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Musical Transformations of the City Soundscape:

King James I's Entry into London in 1604

Katherine Butler

The staging of a civic pageant dramatically altered the soundscape of a city as the everyday sounds of trades, crafts and daily business were replaced by cheering crowds, bells, artillery and all kinds of music and song. The aural experience of this altered soundscape is invariably lost and even descriptive details of the noise and music of these occasions are minimalistic. In only the rarest of occasions do we know what music was performed or who it was composed by, and typically we know little about the musical style beyond the instruments or voices used. Nevertheless renewed attention to the musical elements of civic pageantry by scholars from various disciplines is testament to the fact that something of the potential meanings and significances of this celebratory soundscape often can be reconstructed from surviving accounts.¹

The wealth of accounts concerning King James I's entry into London in 1604— a delayed version of the planned coronation procession which had been abandoned due to the plague —

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Sixteenth-century spelling and grammar have been modified and modern dating conventions applied.

¹ Examples include Anderson 2014, pp. 137-5; Anderson 2006, pp. 92-110 and 233-70; Butler 2015, pp. 177-91; Smith 1999, pp. 70-1; Fenlon 2007; Getz 2005, pp.123-156.

offers an opportunity to explore this potential. A series of seven triumphal arches were stationed along the traditional procession route from the Tower of London, via Gracechurch Street, Cornhill and Cheapside to St Paul's Cathedral and then along Fleet Street to exit via Temple Bar (Manley 2005, pp. 223-41). The themes too were traditional, representing the City of London, the King's genealogy, allegorical vices dispelled and virtues restored, and bountiful gardens representing peace and prosperity (Bergeron 1988, pp. 326, 329-31). Music was a feature of virtually all stages of the pageantry, a summary of which is given in the Appendix.² Evidence for the events come from four main sources, all published in 1604. Thomas Dekker's *The Magnificent Entertainment* (1604a) is the fullest account of the shows containing his own devices, the contribution of Thomas Middleton (Zeal's speech) and descriptions of the shows devised by Ben Jonson. *The Whole Magnificent Entertainment* (1604b) was nearly identical except that Dekker provided English translations of the Latin speeches and omitted the closing 'To the Reader'. Jonson had already published the texts he had prepared in *His Part of King James his Royal and Magnificent Entertainment*, while the designer of the triumphal arches, Stephen Harrison, published descriptions of his work alongside engravings by William Kip in *The Arches of Triumph Erected in Honour of the High and Might Prince James*. Finally Gilbert Dugdale published his eyewitness account of the occasion as *The Time Triumphant*. These varied accounts provide differing and sometimes contradictory accounts of the occasion. They also include material that was planned but not performed and add their own narratives and interpretation, leading David M. Bergeron (1998) to describe them as a kind of 'textual performance', resembling but different from the show as seen. This chapter will survey these different sources considering their features and

² The initial work of reconstructing the musical resources deployed in this entry was undertaken by Spink 1957.

limitations, before examining in detail the functions of music and musical imagery within the royal entry.

One effect of all these accounts, however, is to silence, or at least muffle, the aural elements that would have formed so much of the experience of the occasion. The noise of the crowds was a vital part of the atmosphere and the celebratory welcome, and one often evoked, at least in passing, in the written accounts. Yet such references to the crowds tend to be too generic to distinguish rhetoric from reality. In Jonson's panegyric poem, for example, some are struck mute as words cannot express their zeal while others cry from housetops thinking this the 'fittest herald to proclaim true joys'. The poem ends with the people bursting forth as 'through the air was roll'd/ the length'ned shout, as when th'artillery / of heaven is discharg'd along the sky' (Jonson 1604, sigs. E3v, E4r, and Fr). The crowds are treated as a framing device to set a joyful scene and construct the enthusiastic send-off. In all accounts, once the narration of the pageant devices gets underway, even this idealised crowd is silenced.

Moreover, while these accounts might record speeches and iconographical or architectural details, none of the music was published. This is not unusual. Much of the music provided by trumpets and drums, and wind ensembles would have been improvised or aurally learnt and so never had a written form. The lyrics of songs are often preserved alongside the speeches, but a professional musician would have provided the musical setting. This would have been separate from the materials held by the writer of the pageant and therefore not necessarily

available for inclusion.³ In any case musical literacy was a specialist skill that only a small proportion of the readers of festival books would have had, so there was little incentive to go to the trouble of reproducing it. Instead narrators of these entertainments relied on either verbal or pictorial description of the music.

