

THE EARLY CULTURAL CONTEXTS OF SHAKESPEAREAN  
STAGE MUSIC: VOCALITY, CIRCULATION AND  
REPRESENTATION

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor in Philosophy

July 2021

by

Sarah Ledwidge

(University of Dublin)

Complete in Three Volumes

Volume 1




## DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis has not been submitted as an exercise for a degree at this or any other university and it is entirely my own work.

I agree to deposit this thesis in the University's open access institutional repository or allow the Library to do so on my behalf, subject to Irish Copyright Legislation and Trinity College Library conditions of use and acknowledgement.

I consent to the examiner retaining a copy of the thesis beyond the examining period, should they so wish (EU GDPR May 2018).

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'S. Ledwidge'.

August 2020



## SUMMARY

The aim of this thesis is twofold:

1. To investigate the cultural significance of Shakespearean theatre music with specific focus on the use of boys' voices on the stage, depictions of the supernatural world, and musical representations of death.
2. To re-examine the origins and early circulation of Shakespeare's songs, applying a rigorous method of stemmatic analysis to shed light on their earliest forms.

In chapter 1 I examine the role of Elizabethan and Jacobean child companies in raising the musical profile of early modern English drama, concluding that the child companies' greatest legacy was the musical tradition associated with their indoor performances, a tradition which was inherited by the adults after their demise. An overview of child company activity and the reasons for their dissolution is followed by an interpretation of *Hamlet's* 'Little Eyases' passage (II.ii), where I draw on the musical associations of the term 'means' as key to understanding the passage as a comment on the revival of the child companies. A comparison of the notated pitch of boy songs in child and adult company repertoire demonstrates that boy songs of the adult companies were notated at a higher pitch than those of the child companies. There follows an account of the clues that can be glimpsed in both adult- and child-company play texts to understanding the implications for theatrical companies of vocal pitch and voice change in boys. A discussion about boy apprenticeship in Shakespeare's own company is followed by a reflection on the musical consequences of the adults' usurpation of the children's indoor playing space.

In chapters 2 and 3 I examine the origins and early circulation of Shakespeare's songs. All known manuscript and printed sources for the earliest versions of those songs are collated in appendix 2.1, which serves as a point of reference for both chapters. Chapter 2 commences with a survey of the secondary literature concerning the classification of Shakespeare's songs as 'popular', 'formal' etc., and an overview of early modern manuscript and print culture. In the main body of the chapter, I explore Shakespeare's use of pre-existing, popular songs as a hierarchization device whereby he portrays characters as being drunk, clowns, mad, or the butt of jokes. Chapter 3 consists of case studies of the circulation of six of Shakespeare's songs which do not appear to have pre-dated their plays. Using the text-critical method, I trace the relationships between early sources of text and music, concluding that songs ostensibly penned by Shakespeare circulated with textual stability, while songs whose origins are more complex or which had affiliations with plays outside of Shakespeare's canon have less consistent textual traditions.

In chapter 4 I examine the musical aspects of Shakespeare's supernatural and magical characters, namely fairies, witches and *The Tempest's* Ariel. Placing Shakespeare's characters within their wider cultural context, I conclude that specific musical effects came to be associated with those different types of being: shifting metre with fairies, daring harmonies within a stable, incantatory rhythm for magic songs, and harmonic and structural disorder for witches. Chapter 5 posits Shakespeare's musical treatment of death as a reflection of the changing cultural and religious landscape of early modern England. A study of the distribution of the words 'knell', 'bell' and 'plague' throughout Shakespeare's plays reveals a correlation with plague outbreaks in England. Finally, a survey of the dramatic use of such musical devices as knells, dead marches and dirges leads to the conclusion that at a time when the use of music to mourn and bury the dead was under curtailment, it continued to be used unreservedly on the stage.



## CONTENTS

## Volume 1

Abbreviations and <i>Sigla</i> .....	viii
Technical Notes.....	x
Lists of Appendices, Music Examples, Figures, Tables and Illustrations.....	xi
Acknowledgements.....	xiii
Introduction.....	1
1. THE MUSICAL ROLE OF CHILDREN IN EARLY MODERN DRAMA.....	5
1.1 An Overview of the Commercial Child Companies of Early Modern England	7
1.1.1 First Active Period, First Dissolution and the Marprelate Controversy	7
1.1.2 Revival, Recruitment and Final Dissolution	10
1.2 ‘Little Eyases’: <i>Hamlet</i> and Relations Between Child and Adult Companies	12
1.2.1 Q1: The Humour of Children	14
1.2.2 ‘The Means of the Late Innovation’: Q2 and the First Folio	15
1.2.3 Choirboy Welfare	17
1.3 Vocal Pitch and Boy Songs	19
1.3.1 Notated versus Sung Pitch	19
1.3.2 Squeaking Cleopatras and High-Stretched Minikins	23
1.3.3 The Mannish Crack: Voice Change and the Boy Player	26
1.3.4 ‘I wyll singe in my mans voyce’: Changed Voices on the Stage	30
1.4 ‘A Very Proper Child’: James Rice and Shakespeare’s Boy Apprentices	33
1.5 ‘The not received custom’: Musical Practice in Child and Adult Companies	39
2. THE EARLY CIRCULATION OF SHAKESPEARE’S SONGS.....	43
2.1 Manuscript vs Print	46
2.2 Pre-existing Song and Musical Hierarchization	52
2.2.1 Drunk	54
2.2.2 Clown	60
2.2.3 Mad	68
2.2.4 Characters who are the Butt of a Joke	75

3. THE CIRCULATION OF SHAKESPEARE’S SONGS: CASE STUDIES.....	81
3.1 Introduction	81
3.1.1 Aims	81
3.1.2 Methodology for Stemmatic Analysis	83
3.1.3 The Quest for Authenticity	85
3.2 Case Studies	86
3.2.1 ‘What shall he have that killed the deer?’ ( <i>As You Like It</i> , IV.ii)	86
3.2.2 The Willow Song ( <i>Othello</i> , IV.iii)	88
3.2.3 ‘Take, o take those lips away’ ( <i>Measure for Measure</i> , IV.i)	96
3.2.4 ‘Come away, Hecate’ and ‘Black spirits and white’ ( <i>Macbeth</i> , III.v and IV.1)	100
3.2.5 ‘Where the bee sucks’ ( <i>The Tempest</i> , V.i)	105
3.3 Conclusions	109
4. MUSICAL REPRESENTATIONS OF THE SUPERNATURAL.....	111
4.1 Fairies	113
4.1.1 Survey of Musical Fairies in English Culture and Literature	115
4.1.2 Fairies in Elizabethan Songs, Madrigals and Royal Entertainments	119
4.1.3 Musical Fairies on the Stage	128
4.1.4 Ben Jonson’s <i>Oberon, The Faery Prince: A Masque of Prince Henry</i>	142
4.1.5 Magic Songs and Shakespeare’s Ariel	146
4.2 Witches	150
4.2.1 Pre-Shakespearean Musical Enchantresses	155
4.2.2 <i>Macbeth</i>	156
4.2.3 Ben Jonson’s <i>Masque of Queens</i>	165
4.2.4 Witches in later Jacobean stage plays	168
4.3 Conclusion	171
5. ‘WHAT CEREMONY ELSE’: MUSICAL REPRESENTATIONS OF DEATH.....	173
5.1 Knells	174
5.1.1 To Toll Or Not To Toll: Reformation of Ringing Practices	174
5.1.2 Funeral Bells in Early Modern Literature	177
5.1.3 Ringing Custom in Times of Plague	179
5.1.4 Shakespeare and Plague	181
5.1.5 Knells in Shakespeare’s Songs	183
5.2. Dead March	188
5.3 Funeral Liturgy and Song	195
5.3.1 Liturgical Reformation	196



5.3.2 Theatrical Death Songs, Elegies and Dirges	198
5.3.3 'The Rest is Silence': Liturgy and Song in <i>Hamlet</i>	207
5.4 'Doomed for a Certain Term to Walk the Night': The Ghostly Soundscape of the Stage	215
5.5 'A Swan-Like End': Music to Die By	221
5.6 'The Rest is Silence': Dying Without Music	225
5.7 Conclusion	226
Conclusion.....	229
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	233

## Volume 2

MUSIC EXAMPLES, FIGURES, ILLUSTRATIONS AND TABLES.....	267
--	-----

## VOLUME 3

APPENDIX 1.1 CHILD AND ADULT SONGS IN SHAKESPEARE'S PLAYS.....	300
APPENDIX 2.1 EARLY SOURCES FOR SHAKESPEARE SONGS.....	302
APPENDIX 2.2 BALLAD TUNES ASSOCIATED WITH 'BONNY SWEET ROBIN'	335
APPENDIX 3.1 'WHAT SHALL HE HAVE THAT KILLED THE DEER?' ( <i>AS YOU LIKE IT</i> , IV.II).....	339
APPENDIX 3.2 THE WILLOW SONG ( <i>OTHELLO</i> , IV.III).....	341
APPENDIX 3.3 'TAKE, O TAKE THOSE LIPS AWAY' ( <i>MEASURE FOR MEASURE</i> , IV.I).....	346
APPENDIX 3.4 'COME AWAY, HECATE' ( <i>MACBETH</i> , III.v).....	350
APPENDIX 3.5 'BLACK SPIRITS AND WHITE' ( <i>MACBETH</i> , IV.I).....	355
APPENDIX 3.6 'WHERE THE BEE SUCKS' ( <i>THE TEMPEST</i> , V.vi).....	357
APPENDIX 4.1 THE MAD MERRY PRANKS OF ROBIN GOODFELLOW.....	360

## ABBREVIATIONS AND SIGLA

## A. General

attrib./unattrib.	attributed to/unattributed
<i>b.</i>	born
b., bb.	bar, bars
bap.	baptised
<i>c.</i>	<i>circa</i>
d.	died
ed., eds	edited by, editors
edn(s)	edition(s)
ex.	example
f., ff.	folio, folios
fl.	flourished
MS, MSS	manuscript, manuscripts
n.	note
O. T.	oral tradition
p., pp.	page, pages
r	<i>recto</i>
rev.	revised by
sig., sigs	signature, signatures
trans.	translated by
v	<i>verso</i>
vol., vols	volume, volumes

## B. Bibliographical

<i>BCP</i>	Book of Common Prayer
CELM	Catalogue of English Literary Manuscripts
DIAMM	Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music
EBBA	English Broadside Ballad Archive
ECCO	Eighteenth-Century Collections Online
EEBO	Early English Books Online
EECM	Early English Church Music
ESTC	English Short Title Catalogue
<i>F</i>	Shakespeare's First Folio
<i>F, GB-Ob</i> (online)	Bodleian First Folio online
<i>FVB</i>	Fitzwilliam Virginal Book
Q	quarto
<i>R</i>	<i>William Shakespeare: Complete Works, RSC Edition</i> (2007)
<i>REED</i>	<i>Records of Early English Drama</i>
STC	<i>A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, &amp; Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475–1640</i> (2nd edn)
Wing	<i>Short-title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America, and of English books printed in other countries, 1641–1700</i>

