

Printed Borders for Sixteenth-Century Music or Music Paper and the Early Career of Music Printer Thomas East

by

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WITH THE GROWING AVAILABILITY OF IMAGES of printed books online, it is increasingly possible to trace the use of specific printing types and design features across a wide range of publications to reveal new information about the trade. While instantly distinctive decorative initials or elaborate woodcuts might be the most obviously traceable elements, studies of more pervasive and less distinctive types can also reveal significant evidence about the careers, connections, and working practices of Elizabethan printers. This study concerns two of these: the fleuron and the blank printed stave, neither of which have received attention from more than the occasional scholar.¹ These elements are used to clarify questions of chronology, to explore the diverse functions served by seemingly decorative elements of page design, to reveal new information concerning the career of the Elizabethan printer Thomas East, and to highlight the relationship between the music trade and the wider printing industry, neither of which can be treated in isolation.

From 1588 until his death in 1608 Thomas East was the premier music printer in England, working as the assign for first William Byrd and later Thomas Morley as they held their successive monopolies for the printing of polyphonic music and music paper. By 1588, however, East had already been in the printing business for over twenty years. He worked largely as a trade printer, but also as a publisher, issuing works by John Lyly and Edmund

¹ H. D. L. Vervliet, 'The Combinable Type Ornaments of Robert Granjon, 1564–1578', *Journal of the Printing History Society*, 22 (2015), 25–61; Francis Meynell & Stanley Morison, 'Printers' Flowers and Arabesques', *The Fleuron*, 1 (1923), 1–46; Juliet Fleming, 'How to Look at a Printed Flower', *Word and Image*, 22 (2006), 165–87; 'How Not to Look at a Printed Flower', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 38 (2008), 435–71; 'Changed Opinion as to Flowers', in *Renaissance Paratexts*, ed. by Helen Smith and Louise Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 48–64; Iain Fenlon and John Milsom, 'Ruled Paper Imprinted': Music Paper and Patents in Sixteenth-Century England', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 37 (1984), 139–63 (pp. 145–47).

Spenser, and a series of Spanish romances in translation.² Why East should suddenly have chosen to specialize in music printing has always been something of a mystery. Jeremy Smith suggested that he was simply attracted by the opportunities it provided in a competitive printing environment.³ New evidence now suggests that East may have had links to the music printing industry from much earlier in his career.

This new evidence arises studying the printing of blank music staves with decorative borders. Exemplifying Peter Stallybrass's concept of 'printing for manuscript', such music paper blurs the boundaries of print and manuscript as the printed staves are intended to be completed with handwritten music notation.⁴ Indeed, today such paper is commonly referred to as 'manuscript paper'. In the second half of the sixteenth century, an increasing number of music copyists chose to write their manuscripts on to paper with printed music staves, rather than ruling staves by hand either individually or (more commonly) with a five-nibbed rastrum. Approximately seven of the twenty-five partbooks (in which each part is contained in a separate book) copied before 1600 used printed staves, while specialist formats were also printed for lute tablature and keyboard music.⁵

In their seminal article on these printed music papers Iain Fenlon and John Milsom identified thirty-six editions of printed music paper used in twenty-nine manuscripts copied c.1560–1610. These paper types were categorized into four groups: (1) before the monopoly for printed music and music paper was granted to composers William Byrd and Thomas Tallis in 1575; (2) music papers issued by Byrd and Tallis during the period of their twenty-one-year patent; (3) signed 'TE' and printed by Thomas East after 1587; (4) papers probably printed after 1575, but of unknown origin or legality. The majority of these papers had plain staves, but a few added ornamental borders.⁶

There are three extant designs of printed borders on these music papers (Fig. 1), two of which were collected by the late-seventeenth-century

² For the biography of Thomas East, see: Thomas Plomer, 'Thomas East, Printer', *The Library*, 11, 3 (1901), 298–310; Jeremy L. Smith, *Thomas East and Music Publishing in Renaissance England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); Jeremy L. Smith, 'East, Thomas (1540–1608)', in ODNB; Miriam Miller and Jeremy L. Smith, 'East, Thomas', in *Grove Music Online*.

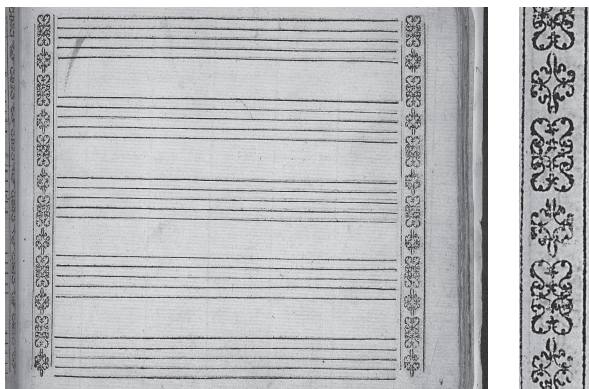
³ Smith, *Thomas East and Music Publishing*, p. 18.

⁴ Peter Stallybrass, 'Little Jobs': Broadides and the Printing Revolution', in *Agents of Change: Print Culture Studies After Elizabeth L. Einstein*, ed. by Sabrina Alcorn Baron, Eric N. Lindquist and Eleanor F. Shevlin (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), pp. 315–41. On the relationship of manuscript and print, see also David McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order 1450–1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 33–47.

⁵ Based on the corpus of partbooks surveyed during the *Tudor Partbooks* project: <www.tudorpartbooks.ac.uk>. A five-line staff was most common, but six-line staves might be used for either tablature or keyboard music.

⁶ Fenlon & Milsom, 'Ruled Paper Imprinted', pp. 145–47.

- (a) ©British Library Board (MS Add. 30480, fol. 44bis^r). Border 1, example from BL MSS Add. 30480–83, the initial four books of what became a five-part set. Also found in BL MSS Add. 15166 and Royal Appendix 57, a keyboard book (Oxford, Christ Church, MS Mus. 371), and a number of fragments.¹



- (b) ©British Library Board (Bagford Collection: BL MS Harley 5936) Border 2 as found on a fragment on fol. 123, lower example (recto showing).



- (c) ©British Library Board (MS Add. 22597, fol. 31^r). Border 3, figure-of-eight pattern as found in BL MS Add. 22597.

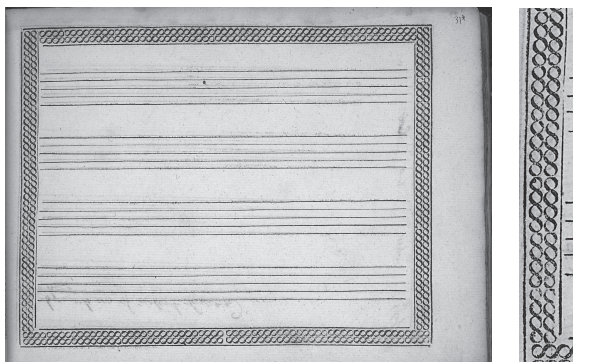


FIG. 1. Extant designs of Tudor printed staves with decorative borders. These images are not covered by the terms of the Creative Commons licence of this publication. For permission to reuse, please contact the rights holder.

¹ BL MS Harley 5936, fol. 123^{r-v} (top); Deene Park: paper at the ends of Bizari, *Histoire de la guerre* (Paris: Chesneau, 1573); Sotheby's, New York, 2–4 December 2015, 'Property from the Collection of Robert S. Pirie', lot 807 (Tudor Carol, current whereabouts unknown). Thanks to Magnus Williamson, James Burke, and John Milsom, for bringing these fragments to my attention.

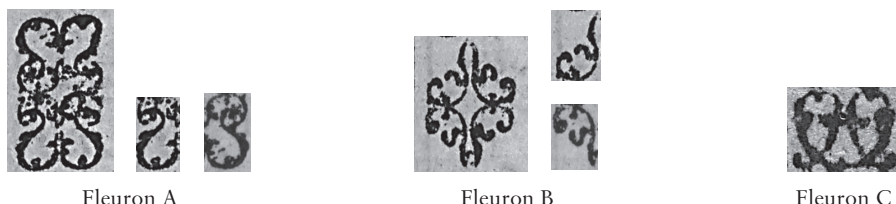


FIG. 2. Fleurons used within music-paper borders 1 and 2. ©British Library Board (MS Add. 30480 and Harley 5936, details). These images are not covered by the terms of the Creative Commons licence of this publication. For permission to reuse, please contact the rights holder

collector John Bagford among his curiosities from the history of printing.⁷ The third of the border designs is created by a series of small unit blocks that combine to create a running figure-of-eight pattern. The first two designs, however, are made up of more complex patterns comprising multiple fleurons or printers' flowers. Border 1 contains two different kinds of fleurons, A and B (Meynell and Morison no. 25). Both ornaments are made from four units of two mirrored designs (Fig. 2).⁸ Border 2 also uses Fleuron A at its centre, but frames it with Fleuron C (Meynell and Morison no. 8). Combinations of ornaments like these could be used to create myriad designs from small asterisk-like combinations to large space-filling ornaments and from simple borders to intricate, lace-like frames for title-pages. This sort of fleuron, in which a single design of type-ornament could be combined in multiple ways, developed in the first half of the sixteenth century, and has been observed in these decorative arabesque combinations in works printed in Venice by Gabriele Giolito in the 1540s and 1550s.⁹ Moreover, the fleurons used in these two designs were among the first of this combinable variety to be used by English printers in the 1560s.¹⁰

These bordered papers are significant because they have an identifiable feature that might be linked to a specific printer, group of printers or time-frame, through comparison with other printed materials. Moreover these decorative borders were not the norm, comprising just five of the thirty-six stave designs identified by Milsom and Fenlon and being included in just three of the c.forty polyphonic music books printed in Elizabethan

⁷ BL MS Harley 5936, fol. 123^{r-v}. Neither of these fragments is mentioned in A. Hyatt King, 'Fragments of Early Printed Music in the Bagford Collection', *Music and Letters*, 40 (1959), 269–73; Milton McC. Gatch, 'John Bagford, Bookseller and Antiquary', *British Library Journal*, 12 (1986), 150–71.

⁸ Meynell & Morison, 'Printers' Flowers and Arabesques', pp. 40–42.