Capturing musical effects in language was never an easy task and authors varied in their efforts and abilities. Jonson (1604, sig. B2r) was primarily concerned with publicising his own contribution and mentions the music only once in passing as a structural element. By contrast Dugdale's eye-witness account is communicating his impression of the day and his account of the music is similarly impressionistic. He has been dazzled by the noise, quantity and variety of the musical offerings. He describes shawms and cornetts 'whose noise was such as if the triumph had been endless' while other shows were accompanied with 'several harmonies of drums, trumpets and music of all sorts' (Dugdale 1604, sig. B3r). He is not concerned with accurately recording every occasion on which music was heard. On this occasion he may be conflating several musical episodes in his description associated with the Italian pageant (are his trumpets and drums actually those that Dekker describes as outside St Mildred's Church?). On others he mentions music only in general terms referring to 'strange musics' or 'sundry sorts of music' (sig. [B4]r-v). Nevertheless his response to the music probably represents the experiences of the majority of spectators who gave little thought to its meanings but were simply overwhelmed by the volume, variety and quantity of music heard.

³ See Stern (2009, pp. 135-7, 140-1, 145) on similar situation for songs for plays and masques, and indeed this collaborative process often resulted in tunes and lyrics being lost too.

There are limitations too in the depiction of musicians stationed within the galleries of Harrison's triumphal arches.⁴ These are surprisingly congruent with Dekker's account, suggesting that a fairly accurate representation of the musicians was attempted. The greatest differences occur on the *Hortus Euphoniae* arch, which had a particularly large amount of music played by diverse ensembles. Although David Bergeron (1968, p. 447-8) has cautioned about assuming the textual account to be more accurate than the architect's, in this case the difficulties of portraying this diversity of musicians on a single two-dimensional engraving may account for some of the discrepancies. By contrast on the *Nova Faelix Arabia* arch Harrison depicts more instruments than Dekker describes, though perhaps with some confusion over how the instrumentalists divided into ensembles (for detailed comparisons of the sources see below, pp. 14-15). At best, though, these engravings provide only basic information about personnel, positioning and instrumentation, giving limited sense of its meaning or effect.

Only Thomas Dekker gives sustained attention to the music. He describes the musicians and singers used in each pageant, taking particular care to note where the city's own prestigious groups – the waits and the choristers of St Paul's – were employed (Dekker, 1604b, sigs. C1v, F1v-F2r, G1r, H1r). He records the lyrics of five songs, and even makes occasional comments about the talents of the performers. Two boy choristers have voices described as 'sweet and

⁴ Musicians are visible on all the arches except the second, third and sixth: Spink 1957, p. 211.

ravishing’ while the trumpets and drums outside St Mildred’s Church are as using ‘cunning and quick stops’ (sigs. E2v and F2r). He also attempts to capture something of the intended effect: the Danish march as ‘active and sprightly’ while the music before the dried-up Fount of Virtue is ‘sad and solemn’ (sigs. F2v and [E4]v). Dekker’s account still only captures the musical soundscape in the most general terms, but his attention to these elements does provide sufficient detail for us to begin to understand the functions and meanings of these elements within the overall spectacle. Indeed in many respects the reader of Dekker’s account is better placed to understand the overall significance and effect of the music than many spectators. Published accounts of civic entertainments place the reader in a privileged position in relation to the majority of attendees who experienced only parts of the overall procession, while even those in the procession may have struggled to always hear what was said and sung (Bergeron 1998, p. 165). Dugdale (1604, sig. B3v), for example, notes an impromptu welcome from an old man that was overshadowed by the ‘narrow way, and the pressing multitude’.⁵ This means that whereas on the page much of music’s meaning may appear to be created by the specificity of the lyrics, in performance much of this detail may have been lost to spectators. Instead an educated spectator pondering music’s effects and meaning may well have worked primarily with more generally audible elements of instrumentation, style, affect and genre and the connotations they evoked.

Attempts to interpret the role of music in civic pageantry often focus on its ability to harmonise the city both literally and metaphorically. Susan Anderson (2014, pp. 146-9 and

⁵ See also sig. [B4]v.

2006, pp. 100-4, 110 and 231) has argued that music can create a “harmonious” social unification of the audience’ while nevertheless respecting its internal hierarchies, as well as conditioning audience responses by suggesting how they should respond and enacting such loyal responses on their behalf. Bruce Smith (1999, pp. 70-1) argued that during pageantry music and artillery were the means through which the ‘ordinary chaos of sounds was brought into consonance’ and the city given a unified voice. As such these were unique occasions where one could ‘hear the city whole’. Such interpretations build on the metaphors of social and political concord that permeate the language of these occasions and certainly appear to reflect the intentions of the devisers. Yet one wonders if these events achieved the harmony projected in accounts, or merely pursued it as an ideal.