C. Library *Sigla*

<i>D-KL</i>	Germany, Kassel, Gesamthochschul-Bibliothek
<i>F-Pc</i>	France, Paris Conservatoire
<i>GB</i>	Great Britain
<i>GB-AB</i>	Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales
<i>GB-Bc</i>	Birmingham Central Library
<i>GB-CAR</i>	Cumbria Record Office, Carlisle
<i>GB-Cfm</i>	Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum
<i>GB-Cjc</i>	Cambridge, St John's College
<i>GB-Ckc</i>	Cambridge, King's College, Rowe Music Library
<i>GB-Ctc</i>	Cambridge, Trinity College Library
<i>GB-Cu</i>	Cambridge, University Library
<i>GB-En</i>	Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland
<i>GB-Eu</i>	Edinburgh, University Library
<i>GB-Ge</i>	Glasgow, Euing Music Library
<i>GB-Lbl</i>	London, British Library
<i>GB-Lna</i>	London, National Archives
<i>GB-Lmcghie</i>	London, private collection of David McGhie
<i>GB-NO</i>	Nottingham, University, Department of Music
<i>GB-Ob</i>	Oxford, Bodleian Library
<i>GB-Occc</i>	Oxford, Corpus Christi College Library
<i>GB-Och</i>	Oxford, Christ Church Library
<i>GB-WCr</i>	Winchester, Hampshire Record Office
<i>IRL</i>	Ireland
<i>IRL-Dm</i>	Dublin, Archbishop Marsh's Library
<i>IRL-Dtc</i>	Dublin, Trinity College Library
<i>NL-Lt</i>	Netherlands, Leiden, Bibliotheca Thysiana
<i>US</i>	United States
<i>US-CAh</i>	Cambridge, Harvard University, Houghton Library
<i>US-CLwr</i>	Cleveland, Western Reserve University
<i>US-LAuc</i>	Los Angeles, University of California at Los Angeles, Clark Memorial Library
<i>US-NH</i>	New Haven, Yale University, Gilmore Music Library
<i>US-NHub</i>	New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library
<i>US-NYp</i>	New York, Public Library
<i>US-NYpm</i>	New York, Pierpont Morgan Library
<i>US-OAm</i>	Oakland, Mills College
<i>US-PHr</i>	Philadelphia, Rosenbach Museum and Library
<i>US-SM</i>	San Marino, Huntington Library
<i>US-TxU</i>	Austin, University of Texas
<i>US-Wog</i>	Washington DC, Library of Congress
<i>US-Ws</i>	Washington DC, Folger Shakespeare Library

## TECHNICAL NOTES

### *Act, Scene and Line Numbers*

Act numbers are in capital roman numerals, scene numbers in lowercase roman numerals, and line numbers/ranges in Arabic numerals.

### *Bibliography*

Sources printed before 1640 are referenced by their STC number. Sources printed between 1640 and 1700 are referenced by their Wing number. Eighteenth-century sources are referenced by their ESTC number.

Appendices 2.1 and 2.2 are bibliographical resources in themselves and relate to the narrative of chapters 2 and 3. Sources contained in those appendices are therefore not replicated in bibliographies A or B unless they are referenced also in chapters 1, 4 and/or 5.

### *Dates*

Dates of Shakespeare's plays, unless otherwise stated, are from *R*.

Dates of manuscripts, unless otherwise stated, are from the relevant library or archive catalogue.

### *Music Examples*

In transcriptions from early sources, original pitch and time values have been retained but clefs and time signatures are modernised.

### *Musical Nomenclature*

Clefs are identified as C1 and G2 (the staff lines being numbered from lowest to highest), or bass clef.

Octave specific note names follow the scientific method of pitch notation whereby middle C is named C4. The notes immediately above C4 are named D4, E4 etc. until C5 is reached, and the notes below C4 are named B3, A3 etc, descending to C3.

For ease of readership, modern musical terms are used to describe tonality and other elements of music theory.

### *Orthography*

Original spelling and capitalization have been retained in titles of and quotations from early printed sources and (unless otherwise stated) in quotations from manuscript sources.

### *Quotations and Textual transcriptions*

Quotations from Shakespeare's plays, unless otherwise stated, are from *R*. The line range of that edition is given in each case.

Quotations from *F* are taken from *GB-Ob* online. The page number is given in each case.

Quotations from other early modern plays are taken, where possible, from early printed sources. Editions of conjectural texts which are arrived at using the text-critical method are presented in modern spelling.

My expansions of abbreviations are in square brackets.

[?] indicates one letter that I have been unable to make out.

^^ indicates a word inserted above the main text.

Original layout and italics are maintained only where they illustrate a point about performance.

## LISTS OF MUSIC EXAMPLES, FIGURES, ILLUSTRATIONS AND TABLES

## Music Examples

Ex. 2.1	Shakespeare's 'O Mistress mine' set to the tune of Thomas Morley's 'O Mistress mine well may you fare'	267
Ex. 3.1	The Willow Song. Text <i>GB-Lbl</i> Add. MS 22601; melody <i>IRL-Dtc</i> 410/1	268
Ex. 3.2	'Come away, Hecate': <i>GB-Cfm</i> MU. MS 782 and <i>US-NYp</i> Drexel 4175 compared	269
Ex. 3.3	'Where the bee sucks'. <i>GB-Ob</i> Don.c.57 and Wilson's <i>Cheerful Ayres</i> compared	269
Ex. 3.4	'Where the bee sucks'. <i>US-NH</i> Misc. MS 170. Filmer 4 and Wilson's <i>Cheerful Ayres</i> compared	270
Ex. 4.1	Edward Johnson, 'Eliza is the fairest queen'	271
Ex. 4.2	George Kirbye, 'With angel's face/Bright Phoebus greets'	272
Ex. 4.3	John Hilton, 'Fair Oriana, beauty's queen'	275
Ex. 4.4	Richard Carlton, 'Calm was the air'	276
Ex. 4.5	Daniel Norcome, 'With angel's face and brightness'	277
Ex. 4.6	Alfonso Ferrabosco II, 'Gentle knights, know some measure' from Ben Jonson's <i>Oberon</i>	277
Ex. 4.7	Robert Johnson, 'Come away, Hecate' ( <i>US-NYp</i> Drexel 4175)	278
Ex. 4.8	'There was a deft lad' from <i>The Late Lancashire Witches</i> set to the tune <i>Sir Eglamore</i>	278
Ex. 5.1	Setting of 'Tell me where is fancy bred' as a three-part catch	279
Ex. 5.2	'Ding dong bell': 'Jack boy, ho boy' (anon.) and 'Full Fathom five' (Robert Johnson)	280

## Figures

Figure 1.1	Graph Showing the Incidence of Child and Adult Songs in Shakespeare's Plays	281
Figure 1.2	Graph Showing Shakespeare's Use of Hautboy	282

Figure 2.1	Graph Showing the Manuscript and Print Circulation of Shakespeare's Songs	283
------------	---	-----

Figure 5.1	Graphs Showing Shakespeare's Use of the Words 'Plague', 'Bell' and 'Knell'	284
------------	--	-----

#### Illustration

Illus. 3.1	<i>GB-Lbl</i> Add. MS 11608, f. 56r	285
------------	-------------------------------------	-----

#### Tables

Table 1.1	Cross Section of Child Company Solo Songs and their Notated Vocal Ranges	286
-----------	--	-----

Table 1.2	Ranges of Shakespearean Children's and Women's Songs	288
-----------	--	-----

Table 1.3	Former Child Company Players in Shakespeare's Company	290
-----------	---	-----

Table 1.4	Instrumentation According to Shakespeare's First Folio	291
-----------	--	-----

Table 2.1	Pre-Existing Shakespeare Songs and Their Earliest Sources	295
-----------	---	-----

Table 3.1	Sources of Pre-Shakespearean Willow Songs	298
-----------	---	-----

Table 5.1	Shakespeare's Use of the Words 'Plague', 'Bell' (in the Context of Death) and 'Knell' During the Period 1605–6	299
-----------	--	-----

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

During the course of my postgraduate study at Trinity College Dublin, many scholars have been generous with their advice and support. It is not possible to acknowledge all of them here, but it is my pleasure to record my special thanks to Jane Alden for her support and encouragement at the start of this process, to Andrew Johnstone for guiding my research with unwavering commitment and attention to detail, and to Richard Schoch and Amanda Eubanks Winkler for affording me several opportunities for scholarly growth and development. I must also thank my husband Jeffrey and my son Adam for allowing me the time and space to complete this project, and my parents for their unconditional love and support.





## INTRODUCTION

Shakespeare's use of music has been the subject of musicological study since the nineteenth century when anthologies of Shakespearean song began to appear alongside more general collections of Renaissance broadside ballads, including ballads used by Shakespeare.<sup>1</sup> The twentieth century was the golden age of scholarship for Shakespeare's songs, and seminal studies by Frederick W. Sternfeld, Peter J. Seng, John P. Cutts and others remain the first port of call for modern scholars.<sup>2</sup> The twenty-first century to date has seen a continued interest in early musical sources and original practices. Ross W. Duffin's *Shakespeare's Songbook* unpicks the history behind the profusion of musical references in Shakespeare's canon and also provides a tune for every song; where original tunes are lost, Duffin substitutes a popular tune from Shakespeare's era.<sup>3</sup> David Lindley's *Shakespeare and Music* takes a more literary approach, examining the plays' music 'within the period's wider cultural understanding of music both as symbol and as something experienced in the world beyond the theatre'.<sup>4</sup> The present study marries those two approaches, considering the music's early circulation alongside its cultural significance as regards vocal practice, and representations of the supernatural and death.

---

<sup>1</sup> John Caulfield, *A Collection of the Vocal Music in Shakespeare's Plays* (London and New York: Samuel French, 1864); *The Shakespeare Vocal Album* (London: C. Lonsdale, 1864); William Chappell, *Popular Music of the Olden Time*, 2 vols (London: Cramer, Beale and Chappell, 1855–9); *The Roxburghe Ballads*, ed. William Chappell, 9 vols (Hertford: Taylor & Co., 1871–99); Thomas Percy, *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, 3 vols (London: for J. Dodsley, 1765; ESTC T084936); *Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript: Ballads and Romances*, ed. John W. Hales and Frederick J. Furnivall, 3 vols (London: N. Trübner & Co., 1867).

<sup>2</sup> Sternfeld, *Music in Shakespearean Tragedy* (2nd edn, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul; New York: Dover Publications, 1967); Seng, *The Vocal Songs in the Plays of Shakespeare* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967). See Cutts's numerous articles in Bibliography A.

<sup>3</sup> Ross W. Duffin, *Shakespeare's Songbook* (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company Inc., 2004).