⁹ On the origins and development of fleurons see *ibid.*, pp. 1–46, Fleming, 'How to Look at a Printed Flower', p. 165, and most recently Vervliet, 'The Combinable Type Ornaments of Robert Granjon', pp. 27–29, who identifies earlier uses of combinable ornaments.

¹⁰ Meynell & Morison, 'Printers' Flowers and Arabesques', p. 27; Fleming, 'How to Look at a Printed Flower', pp. 165–66.

England.¹¹ There is no obvious manuscript precedent that the printers might have been trying to emulate. Although decorative borders are common in elaborately ornamented manuscript choirbooks (with all four parts copied separately across each opening), they are rarely found in partbooks. The only parallel is the single partbook BL MS Add. 47844, but as this most likely dates from *c.* 1581 or later, it is more likely in this case that the manuscript is emulating the printed papers.¹²

The next question is why these borders might have been used. As recent research into fleurons by literary scholar Juliet Fleming has shown, these should not be dismissed as merely decorative.¹³ Certainly the scribes of the 'Hamond' partbooks (BL MSS Add. 30480–83) show little concern for preserving the aesthetic appearance of the border, as they regularly wrote into it, especially with their directs. Nor do they seem to be attempting to create a beautiful object that might have led them to select a more ornamented paper. The situation is similar with other books using this paper, none of which can be said to be especially smart or elegant. Indeed, the border restricts more elaborate decorative schemes, leaving no space for details such as decorative initials or titles. (It also restricts the length of staves such that more sheets of paper must be purchased, though it may be too cynical to suggest that this was the printer's intention). Rather, there were practical reasons for using these borders. Printers often used ornaments to support otherwise blank parts of the page such as the edges to ensure an even impression. Ornaments prevented the platen dipping into unsupported areas causing over-inking, smudging, and excess wear on the type on the one side, and under-inking and even a failure to print on the other.¹⁴ There were other ways of providing support by inserting a type-high bearer made of blank blocks of wood or metal, spare lines of type or woodcuts into the forme, which was either not inked and/or masked out by the frisket. Nevertheless fleurons would certainly offer one solution to the problem.

Another problem faced by a printer of music paper was how to make a product that was essentially a simple arrangement of straight lines distinctive from variants produced by other presses. Fleurons again offer one potential solution to a printer wanting to distinguish his wares, especially as music paper contained no colophon or printer's device as a book or pamphlet might. Although Juliet Fleming has argued that in some cases specific fleurons or patterns may have been used to identify groups of publications

¹¹ Fenlon & Milsom, 'Ruled Paper Imprinted', pp. 146, 149, 151, and 155.

¹² The date 1581 appears on fols. 5^r, 6^r, 6^v, 12^v and 14^v.

¹³ Fleming, 'How to Look at a Printed Flower'; 'How Not to Look at a Printed Flower'; 'Changed Opinion as to Flowers'.

¹⁴ My thanks to Paul Nash of the Bodleian Library for his advice on these technical aspects of printing. An associated effect of this support was also to keep blank areas of the page clean of ink, as noted by Fleming, 'How Not to Look at a Printed Flower', pp. 352–55.

as the work of an individual author or coterie, as pieces in a specific genre, or even the products of the same press, it would probably be going too far to suggest that these ornaments became a kind of branding.¹⁵ Printers may have developed preferences for particular ornaments and patterns of arrangement that can be read as a kind of 'house style', yet few buyers of music paper are likely to have had the in-depth knowledge to connect particular fleuron patterns to individual printers, especially given the widespread use of many fleurons and the variety of patterns individual printers often employed. If house styles were identifiable to anyone, it would have been to clients in the trade such as publishers and booksellers, who could choose to patronize printers whose designs they felt would be most attractive to their buyers. It is such ornamental preferences that the bibliographer can use to suggest the printers behind the otherwise unattributable music papers.

The most common design of bordered music paper

Starting with the most common of the border designs (Border 1 of Fig. 1), I traced the circulation of these fleurons in the outputs of Elizabethan printers. In the 1980s Milsom and Fenlon identified uses of the Fleurons A and B of Border 1 in three printed books from 1565, 1566, and 1568, and thereby suggested a probable date of the mid-1560s for the printing of this paper, though they were not able to link these to a specific printer.¹⁶ The ready availability of images of printed books online has now enabled further development of this chronology and the likely origins of this music paper based on the nearly 10,000 books available for this period via *Early English Books Online*.¹⁷

The earliest appearance of ornaments A and B in Britain is in 1563 in two printed books by the Antwerp printer Aegidius Diest (otherwise known as Gillis Coppens van Diest). Both books, as well as another in 1564 and seven in 1565, were controversial catholic religious texts often by exiles and Jesuits for audiences in Scotland or England.¹⁸ A handful of other controversial English books produced by printers on the continent also use one or both of these fleurons, including Egidius van der Evre (Emden) and John Fowler

¹⁵ Fleming, 'Changed Opinion as to Flowers', pp. 50, 53–55, 58–60; Fleming, 'How to Look at a Printed Flower', p. 168.

¹⁶ Fenlon & Milsom, 'Ruled Paper Imprinted', pp. 145–47. Border 2 is not among those listed.

¹⁷ *Early English Books Online* <<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>>.

¹⁸ H. G. Aldis, & others, *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of Foreign Printers of English books 1557–1640* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1968), p. 92. Ninian Winzet, *The Buke of fourscoir-thre questions tueching doctrine, ordour, and maneris proponit to ye precheouris of ye Protestants in Scotland, be ye Catholiks of ye inferiour ordour of clergie and layt men yair* (Antwerp: Aediuius Diest, 1563) (STC 25859); Saint Vincent of Lérin, *Vincentius Lirinensis of the natioun of Gallis, for the antiquitie and veritie of the Catholik fayth aganis ye prophane nouationis of al haereseis* (Antwerp: Aegidius Diest, 1563) (STC 24752). The others (all for the English market) are in 1564: STC 20726, and in 1565: STC 13888, 15653, 18887, 20727, 20728, 10589, 12759-5.

(Antwerp).¹⁹ These serve as a reminder that these ornaments were being used by printers across Europe. No one, however, imported books with these fleurons into England over an extended period, and there are better English candidates for the printing of at least this design of music paper.

The first English printer to use these ornaments was Henry Denham. He set up his printing house in 1564, and in that same year became the first English printer to use Fleuron A, here employed to create mini ornaments comprising just two blocks.²⁰ Denham would go on to become a prominent printer, acquiring the privilege for psalters, primers, and prayer books in 1577, and that for dictionaries, histories, and chronicles in 1583. During the 1580s he would also do a little music publishing: a monophonic setting of the Lord's Prayer in Francis Segar's *The Schoole of vertue* (1582, STC 22136), William Hunnis's *Seuen sobs of a sorrowfull soule for sinne* (1583, 1585, 1587, 1589: STC 13975–7) and an edition of *The Whole booke of psalmes* (1588, STC 2475.2).²¹ In 1565 Denham began to create small borders from Fleuron A, and around the same year William How (who worked predominantly as a trade printer) also used it to create a title-page design.²² This design became particularly popular in the late 1560s and has similarities with the music-paper border (minus Fleuron B), especially when Wykes and Denham added a frame of printer's rules in 1566 (Fig. 3).²³

It is only from 1566, however, that Fleuron B is found in the work of English printers: Denham again and the lesser-known printer Henry Wykes.²⁴ At this stage there were still only four English printers using these type-ornaments and Denham was by far the most frequent user, using one or both ornaments in eleven works. By 1567 this had increased to at least six

¹⁹ Aldis, *Dictionary of Printers*, pp. 107–8; Paul Arblaster, 'Fowler, John (1537–1579)', in ODNB; I. B., *The Fortresse of Fathers earnestlie defending the puritie of religion, and ceremonies, by the trew exposition of certaine places of scripture* (Emden: van der Evre, 1566) (STC 1040); Thomas Harding, *A Reioindre to M. Iewels Replie by perusing wherof the discrete and diligent reader may easily see, the answer to parte of his insolent chalenge iustified, and his obiections against the Masse ... clearely confuted* (Antwerp: John Fowler, 1566) (STC 12706).

²⁰ Fleming, 'How to Look at a Printed Flower', pp. 165–67; Patricia Brewerton, 'Denham, Henry (fl. 1556–1590)', in ODNB. [Pandolfo Collenuccio], *A Pleasaunt dialogue or disputation betweene the Cap, and the Head* (London: Denham, 1564), title-page (STC 6811); Thomas Cole, *A Godly and learned sermon, made this laste Lent at Windesor before the Queenes Maiestie, on Wednesday the first of Marche, 1564* (London: Denham, 1564), sig. Ai^v (STC 5540).

²¹ D. W. Krummel, *English Music Printing, 1553–1700* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1975), p. 13.

²² E. Gordon Duff, *A Century of the English Book Trade: Short Notices of All Printers, Stationers, Book-Binders and Others Connected with it from the Issue of the First Dated Book in 1475 to the Incorporation of the Company of Stationers in 1557* (London: Blades, East, and Blades, 1905), p. 77; James Calphill, *An Aunsweare to the Treatise of the Crosse wherin ye shal see by the plaine and undoubted word of God the vanities of men disproved* (London: Denham, 1565), fols. 21^r, 41^r, and 54^r (STC 4368); Leonardo Bruni, *A Most worthy and famous worke, bothe pleasant and profitable, conteyning the longe and cruell warres betweene the Gothes and the valyant Romaine emperours, for the possession of Italy* (London, Howe for Bucke, [c. 1565]), title-page (STC 3933.5).

²³ Those framed with printer's rules include STC 718 by Wykes and STC 15347, 18358, 19121, 19425, 19438, 20031, and 24191a.5 by Denham. The design was also revived in 1574–1580 by printers such as Middleton, Marthe, and Kingston (though mainly without the frame of printer's rules).

²⁴ Aldis, *Dictionary of Printers*, p. 304.