It is true that Dekker uses metaphor to equate the crowd noise with the musical elements as part of the same soundscape. The tongues of the multitude ‘which in such consorts never lie still’ might not be music, but they are nevertheless harmonious, as Dekker (1604b, sig. [B4]r) underlines with a quotation from Martial: ‘vox diversa sonat, populorum est vox tamen una’ (many voices sound, but the voice of the people is as one). He uses his image of the murmuring crowd to capture the atmosphere of expectancy: ‘nothing that they spake could be made any thing, yet all that was spoken sounded to this purpose, that still his Majesty was coming’ (sig. [B4]r). In the textual performance of these accounts the crowds can play their role perfectly to create the festive atmosphere and enthusiastic welcome within the structure of the pageantry. Nevertheless a surviving eyewitness account from a Lord Mayor’s pageant later in James’s reign paints a rather more unruly picture of how crowds might behave. In 1617 the Venetian Horatio Busino reported mud thrown at carriages and wealthy citizens, the mobbing of a nobleman, and how even armed men and fireballs struggled to create an

adequate thoroughfare for the procession (Munro 2005, pp. 60-2). Two mounted marshals each with a team of six men were employed in 1604 (Harrison 1604, sig. Kr), while Dugdale (1604b, sig.[B4]v) is thankful that ‘little or no hurt or danger ensued to any: which was greatly feared by many’ due to the large crowds. Hints at drunken behaviour may also be read in Harrison’s comments (1604, sig. Kr) that under the influence of music, the wine that flowed in the conduits ‘ran the faster and more merrily down into some bodies’ bellies’. The allegories of Detraction and Oblivion at the fourth arch also raise the spectre of a disruptive presence, if only to see it ritually subdued by the royal presence (Dekker 1604b, sigs. [E4]r-F1v).⁶

In the reality of performance the deviser of the pageant must have found the crowds an unpredictable and uncontrollable element, essential to the festivities yet capable of undermining or obscuring the carefully wrought conceits. Only in the published text would they have provided the perfect frame to the day’s spectacles. Music, however, was one means by which a deviser might attempt to control the celebratory soundscape. On the King’s approach to the first arch music was played up until the speeches were to begin, when it was silenced (Jonson 1604, sig. B2r). After the speeches the waits and hautboys began to play again and the King moved on (Dekker 1604b, sig. C1v). A similar pattern is found at the fourth arch where music ceases at the arrival of the King and a song marked the conclusion of the pageant (Dekker 1604b, sigs. [E4]v and F2r-v). Through music, periods of noise and silence are created that mirror what is expected from the crowd. The music would presumably

⁶ Similar figures appeared in the Lord Mayor’s pageants: Munro 2005, pp. 63-6.

have started as word was received that the King was expected. Even at the fifth arch, where Sylvanus and his cornett-players accosted the King in advance, they give another flourish as they approach the construction (Dekker 1604b, sig. G1r). Cheering crowds at this moment would only add to the atmosphere. When the music falls silent it signals that speeches are about to begin and quiet is required. The resumption of music signals to the King's party he can move on when ready (Dekker specifically notes when he paused to listen as on sig. H1r) and the crowds could cheer him on his way. Indeed at the end of the speeches at the fifth arch music was specifically called on to 'carry all their prayers for his happy reign, with the loud amen of all his subjects as high as heaven' (Dekker 1604b, sig. [G4]r).⁷ Whether the crowds respected this structure remained to be seen, but it appears to have been a deliberate attempt to communicate and control the intended pattern of the soundscape.

Even if this were effective, the notion that 'the dispersed sounds that usually rang out [in the city]... were composed into the harmonious sounds of music and oratory' still seems to underplay the extent to which this harmonisation changed the nature of the city's voice and identity (Smith 1999, p. 71). Was this an opportunity to 'hear the city whole' or was one really hearing the city at all? Dekker's account of James's royal entry in 1604 is highly conscious of the transformational effect of pageantry on the city (for example, 1604b, sigs. B4r, C1v, E2v, F2v, H1r, H3r and I2r). The everyday city ceases to exist as it is temporarily metamorphosed by the royal presence into an extraordinary, elevated state of being. Dekker briefly hints at music's role in this process. His account opens with devices he had planned

⁷ On the use of music as a structural device see also Anderson 2006, pp. 92-3 and 96.