<sup>4</sup> David Lindley, *Shakespeare and Music* (London and New York: Bloomsbury, 2006), p. vi.

The music discussed ranges from sixteenth-century ballads to lute songs to Jacobean masques, and its sources are here catalogued more comprehensively than in any previous study. The aim is always to identify the earliest song texts, music and theatrical practices in order to better understand music's function in Shakespeare's plays and its wider circulation. As Peter J. Seng has observed, 'Renaissance Englishmen were a singing people'.<sup>5</sup> What is more, Shakespeare and his company would have heard the music of William Byrd, Alfonso Ferrabosco II and Robert Johnson at court, and popular tunes and ballads in alehouses and theatres. To unpack the cultural connotations of a casual song snippet, of the use of particular musical styles to represent character types (a previously unrecognized strategy I choose to call 'hierarchization'), or of funerary custom is to come closer to understanding Shakespeare in Shakespearean terms.

The desire voiced in chapters 2 and 3 to trace the textual origins of Shakespeare's songs is born not of a wish to replace the received versions with a supposed original, but rather to understand the nature of song transmission in early modern England. To that end, in chapter 3 I use stemmatics to trace the textual history of songs, but present the text as a variorum edition where every variant is visible. Each step whereby the stemma is arrived at is therefore transparent. It is true that the stemmatic method has traditionally aimed to identify and eliminate 'errors', and that evidence of contamination has been viewed as a barrier to stemmatic analysis.<sup>6</sup> It is here acknowledged, however, that 'errors' are not always easily discerned,<sup>7</sup> and that shared variants, whether 'errors' or not, reveal much about a song's transmission route. All variants, in other words, are treated equally.<sup>8</sup>

---

<sup>5</sup> Seng, *The Vocal Songs in the Plays of Shakespeare*, p. xii.

<sup>6</sup> See James Grier, 'Musical Sources and Stemmatic Filiation: A Tool for Editing Music', *The Journal of Musicology*, 13 (1995), 73–102 (100).

<sup>7</sup> See Penelope Rapson, *A Technique for Identifying Textual Errors and Its Application to the Sources of Music by Thomas Tallis*, 2 vols (New York and London: Garland Publishing Inc., 1989), vol. 1, p. 4.

<sup>8</sup> This concept is based on W. W. Greg's method laid out in *The Calculus of Variants: An Essay on Textual Criticism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927).

As mentioned in chapter 3, my method of stemmatic analysis is closely modelled on Penelope Rapson's, and is therefore based on the number of variants shared by sources and not on the characteristics of the variants. Under my method, furthermore, contamination does not automatically preclude stemmatic treatment, but rather sheds light on connections between traditions (contamination being indicated by a broken line on stemmata). Though this type of editing has been dismissed in some quarters as being founded on shared errors,<sup>9</sup> the aim of the present study is not to uncover errors, but to understand the role of written and printed sources in the transmission of Shakespeare's songs.

---

<sup>9</sup> Georg Feder, *Music Philology: An Introduction to Musical Textual Criticism, Hermeneutics, and Editorial Technique*, trans. Bruce C. MacIntyre (New York: Pendragon Press, 2011), 63–4.



<sup>3</sup> *R*, p. 1,922; Roslyn L. Knutson, 'Falconer to the Little Eyases: A New Date and Commercial Agenda for the "Little Eyases" Passage in *Hamlet*', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 46 (1995), 1–31 (10).

Eine ganze Stunde vorher höret man eine köstliche musicam instrumentalem von Orgeln, Lauten, Pandoren, Mandoren, Geigen und Pfeiffen, wie denn damahlen ein Knabe cum voce tremula in einer Basgeigen so lieblich gesungen, dass wo es die Nonnen zu Mailand ihnen nicht vorgethan, wir seines Gleichen auf der Reise nich gehöret hatten.

a whole hour before [the play] a delightful musical performance is given on organs, lutes, bandoras, mandolins, viols and pipes; and a boy sung *cum voce tremula* to [the accompaniment of] a bass viol so sweetly that, except for the nuns in Milan, we have not heard his like on the whole journey.<sup>4</sup>

It is widely assumed that the children's popularity depended on their accomplished music-making and their private indoor theatres which offered greater comfort and superior acoustics than the public amphitheatres of the adult companies.<sup>5</sup> Some musicologists, however, have argued that musical practice at indoor and outdoor theatres was more comparable than is generally thought.<sup>6</sup> In this chapter I consider the pre-pubescent male voice—an indispensable musical and dramatic resource for adult and child companies alike—as a characteristic common to both types of company, albeit varied in function and incidence.

An overview of child company activity below is followed by an interpretation of *Hamlet's* 'Little eyases' passage, where I posit the use of the term 'means' as key to understanding the passage as a comment on the revival of the child companies at the turn of the seventeenth century. Section 1.3 examines the notated pitch of boy songs in both child and adult company repertoire, observing that Shakespeare's boy songs were generally notated at a higher pitch than those of the child companies. The theatrical trope of boys' vocal pitch and voice change is laid out in section 1.4, followed by a discussion on the

---

<sup>4</sup> Gottfried von Bülow and Wilfred Powell, 'Diary of the Journey of Philip Julius, Duke of Stettin-Pomerania, through England in the Year 1602', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6 (1892), 1–67 (28); translation my own.

<sup>5</sup> See, for example, Andrew Gurr and Mariko Ichikawa, *Staging in Shakespeare's Theatres* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 38.

<sup>6</sup> Linda Phyllis Austern, *Music in English Children's Drama of the Later Renaissance* (Pennsylvania: Gordon and Breach Science Publishers, 1992), p. xvii; David Mann, 'Reinstating Shakespeare's Instrumental Music', *Early Theatre*, 15 (2012), 67–91 (67–8).

related topic of apprenticeship in Shakespeare's company. The chapter closes by considering the elevated use of music by Shakespeare's company after their move to the indoor Blackfriars theatre in 1608 as a direct consequence of the musical tradition previously established there by the children.

## 1.1 An Overview of the Commercial Child Companies of Early Modern England

### *1.1.1 First Active Period, First Dissolution and the Marprelate Controversy*

For the purposes of the present study, the prevalence of commercial child companies in London can be divided into two distinct periods of activity: the first from the 1570s until around 1590,<sup>7</sup> the second, after a puzzling cessation of activity, from the late 1590s until 1613.<sup>8</sup> During the 1570s and early 1580s, Richard Mulcaster (1531/2–1611) and his troupe of boys from the Merchant Taylors' school paved the way for public performances by child companies. Mulcaster's company offered classical plays in the Greek and Roman traditions, but disbanded in 1586 when Mulcaster quarrelled with the Merchant Taylors.<sup>9</sup> Sebastian Westcott (c. 1515–1582) and the Boys of St Paul's opened their own playhouse in the cathedral grounds in 1575, where the form of the drama followed that of traditional morality plays.<sup>10</sup> After Westcott's death, the boys continued to thrive as Elizabeth's favourites under the leadership of Thomas Giles (fl. 1584–1590).

The Children of the Chapel Royal, meanwhile, had merged with the Windsor boys under their director Richard Farrant (d. 1580), turning professional in 1582 when they

---

<sup>7</sup> Paul's boys disappear from court records after 1590, according to E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, 4 vols (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1923), vol. 2, p. 19.

<sup>8</sup> See Austern, *Music in English Children's Drama*, 2; Andrew Gurr, *The Shakespearian Playing Companies* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 321–9; Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, vol. 2, pp. 1–76; Michael Shapiro, *Children of the Revels: The Boy Companies of Shakespeare's Time and their Plays* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977), 23, 28.

<sup>9</sup> Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, vol. 2, p. 76.

<sup>10</sup> For evidence of the playhouse's existence, see Reavley Gair, *The Children of Paul's: The Story of a Theatre Company, 1553–1608* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 1–7.

acquired the lease of a theatre in Blackfriars. Following eviction from the Blackfriars in 1584 the children of the two chapels appear to have merged with the boys of St Paul's under the patronage of Edward de Vere (1550–1604), seventeenth Earl of Oxford. The printed frontispieces of two plays by John Lyly (1554–1606) declare themselves to have been 'played beefore the Queenes Maiestie on new yeares day at night, by her Maiesties children, and the children of Paules' and 'played beefore the Queenes Maiestie on Shrouetewsdays by Her Maiesties children and the boyes of Paules'.<sup>11</sup> Both performances are attributed to 'Oxford's' in court records,<sup>12</sup> and that company temporarily ceased playing in London in 1590.<sup>13</sup>

Though the reason for the temporary dissolution of Paul's Boys is ultimately unclear, economic difficulty seems the most likely explanation.<sup>14</sup> Lyly, the company's foremost playwright of the 1580s, was involved in the Marprelate controversy, a war fought in pamphlets during 1588–89 between anonymous Puritan authors and defenders of the Church of England, using the pseudonyms 'Martin Marprelate' on the one side, and the 'Church of England' on the other. Lyly was one of the writers engaged to respond on behalf of 'the church', which has led theatre historians to speculate that an official prohibition was issued to Paul's Boys as a result.<sup>15</sup> After 1590, the company disappears from court records until 1600–1601, seemingly replaced in the queen's favour by adult companies.<sup>16</sup>

---

<sup>11</sup> Lyly, *Campaspe* (London: for Thomas Cadman, 1584; STC 17048a) and *Sapho and Phao* (London: for Thomas Cadman, 1584; STC 17086).

<sup>12</sup> Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, vol. 4, p. 100.

<sup>13</sup> See Gurr, *The Shakespearian Playing Companies*, 223–4 and Richard Dutton, 'The Revels Office and the Boys' Companies, 1600–1613: New Perspectives', *English Literary Renaissance*, 32 (2002), 324–51 (329).

<sup>14</sup> Dutton expresses the same view in 'The Revels Office and the Boys' Companies', 327–30.

<sup>15</sup> Gair, *The Children of Paul's*, 118.

<sup>16</sup> Dates from the Court Calendar in Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, vol 4, pp. 104–113.



Two literary references further attest to a cessation of theatrical activity at St Paul's: the printer of Lyly's *Endimion* wrote in 1591 that 'Since the Plaies in Paules were dissolued, there are certaine Commedies come to my handes by chaunce, which were presented before her Maiestie at seuerall times by the children of Paules', and Nashe's pamphlet *Have With You to Saffron-walden*, printed in 1596, contains the line 'we neede neuer wish the Playes at Powles vp againe'.<sup>17</sup> In light of the adults' appropriation of the court as a playing venue, the possibility that the children's popularity had disintegrated must be entertained. In his final play, *Midas*, Lyly observed that audiences were developing more varied tastes: 'Souldiers call for Tragedies, their obiect is bloud: Courtiers for Commedies, their subiect is loue: Countriemen for Pastoralles, Shepheards are their Saintes.'<sup>18</sup> Perhaps the adult companies were in a stronger position to provide that variety.