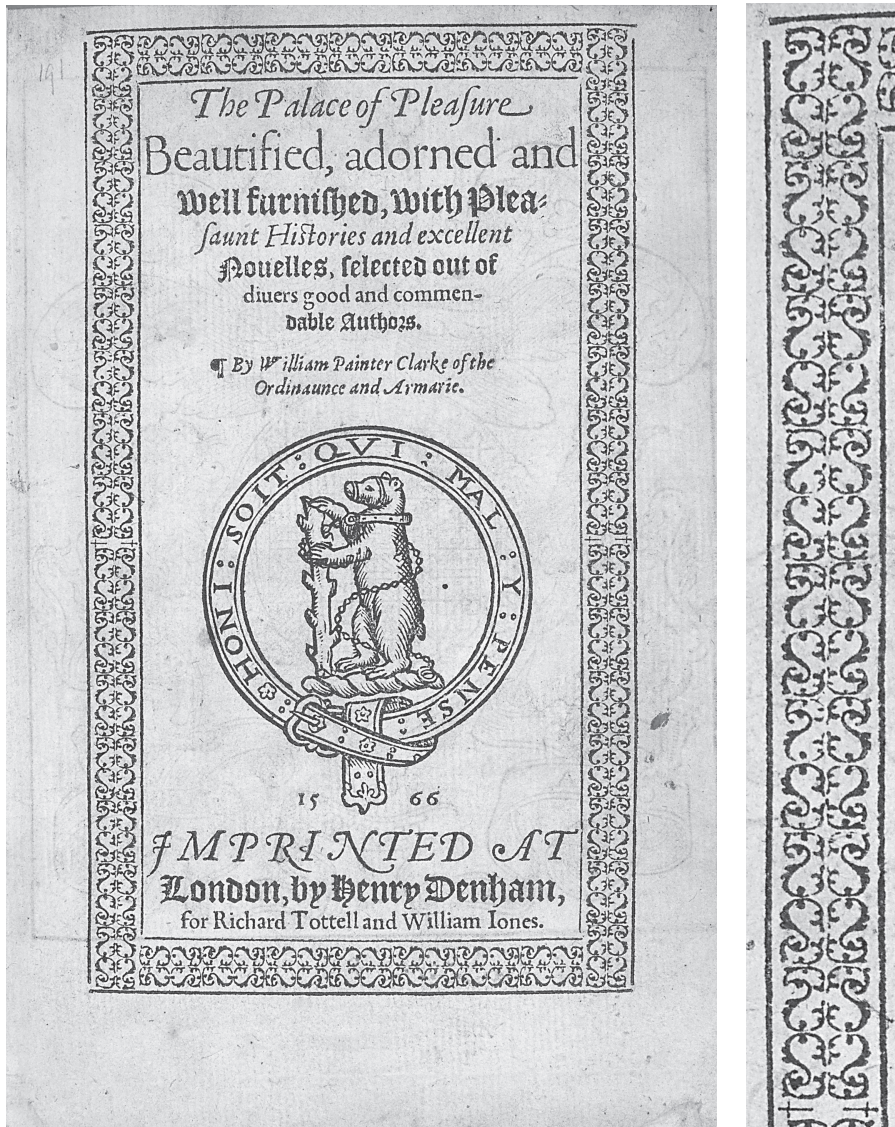


FIG. 3. Title-page of William Painter, *The Palace of pleasure beautified, adorned and well furnished with pleasaunt histories and excellent nouelles selected out of diuers good and commendable authors* (London: Denham for Tottell and W. Jones, 1566) (STC 19121). San Marino, The Huntington Library, RB 62835 (full page and detail). This image is not covered by the terms of the Creative Commons licence of this publication. For permission to reuse, please contact the rights holder.

printers: Denham remains the most prominent user (seven books) and Wykes too uses it for another two books, but they are now joined by Henry Bynneman (four), Thomas Purfoote (one), William Copland (one), and Thomas Colwell (one). Bynneman was a prominent printer and bookseller who acquired the privilege for printing dictionaries, histories and chronicles, would gain an interest in music patents, and held numerous of Byrd and Tallis's books in stock at his death.²⁵ Copland specialized in popular books, especially romances. Purfoote's output included an English-Latin dictionary, numerous religious works, a book of remedies for horses, and numerous broadsides, while for Colwell too a significant amount of his printing was of ballads.²⁶ Only one publication, however, uses an alternating pattern of both Fleurons A and B, and that was printed by Henry Wykes in 1566. This combines both fleurons in a nearly identical alternation to the music-paper border, the difference being that the Fleuron A figure has the upper and lower elements transposed (Fig. 4). Yet this appears to have been a one-off design and is not found in his other extant editions.

In the period 1568–70, these ornaments reached the peak of their popularity. For ease of display, the graph in Fig. 5 only includes printers who used these ornaments in at least five publications, but in the peak period these specific fleurons were being used in around twenty-five to thirty editions a year by fifteen different printers.²⁷ Their ubiquity was such that they were not being used only on finely printed editions, but also on broadside ballads and epitaphs from 1570.²⁸ Unlike other printer's ornaments, fleurons are cast metal types rather than engraved wood. They can therefore be easily reproduced by casting.²⁹ The rising number of printers using these ornaments suggests that there were now several sets in circulation, in addition to the possibility of type and ornaments being loaned between printers. Indeed during the period 1560–80 at least twenty-two printers are known to have used both these ornaments in their publications. They continued in regular use throughout the 1570s and even beyond, but as growing numbers of

²⁵ Smith, *Thomas East and Music Publishing*, pp. 29–30; William Byrd and Thomas Tallis, *Cantiones Sacrae*, 1575, ed. by John Milsom, *Early English Church Music*, 56 (London: Stainer and Bell, 2014), pp. xxviii–xxx; Maureen Bell, 'Bynneman, Henry (b. in or before 1542, d. 1583)', in *ODNB*.

²⁶ H. R. Tedder, 'Copland, William (d. 1569)', rev. by Mary C. Erler, in *ODNB*; David G. Hale, 'Thomas Colwell: Elizabethan Printer', *The Library*, v, 19 (1964), 223–26.

²⁷ This graph is based on books for which images are available via *Early English Books Online* and takes the attributions as supplied by the *STC*. For legibility this graph includes only those printers who used both types (omitting on this basis William Copland, John Fowler, Richard Watkins, William Williamson, and Hugh Jackson) and only those printers who produced more than five works using these types. This excludes Thomas Colwell (5), John Charlewood (4), Egidius van der Evre (1 English print), Antoine de Solemne (2), Richard Jones (2), Henry Kirkham (1), William Jones (2), W. Carter (1), John Day (1), and William Seres (2).

²⁸ For example William Elderton, *A Ballad intituled, A Newe Well a Daye / as Playne Maister Papist, as Donstable Waye* (London: Colwell, [1570]) (*STC* 7553); and William Elderton, *A Ballat intituled Northomberland Neues wherein you maye see what rebelles do use* (London: Purfoote, [1570]) (*STC* 7554). See also *STC* 5104, 15015, and 19868.

²⁹ Fleming, 'How to Look at a Printed Flower', p. 167.

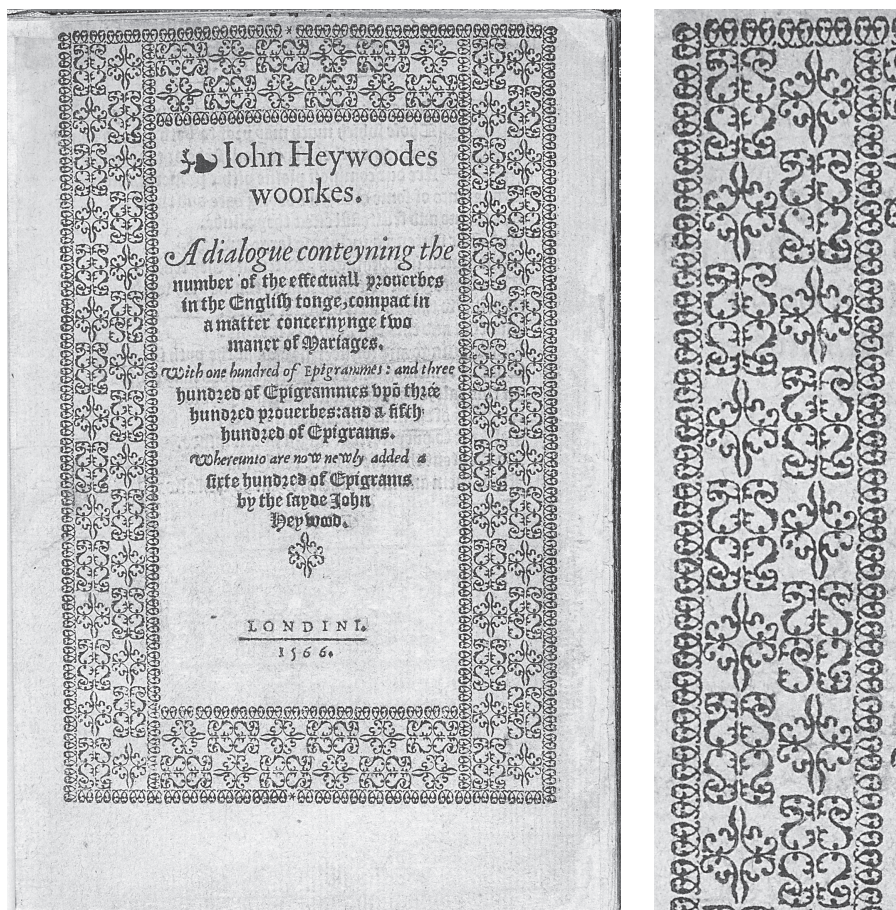


FIG. 4. Title-page of John Heywood, *Iohn Heywoodes woorkes. A dialogue conteyning the number of the effectuall prouerbes in the English tonge* (London: Wykes, 1566) (STC 13286). San Marino, Huntington Library, RB 61386 (full page and detail). This image is not covered by the terms of the Creative Commons licence of this publication. For permission to reuse, please contact the rights holder.

variant borders circulated, the popularity of these particular designs waned to a typical usage of around six to twelve publications a year. Many of those printers who were most associated with these ornaments in the mid-1560s gradually moved onto other decorative fleurons—including Denham, Bynneman, and Wykes—and their use became more fragmented among multiple printers.³⁰

³⁰ On Denham's abandonment of these decorative types and the complexities of tracing the passage of this ornament between printers see: Fleming, 'How to Look at a Printed Flower', p. 167.

