not simply articulated through linking his practice with classical accounts of music, but were also expressed through self-referencing his increasing fame and celebrity. In his prefatory writings Dowland projects a sense of cultural authority and eminence, particularly in *The First Booke*, by unabashedly advertising his pan-European reputation and fame. His highly autobiographical address 'To the courteous reader', for instance, lists the names of prestigious patrons for whom he had worked, the 'fauour and estimation I had in *Venice, Padua, Genoa, Ferrara, Florence*, & other diverse places', and comes to a close by including a letter of commendation from his Italian peer, Luca Marenzio.

The sense of an emerging notion of cultural 'autonomy' that is apparent in Dowland's textual figurations of authorial self was not only expressed through his self-presentation as a culturally authoritative and eminent figure. Despite the inherently public nature of the self-conscious shaping of one's authorial identity in print, relying on renown and fame amongst other things to generate one's cultural capital, Dowland's sense of creativity, cultural eminence and status was, paradoxically, also figured through his privileging of the private. That Dowland favoured the private sphere (interiority, solitude and imagined autonomy) as the primary source of creativity, meaning and value over the collective and the public is reflected, perhaps most explicitly, in the presentation of his songs as his

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[119] Dowland, *Andreas Ornithoparcus*.
[120] *Ibid.*, p. 4.
[121] Dowland, *Pilgrimes Solace*, 'To the Reader'.

'priuate labours'. The use of the term 'private' in the prefatory material of the early modern printed book draws upon a number of highly stylised conventions for negotiating the so-called social 'stigma of print'. On the one hand, 'private' in this context could imply leisure time, thus avoiding the assertion that Dowland's songs had been written or printed with the express intention of commercial gain or social advancement, but rather it implies that they were initially written 'privately' for his own recreation in much the same way as a gentlemanly amateur might figure his writing. In his *The First Booke of Ayres* (1600), Thomas Morley likewise draws on a similar idea, writing to his patron, Ralph Bosvile, that since his ayres 'were made this vacation time, you may vse likewise at your vacant howers',[122] while Robert Jones describes the poems he sets in his *The First Booke of Songes or Ayres* (1600) as the 'priuate recreation' of the anonymous gentlemanly amateurs who penned them.[123] On the other hand, the notion of 'priuate labours' implicitly alludes, perhaps, to the increasingly common convention in early modern printed books of male writers figuring their creative offerings in terms of labour and childbirth.[124] Yet, Dowland's allusion to his 'priuate labours' and 'first fruits' also conveys a sense of intellectual ownership of his songs. By extension, his coy but highly self-conscious figuration of his songs as 'priuate labours' not only acts to deflect from his contrary desire to expose them to the public view

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[122] T. Morley, *The First Booke of Ayres* (London, 1600).

[123] R. Jones, *The First Booke of Songes or Ayres* (London, 1600).

[124] See K. E. Maus, 'A Womb of his Own: Male Renaissance Poets in the Female Body', in J. G. Turner (ed.), *Sexuality and Gender in Early Modern Europe: Institutions, Texts, Images* (Cambridge, 1995; first edn 1993), pp. 266–88. 'In the English Renaissance', writes Maus, 'the creative imagination is commonly associated with the *female* body. In the first sonnet of *Astrophil and Stella*, Philip Sidney describes himself as "great with child to speak, and helpless in my throes". Ben Jonson, often described as the most aggressively "masculine" of English Renaissance writers, nonetheless frequently depicts his own creativity as maternal. In *Poetaster*'s "apologetical dialogue", for instance, he represents his "long-watched labours" as "Things, that were born, when none but the still night, / And his dumb candle saw his pinching throes" ' (p. 267). While Dowland never makes explicit use of this trope, the association between artistic 'labours' and childbirth was well known in the context of early modern prefatory material, and it was also a trope that was taken up more explicitly by other early modern English musicians. At the end of William Byrd and Thomas Tallis's *Cantiones Sacrae* of 1575 a Latin 'Autores Cantionum ad lectorem' (The authors of the songs to the reader) is printed. In English it reads 'Like the woman still weak from childbirth who entrusts her infant to the care of the faithful wetnurse, we thus commend these firstborn [songs] to you, friendly reader'. W. Byrd and T. Tallis, *Cantiones Sacrae* (London, 1575), ed. C. Monson (The Byrd Edition, 1; London, 1977), p. xxvii.

through the medium of print, but also simultaneously acts to present them as private musical self-reflection.