The children seem to have tried their hands at touring in the early 1590s, Paul's Boys receiving payment for a performance in Gloucester in 1590–91, and the Children of the Chapel for a performance in Leicester in 1591.<sup>19</sup> If, however, the companies were still largely made up of choristers who had cathedral duties in London, the viability of touring must surely have been limited. No record has been found of any formal suppression of either company. Given, then, the apparent need for amalgamation prior to dissolution, followed by those underwhelming attempts at touring, it seems likely that financial instability and waning popularity were behind the break in playing.

---

<sup>17</sup> John Lyly, *Endimion or the Man in the Moone* (London: I. Charlewood, 1591; STC 17050), sig. A2r; Thomas Nashe, *Have With You to Saffron-walden* (London: Iohn Danter, 1596; STC 18369), sig. G4v.

<sup>18</sup> John Lyly, *Midas Plaied before the Queenes Maiestie vpon Twelwe day at night, by the Children of Paules* (London: Thomas Scarlet, 1592; STC 17083), sig. A2r–v.

<sup>19</sup> Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, vol. 2, pp. 19, 40; REED: *Cumberland, Westmoreland, Gloucestershire*, ed. Audrey Douglas and Peter Greenfield, (Toronto, Buffalo and London: Toronto University Press, 1986), 312; *Records of the Borough of Leicester: Being a Series of Extracts from the Archives of the Corporation of Leicester, 1509–1603*, ed. Mary Bateson, 3 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1905), vol. 3, p. 274.

### 1.1.2 Revival, Recruitment and Final Dissolution

The two main child companies resurfaced independently, Paul's Boys in their own theatre in 1599 and the Children of the Chapel in a new theatre in Blackfriars in 1600.<sup>20</sup> Paul's Boys ceased playing permanently in 1608.<sup>21</sup> Monetary concerns and a changing religious climate are the most likely reasons for the company's demise, but it has also been suggested that the company's average age was higher at that time than previously, the effect of which on the quality of the singing may have led to a decline in the use of music.<sup>22</sup> Contradictory evidence, however, seems to suggest that, after the revival, the cathedral continued to recruit young boys both for singing and acting purposes. Clerical visitation reports show that Thomas Ravenscroft (*b.* 1591/2), John Tomkins (*b.* 1586) and Salomon Pavey (see below) were aged between six and thirteen during the company's second phase.<sup>23</sup>

It is true that the language used to describe a performance given in 1606 by 'the youthes of Paules, commonlye cald the Children of Paules' might be viewed as evidence of the ageing of the company's members and the reason for its downfall, if the terms 'youths' and 'children' are viewed as mutually exclusive.<sup>24</sup> While Mann interprets that passage as evidence of the ageing of the company, Shen Lin argues that the terms 'youths' and 'children' are interchangeable rather than mutually exclusive.<sup>25</sup> It seems to me, though, that the advancement of Puritanism in England was a more serious threat, one which left religious institutions little choice but to terminate the association of their choirboys with

---

<sup>20</sup> Gair, *The Children of Paul's*, 118; Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, vol 2, pp. 508–9.

<sup>21</sup> Gair, *The Children of Paul's*, 163–6.

<sup>22</sup> Gair, *The Children of Pauls*, 159; Mann, 'Reinstating Shakespeare's Instrumental Music', 72.

<sup>23</sup> Shen Lin, 'How Old Were the Children of Paul's?', *Theatre Notebook*, 45 (1991), 121–31 (124–5).

<sup>24</sup> *The king of Denmarkes welcome Containing his ariuell, abode, and entertainment, both in the citie and other places* (London: Edward Allde, 1606; STC 5194), 16.

<sup>25</sup> Mann, 'Reinstating Shakespeare's Instrumental Music', 74; Lin, 'How Old Were the Children of Paul's?', 123–4)

the stage. In a sermon preached at St Paul's Cross in 1608, the Puritan William Crashaw expressed sentiments of the kind that may well have led to that company's demise:

The ungodly Playes and Enterludes so rife in this nation; what are they but a bastard of Babylon, a daughter of error and confusion, a hellish device... and that he that teacheth children to play is not an instructor [sic.], but a spoiler & destroyer of children.<sup>26</sup>

In 1601, Nathaniel Giles (1558–1633/4), master of the children of the Chapel and the Blackfriars company, was famously implicated in legal proceedings following the impressment of a gentleman's son and seven other boys.<sup>27</sup> The complainant, Henry Clifton, reported to the Star Chamber that the boys, once taken by Giles, were not even taught to sing. Since one of the boys in question, however, was Salomon Pavey, a former chorister of St Paul's Cathedral, it is surely possible that at least some of the boys were targeted precisely because of their musical ability. One of the characters in William Percy's *Faery Pastoral or Forest of Elves*, purportedly intended for performance by Paul's Boys in 1602, is named 'Saloman A Schoole Boye'.<sup>28</sup> Since Pavey was recruited for the Children of the Chapel in 1601 and died in 1602, one possible hypothesis is that Percy wrote the play with Pavey in mind for that role some time before its first performance, when Salomon was still a member of Paul's Boys. Pavey was certainly successful in his new position, judging by Ben Jonson's 'Epitaph on S. P. a Child of Q. El. Chappel',<sup>29</sup> so it is likely that, in Salomon's case, the impressment was strategic. A royal restriction of 1606 on the taking up of boy choristers of the Chapel Royal for theatrical purposes, however, made the ready supply of boys a thing of the past for the Blackfriars company:

---

<sup>26</sup> William Crashaw, *The sermon preached at the Crosse* (London: H. Lownes, 1609; STC 6028), 169–70.

<sup>27</sup> See Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, vol. 2, pp. 43–52.

<sup>28</sup> See Robert Denzell Fenn, 'William Percy's *Faery Pastoral*: An Old Spelling Edition', (Ph. D. diss., University of British Columbia, 1997).

<sup>29</sup> *The workes of Beniamin Ionson* (London: Will Stansby, 1616; STC 14751), 808–9.

...wee doe straightlie charge and commaunde that none of the said choristers or children of the chappell so to be taken by force of this commission shalbe used or imployed as Comedians or Stage players, or to exercise or acte any stage playes Interludes Comedies or Tragedies, for that it is not fitt or decent that such as shoulde sing the praises of God Almightye shoulde be trayned upp or imployed in suche lascivious and prophane exercises.<sup>30</sup>

Once dissociated from the Chapel Royal choir, the Blackfriars company replaced musical prowess with a fashionable, biting satire that titillated audiences and secured the company's survival until 1613. The St Paul's clergy, though, would likely have frowned on the scandalous activities at the Blackfriars between 1604 and 1608, where plays such as *Eastward Ho* and *The Isle of Gulls* satirized the King and his Scottish courtiers to the point where royal patronage was withdrawn and members of the company were incarcerated.<sup>31</sup> When Shakespeare's company moved into the Blackfriars theatre in 1608, the former Chapel Royal company decamped to nearby Whitefriars and also toured extensively before being absorbed by the Lady Elizabeth's Men in 1613.<sup>32</sup>

## 1.2 'Little Eyases': *Hamlet* and Relations Between Child and Adult Companies

Rosencrantz's famous speech in *Hamlet* II.ii regarding 'an eyrie of children, little eyases, that cry out on the top of question' has long been considered evidence of rivalry between child and adult playing companies in early seventeenth-century London,<sup>33</sup> 'eyrie' meaning

---

<sup>30</sup> Patent of impressment for Nathaniel Giles, London, Public Record Office, Patent Rolls 4 James I, pt. 18, C66/1708, f. 6v–7v (1606); passage reprinted in Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, vol. 2, p. 52.

<sup>31</sup> See Gurr, *The Shakespearian Playing Companies*, 147–57.

<sup>32</sup> For details of touring see Gurr, *The Shakespearian Playing Companies*, 363. Proof of the amalgamation of the two companies is in Henslowe's papers, Dulwich MS i. 106 (reprinted in Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, vol. 2, pp. 248–50).

<sup>33</sup> For a detailed bibliographical account of scholarship on the 'little eyases' passage, see Knutson, 'Falconer to the Little Eyases'. Scholars who uphold this interpretation of the *Hamlet* passage include David Farley-Hills, *Shakespeare and the Rival Playwrights, 1600–1606* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), 8, and Bart van Es, 'Reviving the Legacy of Indoor Performance' in *Moving Shakespeare Indoors: Performance and Repertoire in the Jacobean Playhouse*, ed. Andrew Gurr and Farah Karim-Cooper (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 237–52 (240–42).

the nest of a bird of prey, and ‘eyases’ meaning young hawks whose training in falconry is incomplete.<sup>34</sup> Following the discovery in 1823 of what is now known as Q1 of *Hamlet*,<sup>35</sup> textual critics found themselves confronted with three heterogeneous play texts: Q1 (1603), Q2 (1604), and *F* (compiled posthumously by members of Shakespeare’s company in 1623). It became apparent that between 1603 and 1623 the ‘little eyases’ passage was altered at least twice for printing, each version ostensibly indicating a growing threat from the child to the adult companies. Since the traditional view of Q1 as a ‘bad’ quarto based on memorial reconstruction has lately been challenged, the present study treats that version of the text as legitimate.<sup>36</sup> In Q1, Guildenstern articulates the adult playing company’s reasons for touring thus:

For the principall publike audience that  
Came to them, are turned to priuate playes,  
And to the humour of children.<sup>37</sup>

In Q2, Rosencranz explains their fall from popularity thus: ‘I thinke their inhibition, comes by the meanes of the late innouasion’.<sup>38</sup> And in *F* he elaborates, blaming the children explicitly:

...there is Sir an ayrie of Children, little Yases, that crye out on the top of question; and are most tyrannically clap’t for’t: these are now the fashion, and so be-ratled the common Stages (so they call them) that many wearing Rapiers, are affraide of Goose-quils, and dare scarce come thither.<sup>39</sup>

---

<sup>34</sup> ‘eyrie/aerie, n.’ and ‘eyas, n.’ in *Oxford English Dictionary* (online edn: Oxford University Press, 2017).

<sup>35</sup> See Knutson, ‘Falconer to the Little Eyases’, 2.

<sup>36</sup> Paul Werstine, ‘Narratives about Printed Shakespeare Texts: “Foul Papers” and “Bad” Quartos’, *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 41 (1990), 65–86 (86); William Davis, ‘Now, Gods, Stand up for Bastards: The 1603 “Good Quarto” *Hamlet*’, *Textual Cultures*, 1 (2006), 60–89 (62).

<sup>37</sup> William Shakespeare, *The tragicall historie of Hamlet Prince of Denmarke* (London: for N. L. and John Trundell, 1603; STC 22275), sig. E3r.

<sup>38</sup> William Shakespeare, *The tragicall historie of Hamlet, Prince of Denmarke* (London: I. R., 1604; STC 22276), sig. F2v.

<sup>39</sup> *F*, *GB-Ob* (online), 262–3.