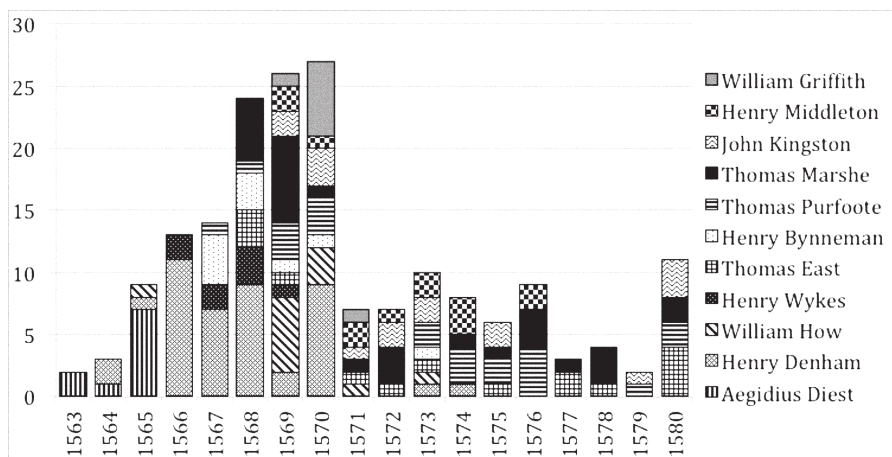


FIG. 5. The Use of Fleurons A and B by Printers from 1560–80.

From these figures and trends it would seem impossible to further pin down the likely origins or period of production for this music paper. Yet among the myriad combinations of these fleurons that were possible, only a handful of extant publications contains examples of the same alternating pattern seen on the music paper. While the fleurons here were widely used, this particular arrangement seems to reflect the style or preference of a particular printing partnership (see Table 1).

Although used in a variety of ways and forms, this alternating pattern was predominantly used by two printers: Thomas East and Henry Middleton. These two were both newly setting up business in the printing industry, having been granted the freedom of the Stationers' Company in 1565 and 1567 respectively. Moreover, in the years 1567–72 East and Middleton were working in partnership.³¹ Intriguingly, this coincides almost precisely with the years when the fleuron design of the music paper was being used in other printed work.

One significant difference between the pattern as it appears on the music paper shown in Fig. 1 and the examples found in other printed material by East and Middleton is the framing of the border between two vertical rules. A fragment of printed music paper sold at Sotheby's in 2015, however, indicates that not all editions of the music paper used these printer's rules.³² Furthermore, the staves of this example are significantly straighter and less

³¹ R. E. Graves, 'Middleton, Henry (b. in or before 1546, d. 1587)', rev. by Anita McConnell, in ODNB; Smith, *Thomas East and Music Publishing*, p. 14 (referred to as Thomas Middleton in error).

³² Sotheby's, 'Lot 807: Tudor Carol'. Although most of the border has been trimmed away, enough of the fleurons are present to identify the pattern and show the absence of the printer's rule on the inside edge.

Table 1. Editions containing the same ornamental pattern as the printed music paper 1

PRINTED WORK	PRINTER	STC	LOCATION OF PATTERN
John Mandeville, <i>The Voiag[e] and trauayle of Syr Iohn Maundeüle</i> (1568)	Thomas East	17250	Title-page border (pattern framed with Fleuron C)
<i>Injunctions with certaine articles to be enquired of, in the Visitation</i> (1569)	[Henry Middleton?] for John Walley	10289	Title-page border and ornament, and ornament with colophon on last page
<i>Ouid his inuectiue against Ibis</i> (1569)	Thomas East and Henry Middleton	18949	Ornament on title-page and sig. Aii ^r (within a lace border from same fleurons)
<i>Cristian praiers & godly meditatio[n]s vpon the epistle of S. Paule</i> (1569)	William Griffith	2985.5	Left- and right-hand edges of the title-page border (top and bottom borders are different; internal page borders from Fleuron C)
William Rastell, <i>A Table collected of the yerres of our Lord God</i> (1571)	[Henry Middleton? for] John Walley	20738	Borders to left and right of the imprint on final page
Jean Calvin, <i>The Psalmes of Dauid and others</i> (1571)	Thomas East and Henry Middleton for Lucas Harrison and George Bishop	4395	End of section ornaments: first part p. 287; second part, p. 259 (double row)
John Jones, <i>The Benefit of the auncient bathes of Buckstones</i> (1572)	Thomas East and Henry Middleton for William Jones	14724a.7	Border for new sections on sigs. ¶iv^v and Gii ^r (pattern framed with Fleuron C)

damaged than other known examples, suggesting that this may have been an early edition.

The picture is also somewhat complicated by the fact that John Walley had a tendency to use the phrase ‘printed by’ as the equivalent of ‘printed for’ (he is not known to have had a press of his own, except perhaps between 1555–57), meaning that two of these works are only ascribed to Henry

Middleton by the *Short Title Catalogue*.³³ In the case at least of Rastell's *A Table collected of the yerres of our Lord God*, the involvement of the East-Middleton partnership printing either with or for Walley is also supported by the appearance of a distinctive initial 'T' flanked by two figures. This occurs in two editions printed jointly by East and Middleton in 1567 and 1571, but no other publications associated with Walley.³⁴

The 1569 edition by Griffith is the main anomaly, but the design is only found in the left and right borders of his title-page (not the top or bottom), so the context in which the pattern arises is slightly different from the other examples. With a press on Fleet Street and a shop in St Dunstan-in-the-West's churchyard, Griffith had worked close to East and Middleton when their business had initially also been located near to St Dunstan's Church in Fleet Street in 1566–70.³⁵ Moreover when Griffith died in April 1572 Middleton took over his press and married his widow, so it is likely that there was already a connection between these printers two years earlier.³⁶

There were a few other printers who came close to this design and these too were near neighbours of East and Middleton. In 1568 the prolific printer Thomas Marshe used a similar design in four publications, except that he used Fleuron A in pairs rather than fours (Fig. 6).³⁷ Like East, Middleton, and Griffith, he too was publishing 'in Fletestrete, neare unto S. Dunstones

³³ W. W. Greg, *Some Aspects and Problems of London Publishing between 1550 and 1650* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956), p. 83; Peter Blayney, *The Stationers' Company and the Printers of London 1501–1557*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), II, 787–88; A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, rev. by W. A. Jackson, F. S. Ferguson & Katharine F. Pantzer, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475–1640*, 2nd edition, 3 vols (London: Bibliographical Society, 1976–91), I, 461; II, 266.

³⁴ Jean Goeurot, *The Regiment of Lyfe, wherunto is added a Treatise of the Pestilence, with the Booke of speciall remedies (experimented) for all diseases, griefes, impediments, and defects often happening in yong children*, rev. by Thomas Faier (London: East and Middleton, 1567), fol. 185^r (STC 11974); and Giovanni da Vigo, *The Most excellent workes of chirurgerie* (London: East and Middleton, 1571), fols. xv^r, xxii^v, lviii^r, lxxi^r, lxxvii^r, lxxx^r, xcii^r, xciii^r, etc. (STC 24722). Another particularly distinctive feature is the large initial 'I' used with the colophon; however, the only other appearance is in the 1567 edition of Rastell's *A Table* (STC 20737) again attributed only to Walley. The two large woodcuts on the opening pages appear in several editions associated with Walley, some with no additional attribution and others produced by different printers on his behalf, including East (STC 22415).

³⁵ *Cristian Praiers & Godly meditations vpon the Epistle of S. Paule* (London: Griffiths, 1569), sig. Fviii^r (STC 2985.5); Smith, *Thomas East and Music Publishing*, p. 17; Duff, *Century of the English Book Trade*, p. 61.

³⁶ Graves, 'Middleton, Henry'; Smith, *Thomas East and Music Publishing*, pp. 14–18.

³⁷ Duff, *Century of the English Book Trade*, p. 100; Thomas Hill, *The Profitable arte of gardening* (London: Marshe, 1568) (STC 13491); Humfry Braham, *The Institution of a gentleman* (London: Marshe, 1568) (STC 14105); St Gregory of Nazianzus, *Epigrams and Sentences spirituall in vers*, trans. by Thomas Drant (London: Marsh, 1568) (STC 12345.5); [Cornelius van der Heyden], *A Brieve summe of the whole Bible*, trans. by Anthony Scoloker (London: Marshe, 1568) (STC 3020).