Dowland's well-documented, and highly stylised, cultivation of a melancholic persona,[125] moreover, allied his self-consciously constructed authorial persona to a personality type that was, in both literary and medical discourse, not only associated with sorrow and despair, but also with privacy, secrecy, solitude and seclusion. Melancholy men 'aboue all things loue solitarinesse', writes Robert Burton, and will seek out 'desart places, Orchards, Gardens, priuate walkes, back-lanes, averse from company . . . they abhorre all company at last, even their neerest acquaintance, & most familiar friends'.[126] Although excessive solitude was often considered a sign of disorder or some form of perversion, the solitude induced by melancholy, when mediated through the astrological influence of Saturn, could conversely become a site of mystical contemplation or

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[125] See Poulton, *Dowland*; Holman, *Dowland*; C. Kelnberger, *Text und Musik bei John Dowland* (Passau, 1999); A. Rooley, 'New Light on John Dowland's Songs of Darkness', *Early Music*, 11 (1983), pp. 6–21; R. H. Wells, *Elizabethan Mythologies: Studies in Poetry, Drama, and Music* (Cambridge, 1994). The study of Dowland's cultivation of a melancholic persona has been one of the primary concerns of Dowland studies and needs little introduction here. Suffice to say that his relationship with melancholy is reflected in the themes and texts selected for many of his lute solos and songs including *Melancholy Galliard*, *Forlorne Hope Fancy*, *Lachrimae* ('Tears'), *Semper Dowland, Semper Dolens* ('Always Dowland, Always Sorrowful'), *In darkness let me dwell* and *Flow my teares*, while he was also known to sign himself 'Jo: dolandi de Lachrimae' (GB-Lbl, Add. MS 27579, fol. 88, cited in Holman, *Dowland*, p. 51), referring to both the fame of his 'Lachrimae' pavan and the 'tears' with which he was associated in projections of his authorial self. Dowland's fashioning of a melancholy authorial persona is perhaps also reflected in the mottos appearing on the title pages of his printed books including 'Nec prosunt domino, quæ prosunt omnibus, artes' ('the arts which help mankind cannot help their master'), on the *First Booke* and the aforementioned motto appearing on the *Lachrimae* publication ('He whom fortune has not blessed, either rages or weeps'). The tone of complaint in these mottos is echoed in Dowland's expressions of grievance that are apparent in some of the prefatory letters in his printed books. 'True it is', writes Dowland, 'I haue lien long obscured from your sight, because I receiued a Kingly entertainment in forraine climate, which could not attaine to any (though neuer so meane) place at home' (*Pilgrimes Solace*). The nature of Dowland's articulations of discontent in his public presentation of his authorial persona also shows similarities with the common Elizabethan melancholic type – the malcontent. The malcontent seems to have originated with English travellers affecting Italianate manners. The malcontent's melancholy was the result of what he believed to be a lack of recognition of his intellectual or artistic talents (see L. Babb, *The Elizabethan Malady: A Study of Melancholia in English Literature from 1580 to 1642* (East Lansing, 1951), pp. 73–5). According to 'R.R.', the malcontent 'sits like *Mopsus* or *Corydon*, blockish, neuer laughing, neuer speaking, but so Bearlish, as if he would deuour all the companie, which he doth to this end, that the guests might mutter, how this deep Melancholy argueth great learning in him, & an intendment, to most weighty affaires and heauenlie speculation' (R.R., *Questions, Concerning Conie-hood, and the Nature of the Conie* (London, 1595), sig. B3ʳ).

[126] R. Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (Oxford, 1621), I, iii, pp. 240–1.

exceptional artistic creativity.[127] According to Henricus Cornelius Agrippa 'the *humor melancholicus*, when it takes fire and glows, generates a frenzy (*furor*) which leads us to wisdom and revelation especially when it is combined with a heavenly influence, above all that with Saturn'.[128] Influenced by the writings of Aristotle, Agrippa continues by proposing that 'all who have been distinguished in any branch of knowledge have generally been melancholics'.[129] The double bind of melancholy was that it was associated with both disorder and creativity, but in each case it was consistently connected to solitude and privacy. Dowland's public cultivation of a melancholic persona simultaneously constitutes a performative private self. Like the self-presentation of early modern literary figures, the self-proclaimed laureates, Dowland thus fashions a public authorial self for whom 'it is in [the] private realm that he finds his source of inspiration'.[130] The multifaceted, richly textured nature of melancholy and Dowland's engagement with it, however, indicates the possibility of multiple readings of Dowland's figurations of privacy and creativity through the trope of melancholy.