### 1.2.1 Q1: *The Humour of Children*

In its Q1 state, the ‘humour of children’ passage implies that the public theatres—i.e. the adults—were losing audience to the children and their private theatres. The distinction between private and public playing spaces seems to have come into effect upon the children’s revival in the 1590s, with title pages declaring several printed plays to have been ‘privately acted’ by the children.<sup>40</sup> Aside from distancing those plays from the various restrictions imposed on public playing by the Master of the Revels and the Privy Council,<sup>41</sup> it seems to me that the use of the term ‘privately’ serves to emphasise the disconnect between the respective playing environments of the two types of company.

Rosencrantz’s narrative is often interpreted as a reverberation of the so-called War of the Theatres or *Poetomachia* which unfolded between 1599 and 1602.<sup>42</sup> The controversy was essentially between Ben Jonson (1572–1637) on the one side and John Marston (bap. 1576, d. 1634) and Thomas Dekker (c. 1572–1632) on the other, and chiefly involved the plays *Poetaster*, *Histrionomastix* and *Satiromastix*. In *Poetaster* (1601), Jonson arguably satirized members of the Lord Chamberlain’s Men, including, perhaps, Shakespeare himself.<sup>43</sup> The company certainly played a role in the quarrel thereafter, since the title page of Dekker’s *Satiromastix* (1602) confirms that that play—which portrayed Jonson (in the

---

<sup>40</sup> Ben Jonson, *The fountaine of selfe-loue. Or Cynthia’s reuels As it hath beene sundry times priuately acted in the Black-Friers by the Children of her Maiesties Chappell* (London: R. Read, 1601; STC 14773); Anon., *Blurt master-constable....As it hath bin sundry times priuately acted by the Children of Paules* (London: Edward Allde, 1602; STC 17876).

<sup>41</sup> See Gurr, *The Shakespearian Playing Companies*, 337–8.

<sup>42</sup> E. A. J. Honigmann, ‘The Date of *Hamlet*’ in *Shakespeare Survey* 9, ed. Allardyce Nicoll (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956), 24–34 (26–9); *Hamlet, Prince of Denmark*, ed. Philip Edwards (Cambridge, London and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 144; James P. Bednarz, *Shakespeare & the Poets’ War* (New York and Chichester: Columbia University Press, 2001), 227; R, p. 1,922.

<sup>43</sup> See *Poetaster*, ed. Tom Cain (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1995), 157; James P. Bednarz, *Shakespeare and the Poets’ War*, 238–40.

character of Horace) as a hypocrite—was ‘presented publikely, by the Right Honorable the Lord Chamberlaine his seruants; and priuately, by the Children of Paules’.<sup>44</sup>

If the excerpt from Q1 *Hamlet* was Shakespeare’s response to Jonson’s attack in *Poetaster*, then it was a weak retaliation which targeted the play’s young performers (the boys of the Chapel Royal) rather than the playwright himself. In my opinion, it is more likely that Q1’s ‘humour of children’ passage—probably, I suggest, included in the first performances of *Hamlet*—had less to do with the Poetomachia than with the successful revival of the child companies. The passage, then, should be read as a light-hearted barb intended to deter the Globe audience from transferring their custom to the private theatres of St Paul’s and the Blackfriars.

### 1.2.2 ‘The Means of the Late Innovation’: Q2 and the First Folio

The chronology and agenda of the distinct passages in Q1, Q2 and *F* have been much debated. In an influential article, Rosalyn Lander Knutson dated Q1’s ‘humour of children’ passage 1600–1601, meaning it would have coincided with the revival of the child companies. She dated Q2’s inhibition/innovation passage 1603–4, which coincides with a closure of the theatres owing to plague (‘inhibition’) and the accession of King James I (‘innovation’). And finally *F*’s ‘little eyases’ passage she dated 1606–8, meaning it would have coincided with the staging of those controversial, satirical plays *Eastward Ho* and *The Isle of Gulls* at the Blackfriars.<sup>45</sup> While Knutson’s theory is compelling, theatre historians have unanimously overlooked the ambiguous use of the word ‘means’ in *F*’s version of the passage. Based on the following interpretation, it is my contention that the ‘little eyases’

---

<sup>44</sup> Thomas Dekker, *Satiromastix* (London: for Edward White, 1602; STC 6521), title page.

<sup>45</sup> Knutson, ‘Falconer to the Little Eyases’, 4 and *passim*.

passage was written around 1600 as a response to the successful revival of the child companies, and that Q1 and Q2 transmit truncated versions of the longer passage.

In England, the ‘mean’ or ‘medius’ part of the vocal ensemble was sung by children,<sup>46</sup> as confirmed by the anonymous author of one early seventeenth-century treatise on church music:

Nature has disposed all voices, both of men and children, into five kinds, viz: Basses (being the lowest or greatest voices), Tenors being neither so low or so great, Countertenors (being less low and more high than tenors) of which three kinds all men’s voices consist. Then of children’s voices there are two kinds, viz. Meane voices (which are higher than men’s voices) and Treble voices, which are the highest kind of children’s voices.<sup>47</sup>

Charles Butler (1560–1647) corroborated this state of affairs when he described the Mean as ‘a midling or mean high part, between the Countertenor (the highest part of a man) and the Treble, (the highest part of a boy or woman)’.<sup>48</sup> It was the very boys with these ‘Meane voices’, whether choristers or not, who played all female roles on the pre-Restoration English stage.<sup>49</sup>

Nor can this have been Shakespeare’s only reference to the mean voice. The polysemous term, also denoting resources or a way to achieve a result, had long been used by writers such as John Heywood (1497–1580) and Lyly to generate musical puns:

And now, shooting at all, I have lost all quite.  
The mean is the merry part, being sung right,

And of the two extreme parts (as I take it)  
The base is better than the treble to sing.  
Treble prosperity, reason doth make it  
Worse than base adversity, it approving  
In the fly’s bass and my treble state erst moving.

---

<sup>46</sup> Peter le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1967), 121–2.

<sup>47</sup> *GB-Lbl* Royal 18. B. XIX, f. 8v.

<sup>48</sup> Butler, *The principles of musik, in singing and setting with the two-fold use thereof, ecclesiasticall and civil* (London: Iohn Haviland, 1636; STC 4196), 42.

<sup>49</sup> Stanley Wells, ‘Boys Should be Girls: Shakespeare’s Female Roles and the Boy Players’, *New Theatre Quarterly*, 25 (2009), 172–7, (174).



Prosperity, (as that fly said) maketh us blind;  
 Adversity, (I feel) giveth sight by kind.<sup>50</sup>  
 (Heywood, *The Spider and the Fly*)

Niobe           The strings of my heart are tuned to a contrastie keye to  
                     your Lute, and make as sweet harmonie in discords, as  
                     yours in concord.  
 Silvestris       Why, what strings are in Ladies hearts? Not the base.  
 Niobe           There is no base in a womans heart.  
 Silvestris       The meane?  
 Niobe           There was never meane in womans heart.  
 Silvestris       The treble?  
 Niobe           Yea, the treble double and treble, and so are all my heart  
                     strings.<sup>51</sup>

(Lyly, *Love's Metamorphosis*, III.i)

In *The Winter's Tale*, though, the Clown uses the word in its purely vocal context: 'She hath made me four-and-twenty nosegays for the shearers—three-man-song-men all, and very good ones—but they are most of them means and basses' (IV.iii.35–7).

If Shakespeare's use of 'means' in *Hamlet* was a pun on the boys' voice-type, there can be little doubt that the inhibition/innovation passage refers to the revival of the child companies, when music, and particularly part singing, was still a major part of their appeal. Musicologists, then, can add voice to the argument that the 'little eyases' passage as a whole, though not printed in its entirety until 1623, was likely written as a response to the revival of the child companies in the late 1590s, rather than to later political misdemeanours committed by the Children of the Revels around 1608.

### 1.2.3 'Choirboy Welfare

What, are they Children? Who maintains 'em? How are they escoted? Will they pursue the Quality no longer than they can sing? Will they not say

<sup>50</sup> Heywood, *A parable of the spider and the flie* (London: Tho. Powell, 1556; STC 13308), sigs 2P2v–2P2r.

<sup>51</sup> John Lyly, *Loues metamorphosis...First playd by the Children of Paules, and now by the Children of the Chappel* (London: for William Wood, 1601; STC 17082), sig. C4v.

afterwards if they should grow themselves to common Players (as it is most like, if their meanes are no better) their Writers do them wrong, to make them exclaim against their own Succession?<sup>52</sup>

Hamlet's concern for the children's welfare and future prospects not only sheds light on the importance of boy actors to the adult companies, but also reveals that from the perspective of the adults, the child companies could have appeared to be more trouble than they were worth, given the problems of how to feed, clothe and house them, and what to do with them once their voices had changed. Shakespeare was apparently suggesting, furthermore, that by making the children partake in politically dangerous drama, their writers were endangering the future of the acting profession, and therefore the boys' future careers. By this, he implies that older children tended to graduate to the adult companies (as we shall see). Hamlet's further pun on the word 'means', moreover, supports my argument that the 'means of the late innovation' were the newly reinstated child actors.

As regards maintenance of and provision for choristers, the evidence paints a bleak picture and supports the case that the primary reason behind the establishment of the child companies was commercial. Neither under Henry VIII nor Elizabeth I were the boys of the Chapel Royal paid wages, and while Henry had made provision for them to attend university after their voices had changed,<sup>53</sup> a letter penned by William Hunnis in 1583 indicates that such benefits had by then lapsed:

First, hir Majestie alloweth for the dyett of 12 children of hir sayd Chappell daylie 6 pence. a peece by the daye, and £40 by the yeare for theyre apparrell and all other furniture. Agayne there is no Fee allowed neyther for the master of the sayd children...Also there is no allowance for the lodginge of the sayd children...Also there is no allowance ne other consideracion for those children whose voices be chaunged...<sup>54</sup>

---

<sup>52</sup> *F*, *GB-Ob* (online), 263.

<sup>53</sup> Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, vol. 2, p. 27.

<sup>54</sup> Reprinted in Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, vol. 2, pp. 37–8.

Shakespeare's concern, however, that voice change signified the end of a boy's stage career is perhaps misleading. As we shall now see, there was a place for the post-pubescent male voice both in child and adult companies.

### 1.3 Vocal Pitch and Boy Songs

#### *1.3.1 Notated versus Sung Pitch*

The value of the unchanged male voice in both child and adult companies is incontrovertible. Tudor liturgical reforms had been concomitant with a trend towards a lower top line in sacred choral music. It has been shown that the average notated range of both boys' parts from c.1547 was C4–D5.<sup>55</sup> The pre-pubescent choirboys of the 1590s, therefore, were accustomed to singing in that mean tessitura.<sup>56</sup> The theatre, though, may have afforded to those boys with naturally higher or lower voices the opportunity to use their full vocal ranges.