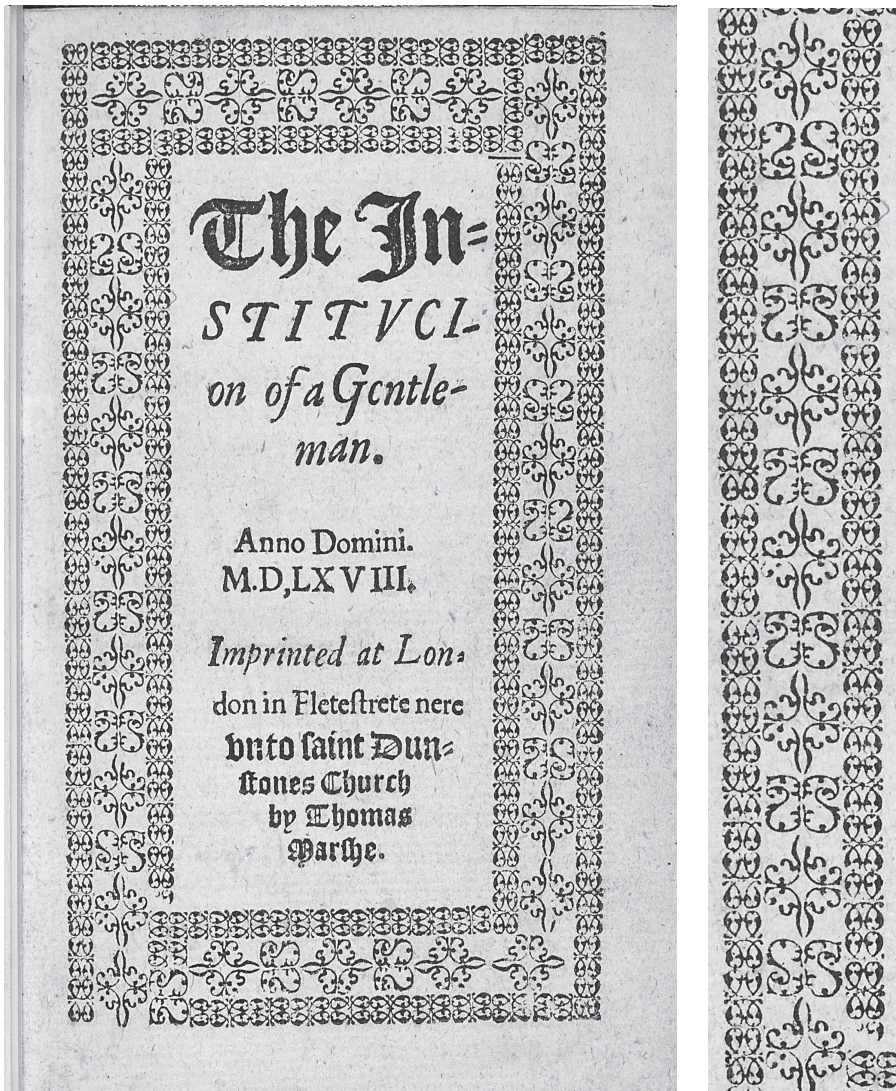


FIG. 6. Title-page of Humfrey Braham, *The Institution of a gentleman* (London: Marshe, 1568) (STC 14105). San Marino, Huntington Library, RB 42266 (full page and detail). This image is not covered by the terms of the Creative Commons licence of this publication. For permission to reuse, please contact the rights holder.

Table 2: Publications by Thomas East and Henry Middleton employing the two ornaments (Fleurons A and B) used for printed music paper. Figures in round brackets indicate those editions using the design found in the music paper; figures in square brackets relate to the uncertain attributions associated with Walley.

Attribution	No. of Editions Using Same Fleurons as the Music Paper Pattern				
	1568	1569	1570	1571	1572
Thomas East	2 (1)	0	0	0	0
Henry Middleton	0	[1] (1)	1 (0)	[1] (1)	0
Both	1 (0)	1 (1)	0	1 (1)	1 (1)
Total:	3 (1)	2 (2)	1 (0)	2 (2)	1 (1)
% of all East/ Middleton publications	100% (33%)	100% (100%)	33% (0%)	33% (33%)	14% (14%)

church'.³⁸ Henry Wykes's similar design in 1566 has already been noted above, and he too worked in Fleet Street, at the sign of the black oliphant. It seems that these printers working in close proximity were being influenced by each other's designs; however, only the specific pattern unique to East and Middleton was maintained beyond a year.

This design of fleurons can therefore be identified as a particular preference of East and Middleton. Looking more closely at the output of these two printers, Table 2 shows how many of their publications used the same fleurons as the music border, while the numbers in round brackets indicate how many employed that particular alternating pattern. In 1568–69 these were the only fleurons used by the printers. Initially the designs are varied but in 1569 they settled on the design used in the music paper. In later years they began to use a wider range of ornaments, but when they did use these specific fleurons they used them in the same pattern as the music paper (with the sole exception of the single edition in 1570).

³⁸ See the colophons for Braham, *Institucion of a gentleman*, and St Gregory of Nazianzus, *Epigrams and sentences*. One other design that might be considered similar (though not as closely related as those cited above) occurs in 1570 by John Kingston (who had printed liturgical books containing chant during Mary I's reign and Adrian le Roy's *A Briefe and easye instruction to learne the tableture* in 1568 (STC 15486). He alternated the Fleuron B figure with a longer design created from a mix of Fleurons A and B in one of his 1570 publications: Philip Moore, *An Almanack and Prognostication for xxxvij yeres* (London: Kingston for Saunderson, 1570) (STC 484.5). Aldis, *Dictionary of Printers*, p. 164; Krummel, *English Music Printing*, pp. 14, 102–3, 106–7.

Although the first occurrence of the pattern is in a work by East alone, it seems to become closely identified with the printing partnership. After this partnership dissolved both printers continued to use these type-ornaments, but neither repeated this design in their later works. In 1570 when there were no joint publications, there were no instances of this pattern in their works. Moreover, the only instance of Middleton using this pattern alone occurs in works where the circumstances of the printing are obscured by the imprecise imprint, so one wonders whether both men might actually have been involved in these jobs for Walley.

What is also noticeable from Table 2 is the small number of publications overall. In 1568–70 the pair are only known to have produced two to three books a year. (For comparison, Edward Allde printed an average of just over four books a year in his first seven years in the business working alone, while Thomas Morley and William Barley printed at least five books in their first year in partnership.)³⁹ In both cases some publications are likely to have been lost or remain unattributed; nevertheless, the low figures suggest that there may have been plenty of time available for the press to be used to print significant quantities of music paper. Indeed, Peter Stallybrass has suggested that it was ‘little jobs’—single-sheet publications and small booklets requiring little investment and offering quick returns—that provided the essential regular income for the printing houses and supported the production of larger works.⁴⁰ Printing sheets of music paper may therefore have played an important role in the economic viability of the East-Middleton press in its early years. The commercial potential is suggested by the later concerns of printers who cited Byrd and Tallis’s monopoly on music paper when petitioning the Queen about the damaging effects of monopolies in 1577. Christopher Barker’s subsequent report on the operation of such patents in December 1582 still saw the monopoly for printed music paper as ‘somewhat beneficial’ (unlike that for polyphonic music books), though by 1598 it seems that Thomas Morley thought that hand-ruled paper had undermined the market.⁴¹

To summarize, then, this music paper is highly unlikely to have been printed before 1566, the first year in which both these printed ornaments were in use by English printers. Border designs very similar to those used in the music paper (and using both fleurons) occur from 1566 and 1572, but the precise design was used almost solely by the Thomas East and Henry Middleton partnership between 1568 and 1572. What is less clear is whether

³⁹ Ronald B. McKerrow, ‘Edward Allde as a Typical Trade Printer’, *The Library*, IV, 10 (1929), 121–62 (p. 131); Tessa Murray, *Thomas Morley Elizabethan Music Publisher* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2014), pp. 110 and 116.

⁴⁰ Stallybrass, ‘Little Jobs’, pp. 315–39.

⁴¹ Fenlon & Milsom, ‘Ruled Paper Imprinted’, pp. 140–41. Edward Arber, ed., *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London: 1554–1640, A.D.*, 5 vols (London: Stationers’ Company, 1875–77), I, 111 and 144.

Middleton and East were the publishers of this music paper (providing the paper and arranging the distribution) or were merely acting as trade printers for a third party. Most of the work that East and Middleton were undertaking was on behalf of others, but they were already producing their own publications.⁴² Indeed, Table 1 shows that the border pattern was used for projects of both kinds of arrangement. In comparison to publishing a book, printing music paper would have been a simpler prospect with no rights to obtain, a single forme to compose and impose, and flexibility on the amount of paper and initial outlay that would need to be invested in the project. Given that the printers were managing to finance the publication of at least some of their own books, it is not implausible that they could have undertaken the publishing of music paper as their own venture.

Comparison of the paper types used for the music paper and in other materials printed by East and Middleton in 1567–72 yielded no further dating information as there are no shared watermarks. Trimming, positioning in the gutter and the subsequent printing and/or writing often obscure the finer details of the marks and hinder precise identification of these watermarks, and in any case there are often no directly comparable examples to be found in either Briquet or the Gravell Watermark Archive.⁴³ Nevertheless, the music papers tend to use paper with a watermark of a single-handled pot, with a crown and either a quatrefoil or a trefoil at its pinnacle, though the precise stocks differs with various initials placed in the belly of the pot.⁴⁴ The only exception is the paper used in BL MS Add. 15166, which has a watermark that is a crowned shield with the letter ‘B’ inside, above a banner with the name ‘Nicholas Lebe’ (Briquet 8079).⁴⁵ By contrast, other printed materials almost always use paper with a hand/glove leading to a star/flower. In some cases a ‘3’ is visible in the palm with the initials that read ‘RB’/‘RP’ or ‘CM’ in the cuff.⁴⁶ Another particularly visible example has nothing in the palm but the initial ‘NM’ in the cuff.⁴⁷ A couple have no visible watermark, but only *The Booke of nurture* (London: East,

⁴² Smith, *Thomas East and Music Publishing*, pp. 16–18; McKerrow, ‘Edward Allde’, p. 121.

⁴³ M. Briquet, *Les filigranes: dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu’en 1600*, 4 vols (Paris: A. Picard et fils, 1907); Thomas L. Gravell Watermark Archive <www.gravell.org>.

⁴⁴ BL MS Royal Appendix 57 has a pot with the initials ‘PO’ (Briquet no. 12801); BL MSS Add. 30480–84 generally has a pot with in ‘TH’ or ‘HT’, and ‘HH’ for two anomalous gatherings in 30481; Oxford, Christ Church, MS Mus. 371 has a pot with initials that appear to read ‘bO’ or ‘Od’. Anthony Milledge, ‘The Music of Dyricke Gerarde’, PhD thesis (Durham University, 2001), p. 78; Katherine Butler, ‘The History of the ‘Hamond’ Partbooks (GB-Lbl : Add MSS 30480–84)’, RMA Research Chronicle, forthcoming. See Briquet, *Les filigranes*, IV, nos. 12691–12814 and pp. 635–39 for similar designs of watermark.

⁴⁵ Fenlon & Milsom, ‘Ruled Paper Imprinted’, p. 161.

⁴⁶ ‘RB’ or ‘RP’ examples include STC 11974, 17250, 20738, 24722. STC 11445 has ‘CM’. These initials are hard to decipher precisely. The general appearance is in the vein of Briquet nos. 11380, 11383 and 11383.

⁴⁷ Anon., *A Tablet of deuout prayers and Godly meditations* (London: East and Middleton for Blond, 1571) (STC 23641).