for James's initial entry into the city upon his Accession (as opposed to at his coronation, see Lancashire 2009), which had not been performed due to 'his Majesty no making his entrance (according to expectation)' (Dekker 1604v, sig. B2v). Two armed knights, Saint George and Saint Andrew, are accosted by *Genius Loci* for their incongruous entry into this peaceful idyll, a place where 'every tongue speaks music' and 'every pen... dipped in nectar, which by Delphic fire being heated, melts into an Orphean-quire' (Dekker 1604b, sigs. B1v-B2r). Music is the heightened language of this paradise while the 'Orphean-quire' – ambiguously evocative of both singing choirs and quires of paper filled by the nectar-dipped pen – points to the legendary powers of Orpheus, whose musical and poetic eloquence was credited with founding civilization among the barbarous peoples in mythical times (Calogero 2009, pp. 6-17, 23-7). As the description progresses it is clear that the image is not an imaginary paradise or mythical civilization, but rather London as prepared for the King's arrival, with streets strewn with flowers, buildings dressed up like fairy-bowers and windows glazed with wondering eyes (sig. B2r). Dekker's account blurs the boundaries between poetic representation and the realities of the scene, and the musical soundscape is a vital component in metamorphosing the ordinary city into a fantasy world.⁸

Not only does the pageant alter the everyday city soundscape, but these intrinsic transformations take on symbolic significance as a vital element in the representation of the city, the monarch and their relationship within the ritual of the royal entry. In the devices for the royal entry of 1604 I argue that the music played a role in such transformations in two

⁸ On the blurring of fiction and reality, and real and metaphorical representations of the city, see Bergeron 1988, p. 320 and 328.

ways. Firstly it worked alongside the visual elements to create and define new kinds of spaces within the city. Secondly it provided an audible representation of the otherwise inaudible monarchical power that was the cause of these changes, both literally (James I's entry having occasioned the pageantry) and symbolically as the pageants articulate the hope that the new monarch will bring a renewed harmony and prosperity to both city and kingdom.

Within the performed event it was the song 'Troynovant is now no more a City' that articulated this idea (Dekker 1604b, sig.F2r-v). This ended the devices at the *Nova Faelix Arabia* arch and its lyrics picked up themes from the preceding boy's speech, which portrayed James as a phoenix rising out of the ashes of his predecessor, regenerating England in to a New Arabia. It began:

Troynovant is now no more a City:
O great pity! Is't not pity?
And yet her Towers on tiptoe stand,
Like pageants built in Fairy land:
And her Marble arms,
Like to Magic charms,
bind thousands fast unto her,
That for her wealth and beauty daily woo her:
yet for all this, is't not pity?
Troynovant is now no more a City.

The song applies this idea of transformation to the city of London itself. The representation of London as a second Troy was not a new one, but in Dekker's twist this Troynovant becomes something more than a city. The song likens the city to 'pageants built in fairy land', while in

subsequent verses London is described as a summer arbour, and eagle's nest, and a bridal chamber. It playfully mixes the reality of London's partial transformation for the royal entry – the pageant architecture and the summer that will follow in the next arch – with more metaphorical descriptions. It is an eagle's nest because it harbours the new King and a bridal chamber because the coronation had often been likened to a marriage ceremony between King and country, including the giving of a ring (Levin 1998, pp. 41-2). The royal entry may no longer have followed the coronation ceremony as originally intended, but the triumph celebrated the sacred ritual, just as in secular festivities after a marriage. The song brings to consciousness the tension between fiction and reality. The city may appear physically the same in its buildings and its people, but it is also transformed both metaphorically in speech and song and to some extent literally through architectural additions, decorative embellishment and changed behaviours (Bergeron 1988, p. 320 and 328). The transformation was also marked in the soundscape of the song, which was accompanied not only by musical instruments, but also by 'sundry several sounds' including birdsong. Bringing natural sounds in the city soundscape further underlined the metaphorical transformations implied in the lyrics.

The song had clearly been the subject of some criticism for its seeming demotion of London's status, as Dekker felt obliged to defend it in print. He explains:

London (to do honour to this day, wherein springs up all her happiness)... makes no account (for the present) of her ancient title, to be called a City, (because during these triumphs, she puts off her formal habit of trade and commerce, treading even thrift it self under foot), but now becomes a Reveller and a Courtier.... titles of Summer

arbour, the Eagle's nest, a wedding hall, etc. are thrown upon her... thought to be names of more honour, than that of her own (Dekker 1604b, sig. F2v-F3r)

The sounds of carts, animals, craftsmen, traders hawking their wares and so forth are not so much harmonised as temporarily silenced by a new festival soundscape. While some of the sounds of the city are preserved in noise of its crowds, the speeches by local figures and the use of its premier musical ensembles – the waits and the choristers of St Paul's – the sounds that define the economy and prosperity of the city are silenced. This would be a stark contrast with the everyday London soundscape.