Examination of the notated pitch of surviving sixteenth- and seventeenth-century theatre music is subject to several limitations, not least the indeterminate secular pitch standard of the period. It cannot be taken for granted, furthermore, that the versions of the music which have survived precisely represent the theatrical rendition of any given song. Notwithstanding present scholarly debate on the subject of pitch and voice range in

---

<sup>55</sup> Andrew Parrott, 'Falsetto Beliefs: The "Countertenor" Cross-Examined', *Early Music*, 43 (2015), 79–110 (98–99).

<sup>56</sup> On the predominance of the mean tessitura in sixteenth-century choral practice, see Roger Bowers, 'To Chorus from Quartet: The Performing Resource for English Church Polyphony, c. 1390–1559' in *English Choral Practice, 1400–1650*, ed. John Morehen (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 1–47 (39, 47).

English church music,<sup>57</sup> theatre songs, particularly those surviving as lute song arrangements, could have been conceivably sung at whatever pitch suited their performers.<sup>58</sup> Nonetheless, songs which have survived with a notated instrumental bass line give a more definite indication of likely performance pitch owing to the more or less fixed pitch ranges of viols. And it is on those songs that the data of this section are based. The following pitch ranges for viols are assumed: treble D3–A5, tenor G2–D5 and bass D2–A4.<sup>59</sup>

Table 1.1's cross section of surviving music from child plays written or performed between 1564 and 1616 shows a notated preference for the mean range for solo songs, here prescribed as C4–D5. All of the songs sit, moreover, within the range clinically identifiable as belonging to the first stage of puberty, i.e. an unchanged voice.<sup>60</sup> Most of table 1.1's songs, though, are not incapable of transposition in either direction whilst remaining within the limits of the instruments. The present study does not reach any new conclusions on performance pitch, but merely observes that transposition is usually possible but not necessary. 'Love for such a cherry lip' from the anonymous play *Blurt Master Constable* (1602) is a case in point. The song survives in Ravenscroft's *Briefe Discourse* in an

---

<sup>57</sup> See David Wulstan, 'The Problem of Pitch in Sixteenth-Century English Vocal Music', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 93 (1966–7), 97–112, and *Tudor Music* (London: J. M. Dent, 1985), 192–249). Peter Phillips puts forward arguments both for and against upward transposition as recommended by Wulstan ('Performance Practice in 16th-Century English Choral Music' *Early Music*, 6 (1978), 195–9; Roger Bowers argues against the application of Wulstan's 'high pitch' theory to pre-seventeenth-century music ('To Chorus from Quartet: The Performing Resource for English Church Polyphony, c. 1390–1559' in *English Choral Practice, 1400–1650*, ed. John Morehen (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 1–47 (43–7)); Andrew Johnstone argues against Wulstan's findings on specific pitch ("As It Was in the Beginning": Organ and Choir Pitch in Early Anglican Church Music', *Early Music*, 34 (2003), 506–25 (522).

<sup>58</sup> See Lynda Sayce, 'Tunings' in 'Lute', *Grove Music Online* (2001).

<sup>59</sup> Ian Woodfield and Lucy Robinson, 'Viol' in *Grove Music Online* (2001).

<sup>60</sup> J. Cooksey, 'Voice Transformation in Male Adolescents' in *Bodymind and Voice—Foundations of Voice Education*, ed. L. Thurman and G. Welch (Iowa City: The VoiceCare Network, 2000), 718–36; summarised in M. Ashley and A. C. Mecke, "'Boys are apt to change their voice at about fourteene yeeres of age": An Historical Background to the Debate about Longevity in Boy Treble Singers', *Reviews of Research in Human Learning and Music*, 1 (2013), 1–19 (5).

arrangement for voice and viols.<sup>61</sup> Ravenscroft's vocal part is written in the C1 clef and sits in the mean range D4–D5. The notated ranges of the outer viol parts could accommodate either upwards and downwards transposition: treble viol G3–A4, tenor viol F-sharp3–A4, bass viol B2–C4. Several of the songs collated in table 1.1 survive with vocal ranges which extend above the church mean; the ranges of 'Awake ye woful wights' from Richard Edwards's *Damon and Pithias*, and 'Have you seen but a white lily grow?' from Ben Jonson's *The Devil is an Ass*, for instance, extend upwards to F5. While a convincing case has been made for significant downward transposition of songs notated in the G2 clef,<sup>62</sup> if the songs mentioned above were sung at their notated pitches, it is possible that the high treble voice, which became fashionable during the early seventeenth century,<sup>63</sup> was a crowd puller for theatre companies.

A survey of surviving music for children's and women's songs in Shakespeare's canon (see table 1.2) shows a notational preference for the treble range, though their instrumental parts technically allow for downward transposition into the mean range, a fourth or fifth lower. 'Take, o take those lips away' from *Measure for Measure* is a case in point (see 3.2.3 below for a discussion of that song's origin and circulation). The several extant sources for a setting by John Wilson (1595–1674) of 'Take, o take' (the earliest musical setting which has survived) mostly have a vocal range of G4–G5. The exceptions are the versions transmitted in *US-NYp* Drexel 4257 and *US-NYp* Drexel 4041, which are notated a tone lower. The song, then, was likely performed by a high rather than a mean voice.

---

<sup>61</sup> Thomas Ravenscroft, *A briefe discourse of the true (but neglected) vse of charact'ring the degrees, by their perfection, imperfection, and diminution in measurable musicke, against the common practise and custome of these times* (London: Edward Allde, 1614; STC 20756), sigs E4v–Fr.

<sup>62</sup> William Byrd: *Eight Fragmentary Songs*, edited and reconstructed by Andrew Johnstone (Teddington: Fretwork Publishing, 2020), pp. iv–v.

<sup>63</sup> See Bowers, 'To Chorus from Quartet', 46–7.

Ariel's songs in *The Tempest* are more difficult still to classify in terms of treble or mean range. 'Full fathom five' and 'Where the bee sucks' survive in settings by Robert Johnson (c. 1583–1633), who is generally thought to have enjoyed an association with the King's Men between 1607 and 1617.<sup>64</sup> 'Full fathom five' is attributed to Johnson in Wilson's *Cheerful Ayres* and in *GB-Bc* 57316. Extant versions of the melody line of 'Full fathom five' typically cover the range G4–F5. Wilson's setting, which comprises three vocal parts, has a bass vocal line which descends to F2.<sup>65</sup> Some other vocal parts in Wilson's collection descend as low as D2, so it must be conceded that the pitch of 'Full fathom five' could have been lowered to the extent that the melody line would sit within a mean rather than a treble range. It is unlikely, though, that Ariel's songs were performed as vocal trios in the play. Wilson's *cantus primus*—essentially Johnson's solo song—is printed with an instrumental bass accompaniment which descends to F2, also allowing, therefore, for downward transposition.

In *GB-Bc* 57136, Johnson's melody appears at the usual pitch but with an instrumental bass line, different from Wilson's, which descends to D2. That note, though, has been scratched out by an anonymous hand and notated an octave higher, which may have been done to facilitate performance of the whole song at a lower pitch. *GB-Bc* 57316 constitutes missing leaves from *GB-Eu* DC. 1. 69, a collection containing the treble and bass vocal parts of sixty-six of the items printed in Wilson's *Cheerful Ayres*.<sup>66</sup> 'Full fathom five' contains small additional notes in both the melody and the bass line that may indicate extra

---

<sup>64</sup> John P. Cutts, 'Robert Johnson: King's Musician in His Majesty's Public Entertainment', *Music & Letters*, 36 (1955), 110–125 (110).

<sup>65</sup> John Wilson, *Cheerfull ayres or ballads first composed for one single voice and since set for three voices* (London: W. Hall, 1659; Wing W2908), bassus p. 5; *US-Ws* v.a.411. f. 2v; *US-NH* Misc. MS 170 Filmer 4, f. 20r.

<sup>66</sup> John P. Cutts, 'Seventeenth-Century Songs and Lyrics in Edinburgh University Library Music Ms. DC. 1. 69', *Musica Disciplina*, 13 (1959), 169–94 (170).

singers or instruments, and the same scribe is responsible for the correction of pitch D2 to D3. The dating of those additional notes, though, remains unclear.

Extant versions of Johnson's 'Where the bee sucks' all have a vocal range of D4–E5 in the melody line, and the range of all bass lines, whether vocal or instrumental, is G2–A3. It seems, then, that Ariel's songs are typical of musical writing for child actors. Composers on the whole appear to have avoided using the extreme ranges of the accompanying instruments, which, intentionally or not, allowed for downwards or upwards transposition. Regarding the notated pitch, though, it is surely no coincidence that boy players of the child companies who had an association with ecclesiastical choirs were apparently more likely to sing in the mean range on the stage than the boys of the adult companies, whose music is generally notated at a higher pitch.

### *1.3.2 Squeaking Cleopatras and High-Stretched Minikins*

High voices were commonly described during the period as 'shrill'. According to Francis Bacon, 'Children, Women, Eunuchs have more small and shrill Voices than Men'.<sup>67</sup> In *Twelfth Night*, Orsino, believing he is addressing a pre-pubescent boy, ambiguously characterizes Viola's speaking voice in the words 'thy small pipe / Is as the maiden's organ, shrill and sound, / And all is semblative a woman's part' (I.iv.32–4). Double entendre aside, it is difficult to ascertain whether or not the shrill voice was a desirable quality in a woman. In the opening exchange of *Antony and Cleopatra*, Cleopatra speaks disparagingly of Antony's wife, the scolding, 'shrill-tongued' Fulvia (I.i.34). At the end of the play, though, she seems pleased to learn from a messenger that Fulvia has an unattractive low-pitched voice:

---

<sup>67</sup> Francis Bacon, *Sylva sylvarum* (London: Iohn Haviland and Augustine Mathews, 1626; STC 1168), 52.

Cleopatra: Is she as tall as me?  
 Messenger: She is not, madam.  
 Cleopatra: Didst hear her speak? Is she shrill-tongued or low?  
 Messenger: Madam, I heard her speak; she is low-voiced.  
 Cleopatra: That's not so good: he cannot like her long.  
 (III.iii.17–21)

Perhaps Cleopatra means that the news of her rival's low voice is 'not so good' for her own prospects with Antony, or maybe her views on the optimal pitch of a woman's voice are as changeable as are her moods and intentions throughout the play. The high-pitched voice of the boy playing Cleopatra is something of a running gag in the play:

Cleopatra: The quick comedians  
 Extemporally will stage us and present  
 Our Alexandrian revels: Antony  
 Shall be brought drunken forth, and I shall see  
 Some squeaking Cleopatra boy my greatness  
 I'th' posture of a whore.  
 (V.ii.256–60)

King Lear's ultimate praise of his late daughter Cordelia is that 'Her voice was ever soft / Gentle and low, an excellent thing in a woman'. The old-fashioned Lear and spirited Cleopatra would surely have disagreed, though, on a woman's place in the world, and probably too on her ideal speaking pitch.