1568) (STC 20956) has a mark of another type (used in addition to other paper of the 'hand and star' type). The watermark is heavily trimmed and impossible to identify precisely, but may be some form of crowned shield (not comparable to that in Add. 15166). One sheet of this paper also made it into *The Voiag[e] and trauayle, of Syr Iohn Maundeulle Knight* (London: East, 1568) (STC 20956) along with another sheet of paper with a pot watermark with the initials 'NP' visible on sigs. Jiii and [Jvi]. These appear to be rogue sheets in what was otherwise paper of the 'hand and star' type; however, their presence reveals that pot-watermarked paper was in East's printing house in 1568.

What these contrasting watermarks indicate is that East and Middleton either bought or were provided with a specific type of paper to suit the requirements of music paper. Whereas paper for printing was usually only lightly sized, paper for writing needed to be more heavily sized so that the water-based inks typically used for writing did not bleed into the fibres and blur. Once heavily sized for writing, however, the paper would become less flexible and more resistant to the dampening required to take a good impression.⁴⁸ A more heavily sized paper would therefore be required for printing music staves that were designed for purchases to write musical notation on, even if this meant some loss of quality, particularly when printing fleurons like those found the East-Middleton borders.

From the surviving exemplars it appears that a significant number of 'editions' of this music paper were produced.⁴⁹ For a start there were designs with both four and five staves to a page, and designs with six-line staves for keyboard music as well as the more typical five.⁵⁰ As we have also seen, the Sotheby's fragment lacks the vertical printer's rules that contain the fleuron border in all the other examples.⁵¹ Moreover, even among those papers that are superficially the same (BL MSS Add. 30480–83 and Add. 15166), variation in the alignment of the border with the staves and in the occurrence of errors in the border design indicates that each represents a new setting.⁵² Although the typesetting is consistent among Add. 30480–83, none of the other single partbooks or fragments can be shown to have come from the same edition, suggesting that at least six different editions were produced.

⁴⁸ David Landau & Peter Parshall, *The Renaissance Print 1470–1550* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), p. 17.

⁴⁹ The concept of editions of music paper was coined by John Milsom in his talk 'Printed Staves: What Can We Learn From Them?', at the *Medieval and Renaissance Music Conference* in Sheffield 2016, and will be discussed in his forthcoming paper 'Tallis, Byrd and the Music Trade in Late Tudor England'.

⁵⁰ Fenlon & Milsom, 'Ruled Paper Imprinted', p. 146. Christ Church, MS Mus. 371, for example, has four six-line staves printed to a page.

⁵¹ Sotheby's, lot 807: Tudor Carol.

⁵² One might imagine that borders might have been preserved and reused but I have found no evidence of this, and nor did Juliet Fleming in her study of frames and borders comprised of fleurons: 'Changed Opinion as to Flowers', p. 62.

The East-Middleton partnership dissolved in 1572, and by 1575 the privilege granted to William Byrd and Thomas Tallis gave these musicians the monopoly on printed music paper. East and Middleton would then have been unable to legally print their music paper without the permission of the monopoly holders. Byrd and Tallis had used Thomas Vautrollier as their assign for the 1575 *Cantiones sacrae* and he remains the most likely candidate for the particular designs of printed staves (without decorative borders) that occur in books dating from the late 1570s to the 1580s.⁵³ Following Vautrollier's death in 1587 and Tallis's in 1585, East acquired Vautrollier's two music fonts and became the assign of the remaining patent holder, William Byrd, and later his successors Thomas Morley and William Barley.⁵⁴ As well as printing music books, East also produced music paper in this later period with the staves simply framed on either side with vertical printer's rules, but using the monogram 'TE' to identify his productions.⁵⁵ Whereas arrangements of fleurons could distinguish a product but would only identify the printer to those with significant awareness of the trade, a monogram could serve a more explicit and readily attributable branding function.

Thomas East's later use of borders for musical staves

Thomas East did return to experimenting with borders for music staves later in his career. In 1593–94 he printed Thomas Morley's *Canzonets or Little short songs to three voyces* and *Madrigalls to foure voyces* with a fleuron border not only on the title-page, but also framing every page of music.⁵⁶ The impression is that a new look was being created to mark out these publications and to distinguish them from both Byrd's works and the previous madrigal anthologies (*Musica Transalpina*, 1588 and *The First sett of Italian madrigalls Englished*, 1590).⁵⁷ Yet the same format was also applied to John Mundy's *Songs and Psalmes composed into 3, 4 and 5 parts* (1594, STC 18284), before being dropped for future years. This was the first time East had used this particular fleuron (Meynell and Morison's no. 19 / Vervliet's no. 4 e–f with a variant i–j), but it was not new. The Flemish printer Christoffel Plantin is known to have used it from 1567, while in England it

⁵³ Fenlon & Milsom, 'Ruled Paper Imprinted', pp. 147–49.

⁵⁴ Smith, *Thomas East and Music Publishing*, pp. 38–39, 55–122; Murray, *Thomas Morley*, pp. 75, 77–78, 93, and 121.

⁵⁵ Fenlon & Milsom, 'Ruled Paper Imprinted', pp. 148, 150–52.

⁵⁶ Thomas Morley, *Canzonets or Little short songs to three voyces* (London: East, 1593) (STC 18121); *Madrigalls to foure voyces* (London: East, 1594) (STC 18127). The same bordered staves were also used for the 'hidden' edition of Morley's *Canzonets* in c. 1596–97: Smith, *Thomas East and Music Publishing*, pp. 157–58.

⁵⁷ Nicholas Yonge, ed., *Musica Transalpina Madrigales translated of foure, five and sixe partes, chosen out of diuers excellent authors* (London: East, 1588) (STC 26094); Thomas Watson, ed., *The First sett, of Italian madrigalls Englished, not to the sense of the originall dittie, but after the affection of the noate* (London: East, 1590) (STC 25119).

had already been used by printers including Ralph Newberry and Henry Bynneman from 1578, and was regularly used by James Roberts in his poetry editions during the 1590s.⁵⁸ It is not so much the border that is distinctive here, but the way it is deployed in the overall design, creating a look that was perhaps intended to appear Italianate.

East's experiences with fleurons for music paper may have been one influence on this format, but continental printing may also have offered some models. Ornamental borders were rare in continental printing, but there had been a few prior examples. Several early printed choirbooks by Andreas Antico and Valerio Dorico in Rome, and Jacques Moderne in Lyon used borders to distinguish just the first page of each mass (particularly useful to singers flicking through to find the beginning of a particular mass).⁵⁹ In the 1560s and 1570s a couple of lute books published in Strasbourg employed such borders throughout: Wolff Heckel's *Lautten Büch von mancherley schoenen und lieblichen stucken* (Urban Weiss, 1556) comprised two partbooks for duetting lutes and was printed with a wood-block border, while Sixt Kargel's *Nouae, elegantissimae, Gallicae, item et Italicae cantilenae ... in Tablaturum* (Strasbourg: Bernhard Jobin, 1574) used a narrow fleuron border (very similar to Meynell and Morison no. 12). Several small German hymn books also use woodcut borders similar to those used in some private prayer books, including *Geystliche Lieder* printed by Valentin Babst, in 1545 and Sethus Calvisius's *Harmonia cantionum ecclesiasticarum* produced by Franz Schnellboltz and Jakob II Apel in 1597.⁶⁰

Yet it was only in the 1580s that the first printed partbooks with bordered staves had appeared and these were used in special editions for important patrons. The first was Costanzo Porta's *Liber quinquaginta duorum motectorum quatuor, quinque, sex, septem & octo vocum* printed by Angelo Gardano, a prolific Venetian music printer, in 1580. Porta's grand collection contained over fifty songs for four to eight voices and marked his departure from Loreto. Its costs were supported by Vincenzo Casali, the Governor of

⁵⁸ Meynell & Morison, 'Printers' Flowers and Arabesques', p. 41; Fleming, 'Changed Opinion as to Flowers', pp. 58–59.

⁵⁹ For example: *Liber quindecim missarum electarum quae per excellentissimos musicos compositae fuerunt* (Rome: Antico, 1516); Cristobal de Morales, *Missarum liber primus* (Rome: Dorico, 1544) and (Lyon: Moderne, 1546); *Harmonidos Ariston. Tricolon, Ogdoameron. In quo habentur liturgiae, vel missae tres, celeribus ac volubilibus numeris* (Lyon: Moderne, 1548).

⁶⁰ *Geystliche Lieder mit einer neuen vorrhede D. Mart. Luth* (Leipzig: Babst, 1545) and Sethus Calvisius, *Harmonia cantionum ecclesiasticarum, Kirchengesenge und Geistliche Lieder D. Lutheri u. andrer frommen Christen* (Leipzig: Schnellboltz and Apel, 1597).

Loreto, whose arms appear on the title-page.⁶¹ In 1583 Vittorio Baldini used a thinner border design to frame the staves of Lodovico Agostini's *In nuovo echo a cinque voci*. Printed by the ducal printer on unusual thick, blue paper and dedicated to Alfonso II d'Este, Agostini's collection was described by Laurie Stras as 'a celebratory compendium of courtly music-making ... a memento ... of Ferrarese music-making, [or] a presentation volume'.⁶² Both of these uses of ornamental borders appear to be unique in each printer's output (although Baldini did use similar borders to frame lyrics on the facing page to musical staves in his first music publication *Il Lauro secco*, 1582, and *Il Lauro verde*, 1583).⁶³ The borders seem designed to work alongside other ornamental elements to mark these collections as particularly grand and luxurious publications.

By the 1590s there was a more immediate Italian precedent that might have influenced East's design. The publications of another of Venice's leading music printers, Ricciardo Amadino, included at least three examples of musical staves framed by ornamental borders:

- *Villanelle alla Romana a tre voci, di Oratio Scaletta da Crema. Libro Primo* (1590)
- Giovanni Matteo Asola, *Vespertina omnium solemnitaturn psalmodia* (1590)
- *Il primo libro delle canzonette a tre voci, di Antonio Morsolino con alcune altre de diversi eccellenti musici* (1594)

These were still relatively uncommon in Amadino's output, but unlike Gardano's and Agostini's examples these (like East's) were not special grand or occasional publications. Although Asola's *Vespertina* was in choirbook format, the *villanelle* and *canzonette* were both sets of partbooks and here there is a strong resemblance between the page layout of Amadino's editions and East's. Although they use different fleurons (Amadino uses part of Meynell and Morison's no. 12 / a variant of Verliet's no. 5 a–b), they are used to create a similar width and style of border, which encompasses not only the staves but also a large initial or factotum (the height of two stave lines), and there is a similar arrangement of text above the stave (Fig. 7).