Moreover Dekker (1604b, sig. F3r) argues that the titles he has instead applied to the city are more honourable, especially 'in regard of the State that now upholds her' (i.e. the royal presence grants London higher status than its usual title of city). It is an acknowledgement that London's traditional importance depends on the King without whom it would not hold its place as the premier English city, both politically and economically. The antiquity of that close relationship with the monarchy is a significant part of London's perception of its greatness. Nevertheless the relationship was a reciprocal one as the King in turn depends on London for his power, security and for the supply of goods and services, a dependence captured in the representation of London as a nest.⁹

⁹ On the reciprocal relationship between London and the monarchy see: Paster 1985 pp. 52-4, Archer 2008, pp. 157-79; Manley 2005, pp. 216-17 and 219-21.

Another of Dekker's structuring ideas for his conception of the royal entry is the temporary transformation of the city into the King's court. Within the performed pageantry the concept is evoked only sparingly. The first arch was inscribed 'Camera Regia' so that as James entered the city he metaphorically entered the 'King's Chamber', and the Recorder too referred in his speech to the city as a 'royal chamber' (Dekker 1604b, sig. C1v and F3v; Jonson 1604, sig. A2r).¹⁰ In his account of the festivities Dekker (1604b) takes this title that was traditionally applied to London and turns it into an extended metaphor. He likens journey to the ceremonial heart of the city to the passage through ever more intimate rooms of a royal court: from the great hall to the presence chamber, to the tightly controlled spaces of the privy chamber, withdrawing chamber and ultimately the royal bedchamber.¹¹ Dekker's journey takes the King from the intimate 'withdrawing chamber' (The Tower, sig. [B4]r) out into the ceremonial space of the great hall (Gracechurch Street and Cornhill, sig. C1v), through a procession of increasingly intimate spaces culminating outside St Paul's Cathedral (E2v and H1r), before moving out again into his Kingdom (H3r).

Little of this was communicated by the pageantry (as opposed to Dekker's narration), but a large part of the effect of these changing spaces may have been communicated via the choice of music. In the royal court different ensembles were associated with particular areas of the court depending the suitability of their sound to the space and its functions (Holman 1993, pp. 36-8; Butler 2015, pp. 76-7). Trumpet, drums and loud wind instruments such as shawms accompanied by sackbuts were appropriate for large and busy spaces as well as being best

¹⁰ The title does not appear on the engraving of Harrison's arch.

¹¹ On the procession of royal rooms in the Jacobean court see Cuddy 1987, pp.174-95.

suiting to outdoor public occasions such as civic pageantry. Soft instruments such as lutes, virginals and flutes were best suited to small rooms and private occasions. Ensembles of recorders, viols or violins occupied a middle ground and might play in the presence chamber on quieter occasions, while cornetts (not the modern brass instrument of the same name, but a softer sounding, curved, wooden instrument) were particularly versatile due to their wide dynamic range. The singers of Chapel Royal provided the music for religious observance, though occasionally took part in secular entertainments too. These associations between instrumentation and courtly space were used within the pageantry of the royal entry to evoke these different locations and degrees of intimacy.

As the King's passes under the Londinium arch and into Dekker's 'great hall' (1604b, sig.C1v), loud wind instruments played ('haultboys' – i.e. double-reeded shawms – plausibly accompanied by sackbuts and cornetts in the engraving of Harrison's arch). The arches of the Italians and the Dutch in Gracechurch Street and Cornhill are 'not unworthy to bear the name of the great hall... wherein was to be heard and seen the sundry languages and habits of strangers, which under Princes' roofs render excellent harmony' (sig. C1v). Only Dugdale mentions music for the Italian pageant, but his account of shawms, cornetts, drums and trumpets would all be appropriate for a large space like the great hall. Visitors to the English court often attended ceremonial serving of dinner in the great hall, which they described as being accompanied by trumpets and drums, or shawms (Butler 2015, p. 82). Only a 'loud' singer is described at the Dutch pageant, but outside St Mildred's Church there were nine trumpets and a kettledrum (Dekker 1604b, sigs. [D4]v and E2v). Such an ensemble typically comprised of lower trumpets and the kettledrum providing a ground of open fifths, with the melody played by trumpets in the middle register and improvisation over the top by

trumpeters playing in the highest register (Butler 2015, p. 82). Playing to Dekker's characterisation of 'sundry languages and habits of strangers', the band performed a Danish March to honour the Queen's nationality.