In John Marston's *Antonio and Mellida*—perhaps the first play performed by the resurrected Paul's Boys,<sup>68</sup> vocal 'squeaking' in males is a cipher for effeminacy. The cowardly and effeminate Castilio, for instance, is mocked by Feliche for his 'treble minikin squeaks'.<sup>69</sup> A singing competition in Act V features both a 'high stretcht minikin voice' and 'a good strong meane'. The higher singing voice is disliked by Rossaline on the grounds that it is unmanly, and she seizes the opportunity further to belittle the speaking voice of

---

<sup>68</sup> Gair, *The Children of Paul's*, 118.

<sup>69</sup> John Marston, *The history of Antonio and Mellida. The first part* (London: R. Bradock, 1602; STC 17473), sig. E3v.



Castilio—one of her suitors. The mean singer fares better in the competition, winning praise from the audience:

Piero: boyes cleare your voice & sing.

#### 1. CANTAT

Rossaline: By this Gould, I had rather haue a seruant with a short nose,  
and a thinne haire, then haue such a high stretcht minikin  
voice.

Piero: Faire neece, your reason?

Rossaline: By the sweete of loue, I should feare extreemelly that he  
were an Eunuch.

Castilio: Sparke spirit, how like you his voice?

Rossaline: ‘Sparke spirit, how like you his voice?’ So helpe me, youth,  
thy voice squeakes like a dry cork shoe: come, come; lets  
heare the next.

#### 2. CANTAT.

Piero: Trust me, a good strong meane, Well sung my boy.<sup>70</sup>

It is true that squeaking is suggestive of the involuntary pitch jerks characteristic of a voice in the process of pubertal change.<sup>71</sup> A secondary meaning for the word ‘minikin’, though, has been overlooked; as well as signifying a small or insignificant person, a minikin was also a thin strand of cat gut used for the treble strings of lutes and viols.<sup>72</sup> In another child play, Thomas Middleton used the word ‘minikin’ specifically to differentiate between bass and treble strings: ‘Of which consort you two are grounds, one touches the Base, and the other tickles the minikin’.<sup>73</sup>

In *Antonio and Mellida*, by likening the minikin’s voice to that of a eunuch, Rossaline is drawing on a pitch parallel between the boy in the competition and a castrato voice. As

<sup>70</sup> Marston, *The history of Antonio and Mellida*, sigs H3v–H4v.

<sup>71</sup> See Gina Bloom, “‘Thy Voice Squeaks’: Listening for Masculinity on the Early Modern Stage’, *Renaissance Drama*, 29 (1998), 39–71 (58).

<sup>72</sup> ‘minikin, noun 2’ in *Oxford English Dictionary* (online edn, Oxford University Press, 2018).

<sup>73</sup> Thomas Middleton, *The famelie of loue* (London: Richard Braddock, 1608; STC 17879), sig. B3v.

early as the fourth century BC, Aristotle confirmed the association of eunuchs and high pitch: ‘Why do the unfruitful, such as children, women, those who are now old and eunuchs, make high sounds with their voice but men deep ones?’<sup>74</sup> Shakespeare’s ‘squeaking’ Cleopatra, furthermore, is unlikely to have been played by a pubescent boy; it has already been shown that, according to the vocal range indicated in surviving music, the boy players of the adult companies often had high-pitched voices. In my view, it seems that ‘squeaking’ voices usually denoted pre-pubescent performers, perhaps with treble rather than mean ranges, whereas voices undergoing the change often seem, as we shall see, to have been distinguished using the word ‘crack’.

### *1.3.3 The Mannish Crack: Voice Change and the Boy Player*

When Hamlet greets the tragedians of the city, he offers insight into the value, both monetary and otherwise, of an unchanged voice to the adult companies:

By’r lady, your ladyship is nearer heaven than when I saw you last, by the altitude of a chopine. Pray God your voice, like a piece of uncurrent gold, be not cracked within the ring.

(II.ii.375–6)

The inference here is that a ‘cracked’ voice is as devalued as a cracked coin. Boy apprentices were certainly valuable in the later days of the King’s Men’s existence: £30 was paid for Stephen Hammerton in 1632 and £40 for John Thompson in 1635 (the King’s Men’s apprentices are discussed below).<sup>75</sup> The parallel between Marston’s line ‘thy voice squeaks like a dry cork shoe’ and Shakespeare’s reference to a chopine (a shoe with a cork sole intended to keep skirts out of the mud) in relation to a potentially changed voice cannot be overlooked. Shakespeare’s reference, though, to the shoe’s height rather than its

---

<sup>74</sup> Translated in Simon Ravens, *The Supernatural Voice: A History of High Male Singing* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2014), 15.

<sup>75</sup> David Kathman, ‘Grocers, Goldsmiths, and Drapers: Freemen and Apprentices in the Elizabethan Theater’, *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 55 (2004), 1–49 (4).

sound, does not contradict Marston's reference to an unchanged voice since voice change can certainly be linked to physical stature.<sup>76</sup>

There are, in fact, several signs in Shakespeare's canon of last-minute re-writing owing to the changing of a boy's voice, the most prominent of which is the following passage from *Cymbeline* which precedes the dirge 'Fear no more the heat o'th'sun':

Arviragus: And let us, Polydore, though now our voices  
Have got the mannish crack, sing him to th'ground  
As once to our Mother; use like note, and words,  
Save that Euriphile, must be Fidele.  
Guiderius: Cadwal,  
I cannot sing: I'll weep, and word it with thee,  
For notes of sorrow out of tune are worse  
Than priests and fanes that lie.  
Arviragus: We'll speak it then'.  
(IV.ii.295–304)

I demonstrate in chapter 5 that the spoken dirge was a theatrical custom, but whether or not this dirge was intended to be sung, the term 'mannish crack' here underscores the adolescence of the brothers and their journey towards manhood throughout the play.<sup>77</sup> It adds, furthermore, an element of humour to the fake burial since the audience knows that Fidele (Imogen in disguise) has merely taken a potion which makes her appear dead. Such a device had precedent; in *Romeo and Juliet* IV.iv, musical jokes are similarly used to lighten the bogus public announcement of Juliet's death, thus saving solemnity for the real tragedy at the play's close (see chapter 5).

In *Twelfth Night*, it is apparent that the song 'Come away, death' was re-assigned from Viola to Feste. Orsino initially requests a repeat performance of a song from Viola (disguised as Cesario), but Curio interrupts Orsino's blank verse with an explanation in

<sup>76</sup> Barry Bogin, *Patterns of Human Growth* (2nd edn, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 202–3; Ashley and Mecke, "'Boys are apt to change their voice at about fourteene yeeres of age'", pp. 2–3, 13.

<sup>77</sup> *Cymbeline* ed. Martin Butler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 249; David Lindley, *Shakespeare and Music* (London and New York: Bloomsbury, 2006), 183.

jarring prose to the effect that the song's singer was Feste, the jester of the play's other household:

Orsino: Give me some music. Now, good morrow, friends.  
 Now, good Cesario, but that piece of song,  
 That old and antique song we heard last night:  
 Methought it did relieve my passion much,  
 More than light airs and recollected terms  
 Of these most brisk and giddy-paced times:  
 Come, but one verse.  
 Curio: He is not here, so please your lordship that should sing it.  
 Orsino: Who was it?  
 Curio: Feste, the jester, my lord; a fool that the lady Olivia's father  
 took  
 much delight in. He is about the house.  
 Orsino: Seek him out, and play the tune the while.  
 [Exit CURIO. Music plays]

(II.iv.1–12)

Why Orsino should misremember or fail to remember the singer, and why Feste should have been present in Orsino's house either the previous evening or again the next day is unclear. Orsino's description of 'that old and antique song', furthermore does not seem apt for 'Come away death', a song which does not appear to have circulated outside of *Twelfth Night* (see the song's source list, appendix 2.1). Right before Feste sings the song, Orsino describes it further as 'old and plain' and 'silly sooth'. 'Come away' songs were in fact a fashionable model of the period. They circulated in songbooks and were often used on the stage to facilitate exits.<sup>78</sup> Thomas Campion's song 'Come away, arm'd with love's delights', and Ben Jonson's 'Come away, come away, we grow jealous of your stay' from his *Masque of Blackness* are two cases in point.<sup>79</sup> Orsino, though, states at the beginning of the scene that he dislikes modern songs, the 'light airs and recollected terms / Of these most brisk and giddy-paced times' (II.iv.5–6). It seems, then, that both the song and the

<sup>78</sup> Tiffany Stern, 'Inverted Commas Around the "Fun": Music in *Twelfth Night*' in *Twelfth Night: A Critical Guide*, ed. Alison Findley and Liz Oakley-Brown (London: Methuen, 2013), 166–88 (185).

<sup>79</sup> Thomas Campion, *Two bookes of ayres ... To be sung to the lute and viols, in two, three, and foure parts: or by one voyce to an instrument* (London: Tho. Snodham, 1613; STC 4547), sig. Mv; Ben Jonson, *The characters of two royall masques The one of blacknesse, the other of beautie* (London: G. Eld, 1608; STC 14761), sig. B4v.

singer were changed some time between Shakespeare's drafting the original text of *Twelfth Night* and its first appearance in print.

Viola's singing ability is asserted early in the play:

Thou shalt present me as an eunuch to him.  
It may be worth thy pains, for I can sing  
And speak to him in many sorts of music  
That will allow me very worth his service.  
(I.ii.58–61)

Viola's declaration implies that Shakespeare initially intended her to sing during the play. The effect of Viola/Cesario rather than Feste singing a love song to Orsino would surely have altered scene II.iv's dramatic intention. It has already been noted that in II.iv. Orsino describes Viola's voice as 'shrill', but in the previous act, Malvolio paints a confusing picture of an adolescent boy with a high voice:

Not yet old enough for a man, nor young enough for a boy. As a squash is before 'tis a peascod, or a codling when 'tis almost an apple: 'tis with him in standing water, between boy and man. He is very well-favoured and he speaks very shrewishly. One would think his mother's milk were scarce out of him.  
(I.v.115–18)

Perhaps this reminder of the actor's pubescence serves as an explanation for the reassignment of 'Come away, death' to Feste at some stage in the play's early performance history, since a pubescent actor is vulnerable to the effects of voice change.

There is evidence of restructuring elsewhere in the play, apparently to display the musical talents of Robert Armin, a clown who joined the company in 1599 and would have played the role of Feste in *Twelfth Night*.<sup>80</sup> In II.ii.130–31, for instance, Maria declares 'I will plant you two, and let the fool make a third, where he shall find the letter', but in reality the third eavesdropper in II.v is Fabian, which allows Feste to open the following

---

<sup>80</sup> Martin Butler, 'Robert Armin' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online edn: Oxford University Press, 2012).

scene (III.i) playing on a tabor.<sup>81</sup> It seems clear, then, that not only was Robert Armin a musical talent to be put on show, he was also a reliable asset given the unpredictability of boys' singing voices. 'Come away, death' may have been originally intended for Viola, but ended up with the play's musician, Feste.