The performative imagination of the self through which the composer is textually figured in Dowland's prefatory material draws on a taxonomy of selves, a jostling of competing concepts of author, in which there are inherent tensions between public and private spheres, both figurative and literal. The projection of the public figure of the composer draws, on the one hand, on virile imaginations of the self, mediated through renown, fame, celebrity and posterity, while, on the other, Dowland's performative private self, drawing particularly on the theme of melancholy, references what was often depicted as an emasculated, though also simultaneously creative, male self in early modern discourse.[131] The textual figuring of the authorial self in Dowland's printed books plays on a myriad,

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[127] See B. G. Lyons, *The Voices of Melancholy: Studies in Literary Treatments of Melancholy in Renaissance England* (London, 1971), p. 4; F. A. Yates, *The Occult Philosophy in the Elizabethan Age* (London, 1979), pp. 52–3; I. P. Couliano, *Eros and Magic in the Renaissance*, trans. M. Cook (Chicago, 1987).

[128] Agrippa, *De Occulta Philosophia*, manuscript of 1510, cited in Yates, *Occult Philosophy*, p. 53. This quotation was first translated into English for R. Kilbansky, E. Panofsky and F. Saxl, *Saturn and Melancholy* (New York, 1964), pp. 355–7.

[129] Agrippa, *De Occulta Philosophia*, cited in Yates, p. 53.

[130] Helgerson, *Self-Crowned Laureates*, p. 97.

[131] On melancholy and emasculation see M. Breitenberg, *Anxious Masculinity in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 35–68.

not entirely concordant, identities traversing the spheres of public and private, virile and emasculated, bound and autonomous.

Moreover, it is at the junctures between the jostling modes of authorship in Dowland's printed books that a critically distanced author function might emerge. Alan Sinfield, drawing on the work of Allon White and Peter Stallybrass, offers four locations in which the early modern writer, and by extension musician-composer, might be located: state servant, court or gentry amateur, writer (or indeed composer) under patronal protection, and writer or composer in the market.[132] While these 'locations' offer 'material groundings' for an author function, none of them alone, argues Sinfield, specifies a space for the necessary 'critical stance' that engenders a distancing from the locations and an awareness of the author as a distinct social category. In an attempt to posit a model for locating and theorising the critical stance Sinfield draws on the work of Montrose, and in particular his claim that

The possibility of social and political agency cannot be based upon the illusion that consciousness is a condition somehow beyond ideology. However, the very process of subjectively *living* the confrontations or contradictions *within* or *among* ideological formations may make it possible for us to experience facets of our own subjection at shifting internal distances – to read, as in a refracted light, one fragment of our ideological inscription by means of another.[133]

As a musician and composer Dowland occupied at least two of the four locations, while he seems to have courted occupying a third, state servant. His, perhaps unwanted, involvement with Cecil, and later with Lesieur, of course, are indicative of his connections and (forced, coerced or willing) allegiances to the state. If Dowland was able to achieve a critical perspective upon the society and state of which he was part it was, perhaps, formed at the junctures between his murky involvements with the Elizabethan state, his flirtation, and known associations, with Catholicism, his position within the aristocratic patronage system, his pursuit of royal favour and his active participation in the London print market.

Yet, for the 'critical stance', and thus the author function itself, to become manifest, Dowland would also have to engage in a

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[132] Sinfield, '*Poetaster*', p. 83, drawing on P. Stallybrass and A. White, *The Politics and the Poetics of Transgression* (London, 1986). They suggest that the idea of the author 'was only locatable, groundable, through its symbolic relation to existing hierarchies, existing languages, symbols and practices of high and low' (pp. 74–5).