Cheapside, filled with 'so many gallant gentlemen, so many ladies and beautiful creatures', becomes the presence chamber (it was at the cross on Cheap Street where important civic dignitaries such as the Recorder, Aldermen, Chamberlain and Town Clerk gathered to meet the King; Dekker 1604b, sig. E2v). Despite some disparity between the engravings of Harrison's *Nova Faelix Arabia* arch and Dekker's textual account, it appears that a mix of wind and string ensembles with singers created an acoustical effect appropriate to the presence chamber, which was smaller than the great hall, but significantly larger and busier than the privy chamber. The engraving of Harrison's arch (1604, sig. [F2]r) splits the musicians into string instruments on the left (harp, violin, viol, lute, guitar and a hidden figure in the background) and wind instruments on the right (cornetts, flute, shawms and sackbut).¹² This arrangement is probably more symbolic of the range of instruments employed than an accurate depiction of the ensembles as the flute would be inaudible among those louder wind instruments. It would be more plausible for the flute to have played with the strings on the left, whose combination of plucked and bowed strings would then loosely resemble the typical mixed consort: treble and bass viol, three plucked instruments (lute, cittern and bandora) and flute or recorder (Holman 1993, pp. 131-6; Edwards 2016). It is not clear from Dekker's account what these various ensembles might have played. He notes only the violins

¹² My identification of the instruments differs slightly from Spink 1957, p. 211.

and two boy choristers who performed the song ‘Troynovant is now no more a City’, with the accompaniment of another ‘rare and artificial instrument’ that provided sound effects like birdsong (Dekker 1604b, sig. F2r). The wind instruments may have been associated with Fame, who sounded her trumpet. The flute had particular connotations of mourning and so may have been used in the creation of the ‘sad and solemn’ music (Manifold 1948, pp. 380-82). The ‘strange and heavenly music’ might have been provided by singers (who had traditionally provided polyphony for the heavenly music in mystery plays: Anderson 2014, p. 139) or perhaps by the variant form of mixed consort (inspiring the adjective ‘strange’).

At the garden arch, *Hortus Euporiae*, a still greater level of intimacy was created as the louder sounds of trumpets and shawms were now dispensed with in favour of soft instruments. Prior to reaching the arch the King was met by Sylvanus who leads him to the garden. At the royal court being invited to walk in the garden offered significant opportunities for private conversation away from other ears, even though one might still be seen (Orlin 2007, pp. 231-3 and 236-7). The arch’s complex musical arrangements seem to reflect this combination of an outdoor and yet potentially intimate space. The engraving of Harrison’s arch shows Sylvanus’s followers with their cornetts, plus the nine Muses on the arch itself, each with a different soft instrument: viol, lute, flute, guitar, cornett, harp, cittern, recorder and a singer with a book (Harrison 1604, sig. [G2]r; Spink 1957, p. 212). Dekker (1604b, sigs. F3v-H1r), however, paints a more complex picture with numerous instrumental groups placed at different points around the structure such that tunes ‘danced around it’. For Dekker it is nine choristers who represent the Muses and sing to the softer tones of viols and other instruments (Music, one the liberal arts displayed on the arch was another singer and the soloist for ‘Shine, Titan, Shine’ that ends the device). There were cornetts (presumably those already

described as being played by Sylvanus and his followers), which had often been used to mimic rustic instruments in pastoral or woodland settings during Elizabethan entertainments.¹³ A ‘set of viols’ is described as being ‘in sight’, suggesting that other ensembles may have been hidden, perhaps within the arch itself. Dekker also specifies a ‘consort’, which in this period referred specifically to the mixed consort (Holman 1993, pp. 131-6; Edwards 2016). This ensemble of soft instruments was unlikely to have been very audible in the noisy street. During Elizabeth’s progress to Norwich in 1578 ‘soft music’ was used to accompany a song within an arch and a similar arrangement would be plausible here (Anderson 2006, pp. 98-100; Butler 2015, p. 186). Such an arrangement created an intimate moment where music was only audible to those in the procession passing under the arch, momentarily shielded from the crowds outside. This would have been appropriate to the connotations of courtly gardens, which were often used as spaces where private conversations. Dekker also likens the arch to a ‘music room’, which carries further connotations of particular intimacy. These small chambers were often off bedchambers where tutors and their pupils were brought together in a small and private space, even generating a certain degree of social anxiety about the potential for impropriety (Nelson 2012, p. 15 and 20).