⁶¹ Costanzo Porta, *Liber quinquaginta duorum motectorum quatuor, quinque, sex, septem & octo vocum* (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1580); Costanzo Porta, *Liber quinquaginta duorum motectorum: liber secundus*, 1580, ed. by Siro Cisilino and Giovanni Luisetto (Padova: Biblioteca Anoniana, 1967), pp. i–ii. The unusual ornamental border surrounding the staves is not noted in Richard J. Agee, *The Gardano Music Printing Firms, 1569–1611* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 1998), although the fleuron is identified as an ornament infrequently used and found on three title-pages from the early 1580s and surrounding dedicatory poems in 1604 and 1609 (pp. 109–10, and 230).

⁶² Lodovico Agostini's *In nuovo echo a cinque voci del R^{do} Mons^{or} Don Lodovico Agostini* (Ferrara: Baldini, 1583); Laurie Stras, 'Al gioco si conosce il galantuomo: Artifice, Humour and Play in the *Enigmi musicali* of Don Lodovico Agostini', *Early Music History*, 24 (2005), 213–86 (pp. 240–42). Thanks to Laurie Stras for drawing my attention to this example.

⁶³ *Il Lauro secco primo di madrigali à cinque voci di diversi autori* (Ferrara: Baldini, 1582); *Il Lauro verde madrigali à sei voci di diversi autori* (Ferrara: Baldini, 1583). Thanks to Jane Bernstein for pointing out these examples.



FIG. 7. Borders for music staves in publications by Ricciardo Amadino (left) and Thomas East (right). *Il primo libro delle canzonette a tre voci, di Antonio Morsolino con alcune altre de diversi eccellenti musici* (Venice, 1594), Canto I, No. 13; Thomas Morley, *Canzonets or Little Short songs to three voyces* (London, 1593), Cantus, no. 10. © British Library Board (Music Collections K.3.i.16 and R.M.15.e.2.(4)). These images are not covered by the terms of the Creative Commons licence of this publication. For permission to reuse, please contact the rights holder.

One wonders if Morley—who had access to a wide range of Italian printed music that influenced his compositions and collections⁶⁴—had seen one of Amadino's editions in this style and requested that East imitate it. This would not be the only case of such influence, for Tessa Murray has suggested that the layout of his *Canzonets or Little short aers to fiue and sixe voices* (printed by Peter Short in 1597, STC 18126) was modelled on Giovanni Giacomo Gastoldi's *Balletti a tre voci con la intavolata de liuto con la intavolata de liuto*, which was printed by Amadino in 1594.⁶⁵

The problem with Morley's songs, however, is that they are too long for the framing effect of these borders. In the Amadino publications the border frames a full song as well as the page. The majority of Morley's canzonets and madrigals, however, runs on to a second page, over-spilling their frames. Ironically it is the shorter *Songs and Psalmes* of Mundy that are most visually pleasing in the framing borders because most fit within a single

⁶⁴ Murray, *Thomas Morley*, pp. 137–42, 210–14, 216–18, 220–22.

⁶⁵ *ibid.* pp. 81–82.

page, even though musically they show little influence of the Italian style. This uncomfortable fit with longer songs and the rather cluttered page layout that results may be one of the reasons why East did not continue with this design after 1594.

Other designs of bordered music paper

There exist two other designs of music paper with printed borders, but the picture surrounding their border patterns is not as clear-cut. The second border from Fig. 1 shared a similar context to the first, not only because it shares the use of Fleuron A, but also because printers commonly used Fleuron C alongside Fleurons A and B in printed borders, ornaments, and title-pages.⁶⁶ Like the other two fleurons, this one was also first used by Henry Denham in 1564.⁶⁷ This paper design is also distinctive because it uses the decorative border only on the inside edge, using a narrower, single-rule border on the opposite side. It is similarly unique in indicating a space for the user to write a page number by including the word 'folio' in black-letter type above the staves on the inside edge on both the recto and verso.

This fleuron pattern was also employed by Thomas East on a title-page in 1568, raising the intriguing possibility that he may have experimented with other designs.⁶⁸ A narrower, single-rule border of the same proportions as that found on the outer edge of the music paper is found on the internal pages of the same 1568 edition. Given that the first design only becomes associated with the Middleton-East partnership from 1569, could this even represent an early paper produced by East alone? Unfortunately the evidence is inconclusive as, although the fleuron design was not widely used, very similar designs do appear in the work of two other printers: firstly in a small border used by Henry Denham in 1566 (with the addition of an asterisk between each pair of Fleuron A units) and again in 1575 on a title-page by Thomas Purfoote (with an additionally edging in Fleuron B).⁶⁹ Unlike the other pattern, this less attractive arrangement does not seem to have become

⁶⁶ BL MS Harley 5936, fol. 123^{r-v} (lower half). No watermark is visible on this sheet.

⁶⁷ Fleming, 'How to Look at a Printed Flower', pp. 165–66; Théodore de Bèze, *A Discourse wrytten by M. Theodore de Beza, conteyning in briefe the historie of the life and death of Maister Iohn Calvin* (London: Denham for Harrison, 1564), sig. Aii^v (STC 2017); [Collenuccio], *A Pleasaunt dialogue*, sig. [cviii^r]; Humfrey Baker, *The Welspring of sciences, which teacheth the perfecte worke and practise of arithmeticke both in whole numbers & fractions* (London: Denham for Rowbothum, 1564), sig. yiii^r (STC 1209.7); Cole, *A Godly and learned sermon*, sig. [fii^r]; Richard Roussat, *The Most excellent, profitable, and pleasant booke of the famous doctour and expert astrologian Arcandam or Aleandrin, to find the fatall destiny, constellation, complexion, and naturall inclination of every man and child by his byrth* (London: Denham for Rowbothum, 1564), title-page (STC 724.5). All three fleurons appear together for the first time on the title-page of Anthony Rush, *A President for a Prince* (London: Denham, 1566) (STC 21453).

⁶⁸ Henry Rhodes, *The Booke of nurture for men seruantes, and children* (London: East, 1568) (STC 20956).

⁶⁹ Calfhill, *Aunswere to the Treatise of the crosse* (Denham, 1565), fol. 54^r (STC 4368); David Lindsey, *A Dialogue betweene Experience and a Courtier, of the miserable state of the worlde* (London: Purfoote, 1575), title-page (STC 15677). Neither of these works uses the thinner, black border, however.

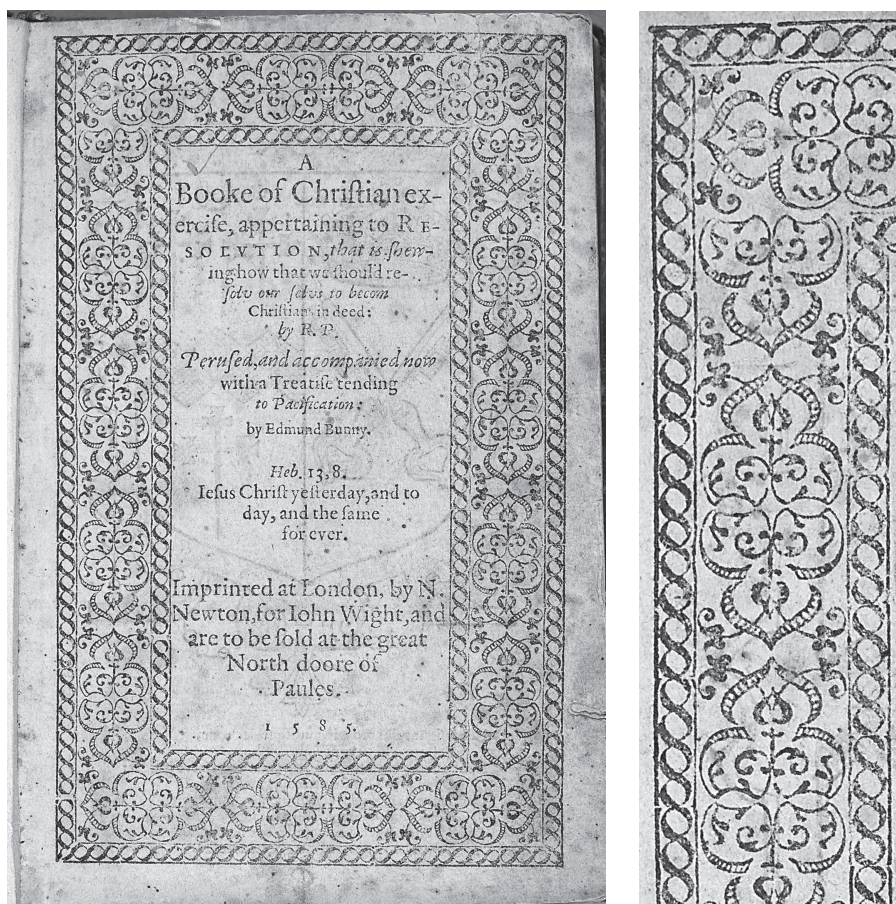


FIG. 8. Robert Parsons and Edmund Bunney, *A Booke of christian exercise* (London: Newton for Wight, 1585) (STC 19357). San Marino, Huntington Library, RB 69057 (full page and detail). This image is not covered by the terms of the Creative Commons licence of this publication. For permission to reuse, please contact the rights holder.

a favourite of any particular printer. This is not particularly surprising; although a systematic study of the uses of fleurons has yet to be undertaken, Fleming's assessment was that such a survey would 'resist generalization' with variation both between print shops and across the years.⁷⁰

The final design of border is even more of a mystery. This was not created from the flexibly combinable fleurons, but rather a series of small units that create a running figure-of-eight pattern. Fenlon and Milsom listed it among the papers presumed to date from c. 1575–1600, but admitted that its date

⁷⁰ Fleming, 'How Not to Look at a Printed Flower', p. 352.