[133] L. A. Montrose, *The Purpose of Playing* (Chicago, 1996), p. 16. Cited in Sinfield, '*Poetaster*', p. 84.

distancing from the circumstances of composing and printing. His work would have to manifest an awareness of the composer as composer. The conditions for such a possibility are most likely to occur, according to Sinfield, 'when, as in early modern England, the idea of the writer [or composer] is, itself, provisional and riven by unstable boundaries'.[134] Thus, when a writer or composer occupies more than one location, when conflicting motives and allegiances are set against one another and contradictory ideas of the author are juxtaposed, the figure of the composer as author is able to emerge through an inevitable distancing from the specific circumstances of composing. In such circumstances, argues Sinfield, a 'critical authorial function becomes locatable':

In a complementary movement, writing comes under pressure: it is promoted and restrained by the state, solicited and rejected in the market, a sign of accomplishment but also of triviality for the courtier, a chance of fame or poverty for the writer under patronage. Above all, writing becomes subject to state vigilance. . . . Under such pressures, early modern writers were well placed to apprehend power relations, and the precariousness of that apprehension, in turn, reinscribes the distance that produces a critical authorial function.[135]

In the case of Dowland, from the juxtaposing of the various manifestations of composer – musician-composer under and seeking patronal protection, Orphic figure, humanist and learned musician, celebrity, creator, composer in the print market, melancholic – might emerge the figure of the author with an independent and distinct sociocultural status.

<div align="right">University of Newcastle upon Tyne</div>

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APPENDIX

Letter to John Dowland from Stephen Lesieur,
9 December 1602

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Source: Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, NKS 1305 2° læg 5.[136]

Conventional abbreviations (such as *ye* for 'the', *wch* for 'which', *lre* for 'letter', and Matie for 'majestie') have been silently expanded, but original spellings have been retained.

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[134] Sinfield, '*Poetaster*', p. 85.

[135] *Ibid.*

[136] I should like to record my thanks to Professor Tom Cain for his assistance in transcribing this letter.

Mr Dowland The 16ᵗʰ Octobre I wrote vnto yow an aunswear vppon your letter vnto me of the 12ᵗʰ Septembre. I doubt not but yow haue receiued my said letter, in which I sent yow one from your wyffe, also one for Monsieur Antoyne [Antoine] Waillant (a frencheman the kings Architecte & Ingenire), and one from my selffe to Mr Robert Flower, then I gaue yow direction how yow might speedily writte vnto me againe by sending your letters vnto Ruloff Pieterson marchant in St. Ians [Jans?] gassen at Lubeck, who will send me all suche letters as shall come to him for me, & by his meanes I sent yow those letters but hither vnto I have not heared from yow nor any else in Dannemark.

The 26ᵗʰ of Novemb[er] your kings Commissioners and wee parted, hauing spent heer two monethes to small purpose, for that they came not with the lyke full power & authoritie to haue compounded all matters as wee did; howbeit their departure was in all good and kynd sorte, they giuing vs many faire promesses of theire indewours with the king tutching sundry things wee had propounded and most necessarie to haue been decided heer, but that theire aunswears were they had no authoritie to deale therein. I doubt not but many rapports & discources will vppon theire returne to the king, to putt the fau[l]te vppon her majestie & vppon vs but beleeue me, theire proceedings with vs haue ben most willffull & absurd, yea theire demandes so vnreasonable as it standeth not with the reputacion of her majestie to allowe of them; of the other syde wee haue offred them most hounrable and reasonable conditions, but nothing would satisfie them but according to the kings will.

It is not vnlyke but that wee shall remaine heer till about Easter. for in the beginning of february next wee enter into another treatie heer with the Emperors Commissioners; thereffore I shalbe very glad from tyme to tyme to heere from yow of as muche as may concerne her majestie or her subiects, that shall come to your knoledge, yow may saffely do it sending your letters to Pieterson at Lubeck, spare not any reasonable charge to do it for I will see yow repaid[,] besides that I will make your true hart & service to her majestie knowen to your good: therffore I pray satisfie me very particularly of what yow shall think worthie my knoledge for her majesties seruice.

It may be the king will shortly call a Parlament[,] in any wyse hearken to it and aduertisse me of it when yow haue any certaintie theirof, for the tyme & place[.] I send this messingier of purpose to returne me your aunswear you shall heere of him at Mr Robert Brighowse in Elsenore, therffore make no haste to send him awaye againe but with good & certain matter[.] Deliuer I pray this inclosed to Sir Melchior Loewen and call to him for an aunswear. I beleeue this busines betweene vs & Dannemark will make me haue another iourney to it againe, wherof I woold be glad, so it

may be to good purpose comend me to your selffe & God have yow in his keping. Bremen this 9th December. 1602.

Your very louing frend,

Steph: Lesieur

Thanks be to God her majestie is well in helth, the Archetraitor Tyroun is so narowly folowed & destitut of deffence that he sueth for grace[.] Call to the frenche man for an aunswear to the letter I sent yow for him.