After this garden arch the procession proceeded to the ‘closet or rather the privy chamber... through the windows of which he might behold the cathedral temple of St Paul’ (Dekker 1604b, sig. H1r). Representing the privy chamber in a public, outdoor setting would have

¹³ For other examples see Butler 2015, p.31; Sidney 1598, p. 573.

been impractical when there was little escape from noisy crowds and the most private music-making of lutenists or virginal players would have never have been heard. Dekker's ingenious solution was to represent instead a more liminal aspect of these private quarters: the King's closet above the chapel where he could look down from a private space onto the Chapel Royal service below (McCullough 1998, pp. 14-17).¹⁴ St Paul's is turned into the Chapel Royal as the singers performed an anthem from the battlements accompanied by loud instruments appropriate to the realities of outdoor space (Dekker 1604b, sig. H1r). This religious moment becomes the focal point, representing the most intimate relationship of King and City joined in the worship of God. Fleet Street becomes a 'long and beauteous gallery' along which the sixth and seventh arches were situated before he exited the city-court (Dekker 1604b, sig. H3r). Accompanying the return to a larger, more public space there was a song, 'Where are all these honours owing?' to the sounds of 'haultboys and other loud instruments' while seven cornetts and a sackbut are depicted by Harrison on the final arch at Temple Bar (Dekker 1604b, sig. I1v; Harrison 1604, sig. [I2]r; Spink 1957, p. 212).¹⁵

¹⁴ The use of the St Paul's choir and loud instruments implies that the chapel closet is what Dekker is referring to here, though there was also a privy closet where the monarch heard private daily devotions. The King used the chapel closet primarily for attending services on Sundays and feast days.

¹⁵ Long galleries also held connotation of intimacy as their enclosed bay windows and length allowed one to walk away from other ears, making them a location for private conversation despite their public nature (Orlin 2007, p. 226-7 and 237-8). Dekker does not seem to draw on these connotations here.

In practice recreating the soundscape of the court in the streets of a crowded city would have been all but impossible. There was no attempt to enact the sounds of the different kinds of business conducted in these rooms, while the acoustics of the different sized rooms, and the contrast of furnished room versus outdoor streets meant that that even if a listener knew what these spaces in the court sounded like (and most would not) they would not have recognised them from the pageantry alone (Smith 1999, p. 86, 89-90). Similarly the outdoor space restricted the range of ensembles and instruments that were practical and audible in an external space caused a certain amount compromise, as did the juxtaposition of this agenda with other necessities such as creating particular moods. Nevertheless, spectators comparing different stages along the route would have recognised changes to timbre, volume and the size of area through which the music carried. Even if spectators did not connect instrumentation to courtly space, they may well have recognised the varying degrees of intimacy they connoted and this was the essential part of the metaphor. The aural journey symbolised an increasing intimacy between King and City brought about through the rituals of pageantry.

Music not only signalled transformations of space from city to garden or court, it also represented the force behind these alterations. Indeed Dekker opened his account with just such a metaphor. He gives the conventional ritual of trumpets proclaiming a new King a novel resonance by comparing the moment to the legendary moment when the musician Timotheus calmed Alexander the Great's military fury at a banquet (which had in fact just

been inspired by the same musician's playing, though Dekker overlooks this element of the tale):¹⁶

the sorrow and amazement, that like an earthquake began to shake the distempered body of this Island (by reason of our late Sovereign's departure) being wisely and miraculously prevented, and the feared wounds of a civil sword, (as Alexander's fury was with music) being stopped from bursting forth, by the sound of Trumpets that proclaimed King James (Dekker 1604b, sig. A2r).

Music both signals the rule of James and represents the monarchical power that banishes civil unrest, the powers of music mirror those of State. The conceit draws on a long tradition of representing the commonwealth as a harmony that needs to be tuned by its monarch, as well the Platonic notion that music could effect political change (Butler 2015, pp. 6-9; Calogero pp.22-41). As *The Praise of Music* argued: 'the changing of musical notes, hath caused an alteration of the common state' (Anon 1586, p. 63).