Table 3. Printers using the Figure-of-Eight Border

PRINTED WORK	PRINTER	STC
Robert Parsons and Edmund Bunny, <i>A Booke of christian exercise</i> (1584)	Ninian Newton, and Arnold Hatfield	19355
Edmund Bunny, <i>The Scepter of Iudah</i> (1584)	Ninian Newton, and Arnold Hatfield	4094
Robert Parsons and Edmund Bunny, <i>A Booke of christian exercise</i> (1585)	Printed for John Wight	19357.5
John Foxe, <i>Pandectae locorum communium</i> (1585)	Hugh Singleton	11239.5
Robert Parsons and Edmund Bunny, <i>A Booke of christian exercise</i> (1585)	Ninian Newton	19357
William Webbe, <i>A Discourse of English poetrie</i> (1586)	John Charlewood	25172
Giovanni Boccaccio, <i>Amorous Fiammetta</i> (1587)	J[ohn] C[harlewood]	3179
R. T., <i>A Mirror for mathematiques</i> (1587)	John Charlewood	23674.5
W. Averell, <i>A Meruailous combat of contrarieties</i> (1588)	J[ohn] C[harlewood]	981
Pliny the Elder, <i>The Secrets and wonders of the worlde</i>	[John Wolfe] for Thomas Hacket	20033
Robert Crowley, <i>A Deliberat answere made to a rash offer, which a popish antichristian Catholique, made to a learned Protestant</i> (1588)	John Charlewood	6084
Andreas Hyperius, <i>A Speciall treatise of Gods prouidence and of comforts against all kinde of crosses and calamities to be drawne from the same</i> ([1588?])	John Wolfe	11760
<i>A Breefe coniecturall discourse, vpon the hierographycall letters & caracters found vpon fower fishes</i> (1589)	Edward Alde	17488.7
Anthony Munday, <i>The Honorable, pleasant and rare conceited historie of Palmendos</i> (1589)	J[ohn] C[harlewood]	18064
George Peele, <i>A Farewell entituled to the famous and fortunate generalls of our English forces: Sir Iohn Norris & Syr Frauncis Drake</i> (1589)	J[ohn] C[harlewood]	19537
Edmund Bunny, <i>A Briefe answer, vnto those idle and friuolous quarrels of R.p. against the late edition of the resolution</i> (1589)	John Charlewood	4088
Edmund Bunny and Robert Parsons, <i>A Booke of christian exercise</i> (1589)	John Charlewood	19364
Robert Parsons, <i>The Seconde parte of the Booke of christian exercise</i> (1590)	John Charlewood,	19380

Samuel Daniel, <i>Delia. Contayning certayne sonnets</i> (1592)	J[ohn] C[harlewood]	6243.2
John Lyly, <i>Gallathea</i> (1592)	John Charlewood	17080
John Lyly, <i>Euphues The Anatomy of wit</i> ([1593?])	James Roberts	17059
Thomas Nash, <i>Christs teares ouer Ierusalem</i> (1593)	James Roberts	18366
Nicolás Monardes, <i>loyfull newes out of the New-Found Worlde</i> (1596)	Edward Allde	18007
John Lyly, <i>Euphues, The Anatomy of wit</i> ([1597?])	James Roberts	17060
Thomas Playfere, <i>The Pathway to perfection</i> (1597) [p. 1]	James Roberts	20021
Henry Petowe, <i>Englands Caesar his Maiesties most royall coronation</i> (1603) [sigs. C1 ^r –D4 ^r]	John Windet	19806

remained so uncertain that it may have been issued earlier.⁷¹ A survey of books available via *Early English Books Online* revealed that borders using a similar figure-of-eight design are found in printed works from c. 1584–97, with an outlying example in 1603 (Table 3). They appear mainly on title-pages and are generally used to frame more elaborate fleuron borders (as in Fig. 8, where the frame surrounds the more elegant fleurons cut by Robert Granjon, Vervliet's no. 5).

This single-width, figure-of-eight border appears to have first been used in England by Arnold Hatfield and Ninian Newton, who had newly set up as printing partners.⁷² The 1585 edition of *A Booke of christian exercise* (using the same border) was printed by Newton alone, after which nothing more is heard of him. From 1586, however, John Charlewood (a printer of ballads, religious tracts, poetry, and other popular literature) becomes the most prolific user of these ornaments, presumably having acquired them from Newton. The ornaments then passed to James Roberts (one of the holders of the lucrative privilege for almanacs and prognostications) who married Charlewood's widow and took over his press in 1593.⁷³ There is also a variant with a rounder shape and less variation in the thickness of the curves that was used by John Wolfe, Edward Allde, and John Windet, but this is less like that used in the music paper. This would initially seem to suggest that this bordered music paper is later than the other examples discussed, most likely from c. 1584–97 (see Fig. 9). It therefore postdates the

⁷¹ Fenlon & Milsom, 'Ruled Paper Imprinted', pp. 153–54.

⁷² Aldis, *Dictionary of Printers*, pp. 131 and 200. The partnership also included Edmund Bollifant and John Jackson, but they do not appear to have used this border.

⁷³ H. R. Tedder, 'Charlewood, John (d. 1593)', rev. by Robert Faber; and David Kathman, 'Roberts, James (b. in or before 1540, d. 1618?)', both in *ODNB*.

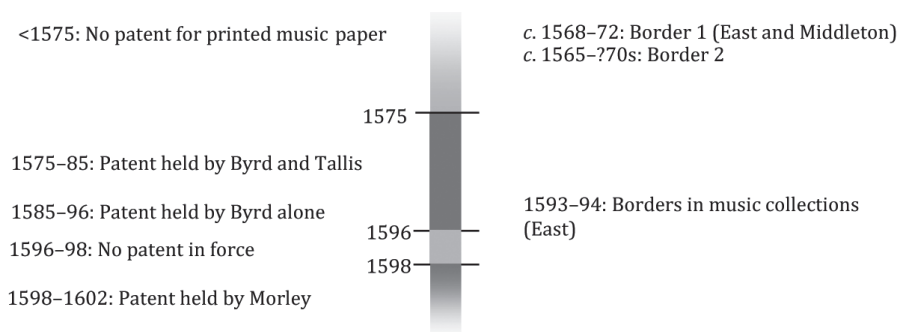


FIG. 9. A chronology of patents for printed music paper and extant examples with decorative borders

1575 Byrd and Tallis music patent and may have coincided with the new burst of English printed music books from c. 1588. If it were produced later in this timeframe it may have been printed within the gap between the ending of Byrd's music patent in 1596 and its subsequent transferral to Thomas Morley in 1598.

The problem is that, despite the visual similarities, none of the ornaments used in these printed books could have been used to create the music-paper border. Recurrent gaps in the borders show that these books use a single-width figure-of-eight, grouped in loops of four, with an incorporated straight-line border. The music paper uses a double width of these groups of four loops, while the straight-line border is unbroken because it is provided separately by printer's rules. In short, this means that despite an extensive search of English printed books the precise ornaments required to produce the music-paper border have not been found in the output of any English printer. One wonders, therefore, if this might be an example of an imported continental music paper, an area that still awaits detailed study.⁷⁴ The patent granted to Thomas Morley in 1598 added a specific clause relating to the importation of music paper, which suggests that this had been taking place.⁷⁵

Conclusion

What has been learnt from this foray into the world of fleurons is their potential significance for unlocking further details about the early history of

⁷⁴ My own survey of continental partbooks has so far failed to find a comparable border; however, the case of East and Middleton shows that such papers might not be the preserve of those known to be producing printed books of music. The only detailed study of continental ruled music papers is from a later period: Laurent Guillo, 'Les papiers à musique imprimés en France au XVII^e siècle: Un nouveau critère d'analyse des manuscrits musicaux', *Revue de Musicologie*, 87 (2001), 307–69. Brief references to ruled paper are also made Kate van Orden, *Materialities: Books, Readers, and the Chanson in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 44–45.

⁷⁵ Murray, *Thomas Morley*, p. 90.

music printing. We can now say with a fair degree of confidence that Thomas East had a history of printing ruled music paper before he later printed music as the assign of William Byrd in 1588. This early experience would have given him some knowledge of the musical marketplace, which helps to explain his interest in entering the business of printing music books in the late 1580s and how he was in a position to make this venture a success despite the limited use of this aspect of the printing privilege in the preceding decade. Having successfully marketed music paper he presumably had some idea of the kinds of music books that might be of interest to such customers and the best booksellers through which to distribute them.

In the case of the East-Middleton music paper, the narrow window in which it was produced also provides useful dating information. The books that use this paper are likely to date from after 1567 and this paper is unlikely to have been in production beyond 1572, though stocks might remain on booksellers' shelves or on purchasers' desks for a longer period. For BL MS Add. 15166 this indicates that the copying of around fifty psalms by John Sheppard was not begun before the publication of Matthew Parker's *Psalter* in 1567, whose nine tunes by Thomas Tallis follow those of Sheppard. For the 'Hamond' partbooks, nudging the date of creation forward from the mid to the late 1560s or even the 1570s (given the high degree of wear observable on the fleurons and the greater unevenness of the stave lines) further underlines the age of the repertory that was copied in the early layers, as many of the liturgical texts suggest that the musical settings were originally composed during the reigns of Edward VI or even the later years of Henry VIII.⁷⁶ Royal Appendix 57 is a key piece of evidence providing a date by which copyist and composer Derrick Gerarde is likely to have been England, while for the various notated fragments on this music paper the fleuron border is the primary evidence for dating, and we can now refine our interpretations in these cases.⁷⁷

As we have also seen, though, the functions of fleurons were by no means standardized and therefore they do not always yield such clear information as to the origins of the music papers that they border. Nevertheless, the wide variety of functions that these fleurons might serve makes them worthy of greater attention. Although they could be aesthetic this was only one of a number of reasons for their deployment: they offered practical solutions to printing difficulties, provided a means of distinguishing and enhancing one's product compared to others, served as structural markers and finding aids, and could be used to style an individual print or group of publications. This styling might imitate foreign publications to create a fashionably elegant

⁷⁶ Butler, 'History of the 'Hamond' Partbooks', forthcoming.

⁷⁷ John Milsom, 'Gerarde, Derrick', in *Grove Music Online*.

look or a deliberate visual difference from previous music titles. Further work on the use of borders and fleurons therefore has significant potential to enhance our understanding of the history and practices of both early music printing and manuscript culture, not only in England, but across the continent too.

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