Dekker's introduction pre-empts another variation on this idea within the coronation pageant itself. At the fourth arch at the end of Soper Lane on Cheapside, *Nova faelix Arabia*, depicted the Fount of Virtue as having run dry while Fame was left Mute by the corrupting presence of Detraction and Oblivion. To underline the state of decay 'sad and solemn' music preceded the King's arrival, creating a distinct contrast to the earlier triumphant music (Dekker 1604b, sig. E4v). Yet upon the presence of James, Fame sounds her trumpet and awakes the Senses and Circumspection. Detraction and Oblivion also awaken but their attempts to begin again to

¹⁶ On Timotheus see for example Anon 1586, pp. 59-60.

suck the fountain dry are thwarted by a ‘strange and heavenly music suddenly striking through their ears’. This drew them to ‘light upon the glorious presence of the King’ by which they were ‘daunted, and sunk down’ (sig. F1r). James’s presence banishes sad and solemn music and brings with it instead a heavenly music that banishes oblivion and detraction. As in the *Hortus Euporiae* (which was still to come), the speeches explain that James’s arrival marks a new and glorious age. James is a Phoenix who rises from the ashes transforming England into a New Arabia and London into a Troynovant.

In both examples the supposedly transformative power of James’s monarchy is made audible by association with the traditionally powerful effects of music. It is not surprising therefore to find him increasingly identified with Apollo – god of music – as the entry progresses. Apollo is first seen on the back of the Italian pageant with his harp and other symbolic props (Dekker 1604b, sig. C4v). In the following pageant presented by the Dutch the final speech imagines Apollo and the Muses resigning their lyre and laurels to James, alongside other virtues such as Religion, Justice, Fortitude and Plenty (sig. E2r). In these pageants the Apollonian references are only fleeting, but at the fifth arch, *Hortus Euporia* (sig. F3v), the theme comes to the fore as Sylvanus and his cornett-playing sylvans greet him with the acclamation: ‘Alter Apollo redit, novus en, iam regnat Apollo’ (another Apollo returns, see he is new, now Apollo reigns). Once the party approaches the arch (sig. G3r), the Muses sing lines from Virgil’s *Aeneid* (III.395) ‘Adertique vocatus Apollo’ (And he will come, the Apollo we call upon) answered by a ‘chorus in full voices’ with words from the *Fifth Eclogue* (V.58–64) in which the countryside is transformed into a peaceful paradise and the rocks and trees proclaim Apollo’s arrival singing: ‘*Deus, Deus, ille!*’ (the god, the god, it is he). Dekker’s narration also describes James as the ‘Delian patron both of the Muses and Arts’, who having been at

risk of banishment or barbarism are now raised to high preferment (sig. G3v). Then in the final song ('Shine, Titan, Shine'), Apollo the Olympian Sun God is equated with Helios the Titan, both of which are personifications of the Sun, who is told to shine here no longer as England has its own new sun (sig. [G4]r).

Several facets of Apollo's mythology combine. The *Hortus Euporiae* pageant not only quotes lines from Virgil, but draws its whole conceit of a new age of peace and plenty heralded by the arrival of a new Apollo from his *Fourth Eclogue* (Li 2012, pp. 563-5). As the Sun God, Apollo nourishes the earth, as God of Music he brings the harmony by which demigods such as Orpheus and Amphion brought civilization to barbarous peoples in mythical times (Calogero 2009, pp. 6-17 and 23-7). His predecessor Elizabeth had also been regularly greeted as a second sun, a phoenix, bringer of harmony and herald of a new golden age and a second Troy.¹⁷ Now through the figure of Apollo and other conceits of musical transformation, these tropes and expectations were re-appropriated for James, who is welcomed as mythical, prophesied ruler who will nurture his people, instil political and social concord, and become a patron to the civilizing arts and music.

London's musical transformations therefore signify both its submission to the King who can so profoundly alter its soundscape and identity, and the city's own prominent status in enjoying the privilege of welcoming each new monarch and maintaining a special relationship

¹⁷ For examples see Calogero 2009, pp. 565-6 and Butler 2015, pp. 5, 30-4, 37-9, 102-4, 120-1, 145, 149-151, 168, 183, 186, 208 and 211.

with the crown both politically and economically. Moreover the authors of the city's pageants used this special relationship as an occasion to articulate their hopes for the new reign, illustrating through music the transformative potential of monarchical power if wisely used. Nevertheless the image of the harmonious and transformative powers of monarchy is somewhat undermined by the temporariness of the changes wrought on the city. At the end of Dekker's account he recognises that with the end of the pageant London is no more a court, but resigns itself to its former city status. Similarly picking up the theme from the Troynovant song, the city is no longer a bride but already widow, nostalgically recalling now-lost joys. Only the presence of the King could 'make a city appear great as a kingdom' (Dekker 1604b, sig. I2v). Dekker's emphasis on such temporariness is a reminder of the extent to which the vision of the harmonious ruler and city were offered not as praise but as counsel, not as realities but as hopes for what the King, London and the England might become.

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