#### 1.3.4 'I wyll singe in my mans voyce': *Changed Voices on the Stage*

Sebastian Westcott's provision in his will (1582) for seven ex-choristers of St Paul's 'remaying with me' has led theatre historians to believe that child companies maintained superannuated boys to reinforce realism in their plays.<sup>82</sup> Thomas Dekker's famous advice that gallants should avoid the choristers of St Paul's perhaps hints that the choir also retained boys with changed voices:

Neuer be seene to mount the steppes into the quire, but vpon a high Festiuall day, to preferre the fashion of your doublet, and especially if the singing boyes seeme to take note of you: for they are able to buzze your praises, aboue the Anthems if their voyces haue not lost their maiden-heads...<sup>83</sup>

One musical episode in a Paul's play which may support that theory has been overlooked. Act II of the anonymous *Maid's Metamorphosis* ends with two songs and dances, both of which are preserved in Ravenscroft's *Briefe Discourse* as *The Urchins Daunce* and *The Elues Daunce*.<sup>84</sup> While the former is unattributed, the latter is ascribed to the composer John Bennet (fl. 1599–1614). Ravenscroft's texts almost exactly match those of the playbook, except that the final stanza of *Elues Daunce* is not present; that stanza, though,

<sup>81</sup> Stern 'Inverted commas around the "Fun"', 186–7.

<sup>82</sup> *Playhouse Wills, 1558–1642: An Edition of Wills by Shakespeare and his Contemporaries in the London Theatre*, ed. E. A. J. Honigmann and Susan Brock (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1993), 50; Lucy Munro, 'The Humour of Children: Performance, Gender, and the Early Modern Children's Companies', *Literature Compass*, 2 (2005), 1–26 (13, 15); Lin, 'How Old were the Children of Paul's?', 125–7; Gair, *The Children of Paul's*, 95–6.

<sup>83</sup> Thomas Dekker, *The guls horne-booke* (London; Nicholas Okes, 1609; STC 6500), 20.

<sup>84</sup> *The maydes metamorphosis As it hath bene sundrie times acted by the Children of Powles* (London: Thomas Creede, 1600; STC 17188), sigs C4r–Dr; Ravenscroft, *Briefe Discourse*, sigs C4r–D2r.

follows an identical meter to the first and could easily be fitted to Bennet's music. Crucially, the play was performed at St Paul's during the period when Ravenscroft was a chorister there (1598–1604).<sup>85</sup> Bennet's song does not appear in his own madrigal collection, printed one year before *The Maid's Metamorphosis*. It is possible, then, that Bennet composed his setting specifically for the play. Though Duffin suggests that Bennet's part songs as transmitted by Ravenscroft may post-date the first performance of *The Maid's Metamorphosis*, and has conjecturally set the two songs in question to ballad tunes,<sup>86</sup> it seems to me that, given Ravenscroft's personal connection with Paul's Boys and the established musical reputations of the boy companies in general, the songs in question are unlikely to have been performed in unison to popular tunes.

Both compositions are presented by Ravenscroft as four-voice partsongs, but seemingly for different combinations of singers. The musical and textual evidence points to the conclusion that the role of Ioculo was played by an adolescent boy with a changed voice, perhaps a superannuated cathedral chorister, and that that boy sang the bass part of the second song. The first, *Urchins Daunce*, has small vocal ranges and could be sung by a company of means and trebles. According to the play book, that song is sung by fairies alone. Three fairies have speaking parts in the proceeding discourse, but there may have been non-speaking fairies who helped with the singing and dancing. The bass part of Bennet's *Elues Daunce*, though, descends to C3, a fifth lower than the bass in *Urchins Daunce*; low enough, in short, to require a changed voice (with a treble line which already extends up to G5, one would not expect to hear the song performed at a significantly higher

---

<sup>85</sup> Linda Phyllis Austern, 'Thomas Ravenscroft: Musical Chronicler of an Elizabethan Theater Company', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 38 (1985), 238–63 (240).

<sup>86</sup> Ross W. Duffin *Some Other Note: The Lost Songs of English Renaissance Comedy* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 618–20

pitch).<sup>87</sup> The only possible explanation for the lower pitched bass line of Bennet's *Elues Daunce* is that Ioculo happened to be played by an older boy, and happened to join in the singing.

Immediately before the *Elues Daunce*, is sung, Fairy 2 addresses Ioculo as follows:

2. Fay: O you must needs daunce and sing;  
           Which if you refuse to doo,  
           We will pinch you blacke and blew.  
           And about we goe.  
*They all daunce in a Ring, and sing as followeth*

It seems fair, then, to assume that Ioculo heeds the fairies' warning and sings. Elsewhere in the play, there are intimations that Ioculo is older than his companions Mopsa and Frisco. In Act I, for instance, he mentions his beard: 'There's not a bush so big as my beard, / But Ile be peeping in it'. In a sarcastic exchange in Act III, furthermore, Ioculo refers to the others as 'little Boyes' and Friso addresses Ioculo as 'good old great man'.<sup>88</sup>

The Chapel Royal company also seems to have drawn on the talents of older boys, at least in its earlier incarnation under master Richard Edwards. Edwards's play *Damon and Pithias* (c. 1564)<sup>89</sup>, undoubtedly features a bass singer as Grim, the collier:

Grimme:       Go to then lustly, I wyll singe in my mans voyce,  
                   I haue a troublinge base busse.  
 Iacke:        You are like to beare the bobbe, for wee wyll giue it,  
                   Set out your bussying base, and wee wyll quiddell vpon it.  
                   *Grimme singeth Basse*<sup>90</sup>

The music for the ensuing part-song is lost, but that Grim sung with a changed voice seems certain.

---

<sup>87</sup> This view contradicts David Wulstan's high pitch theory for church music ('The Problem of Pitch in Sixteenth-Century English Vocal Music', 97–112 and *Tudor Music*, 192–249). For a selection of arguments against Wulstan's theory, see Chapter 1, n. 57 above.

<sup>88</sup> *The maydes metamorphosis*, sig. Ev.

<sup>89</sup> Date from Ros King, *The Works of Richard Edwards: Politics, Poetry and Performance in Sixteenth-Century England* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2001), 6.

<sup>90</sup> Richard Edwards, *The excellent comedie of two the moste faithfulest freendes, Damon and Pithias* (London: William Williamson, 1571; STC 7514), sig. F4v.



The adolescent male voice, then, had a certain function in child plays where a changing voice offered both diversity of vocal timbre and authenticity of characterization. Less convenient in adult plays where children were primarily employed for their high voices, voice change played a role in the re-shaping of text and even plots, creating inconsistencies about which modern scholars can only hypothesize.

#### 1.4 'A Very Proper Child': James Rice and Shakespeare's Boy Apprentices

That Shakespeare's company offered apprenticeships is certain. The company as a whole was made up of 'sharers' (the company principals who held financial shares), hired men and apprentices. The sharer and co-editor of *F* John Heminges (bap. 1566, d. 1630) registered ten apprentices during his career, including the musician John Wilson,<sup>91</sup> and Augustine Philips (d. 1605) bequeathed a bass viol, cittern, bandora and lute to his former and current apprentices Samuel Gilbourne and James Sands.<sup>92</sup> Theatrical apprenticeships were subject to the same rules and regulations that governed London's livery companies. An ordinance passed by the London Common Council in 1556 indicates that the customary age for the binding of London apprentices was fourteen, and that they should be freed by twenty-four but in practice were often freed at twenty-one.<sup>93</sup> Gurr assumes that the King's Men's apprentices, like the apprentices of livery companies, lived with their masters, though there is no evidence to support that theory.<sup>94</sup>

---

<sup>91</sup> Kathman, 'Grocers, Goldsmiths, and Drapers: Freemen and Apprentices in the Elizabethan Theater', 6–11.

<sup>92</sup> *Playhouse Wills*, ed. Honigmann and Brock, 70.

<sup>93</sup> David Kathman, 'The Seven Deadly Sins and Theatrical Apprenticeship', *Early Theatre*, 14 (2011), 121–39 (131). The ordinance is described in Steve Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds: Structures of Life in Sixteenth-Century London* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 323.

<sup>94</sup> Gurr, *The Shakespeare Company*, 21.

It is accepted that apprentices played the company's female roles during their teenage years.<sup>95</sup> As the actor Colley Cibber wrote in 1740 when describing the English stage prior to the advent of female actors: 'The Characters of Women on former theatres were perform'd by Boys, or young Men of the most effeminate Aspect'.<sup>96</sup> One of the King's Men's most famous apprentices was John Rice (c. 1590–1654), here assumed to be the John Rice who became a clerk at St Saviour's, Southwark, in 1625, and who in a Chancery deposition dated the following year gave his age as thirty-six.<sup>97</sup> Rice made two appearances at state events, the first when he was aged sixteen or seventeen and the second aged nineteen or twenty.<sup>98</sup> On the first occasion he performed a speech in a musical entertainment written by Ben Jonson for Prince Henry's induction into the Merchant Taylors' Company (1607), and on the second he played the role of Corinea opposite Richard Burbage's Amphion at a royal water pageant on the Thames to celebrate Henry's creation as Prince of Wales (1610). Of particular interest here is the fact that at age seventeen Rice was described in the Merchant Taylors' records as a 'very proper child',<sup>99</sup> and at the age of twenty he was still playing female roles, namely 'a very fayre and beautifull Nimphe, representing the Genius of olde Corineus Queene'.<sup>100</sup>

The Merchant Taylors' records reveal that Rice's 1607 performance 'pleased his Majtie. marvelously well'.<sup>101</sup> Accounts of Rice's performance at the Merchant Taylors' usually

---

<sup>95</sup> Stanley Wells, 'Boys Should Be Girls', 174; David Kathman, 'John Rice and the Boys of the Jacobean King's Men' in *Shakespeare Survey 68: Shakespeare, Origins and Originality*, ed. Peter Holland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 247–66 (258–9).

<sup>96</sup> Colley Cibber, *An Apology for the Life of Mr Colley Cibber*, ed. Robert R. Lowe, 2 vols (London: John C. Nimmo, 1889), vol. 1, p. 90.

<sup>97</sup> See Kathman, 'John Rice and the Boys of the Jacobean King's Men', 247–9.

<sup>98</sup> Kathman, 'John Rice and the Boys of the Jacobean King's Men', 247–9.

<sup>99</sup> Charles M. Clode, *The Early History of the Guild of Merchant Taylors of the Fraternity of St John the Baptist, London*, 2 vols (London: Harrison and Sons, 1888), vol. 1, p. 290.

<sup>100</sup> Anthony Munday, *Londons Love, to the Royal Prince Henrie* (London: Edward Allde, 1610; STC 13159), sig. C1v.

<sup>101</sup> Clode, *The Early History of the Guild of Merchant Taylors*, vol. 1, p. 290.

overlook the fact that the children and gentlemen of the Chapel Royal choir provided private musical entertainment for the King after the ceremony, under the direction of John Bull (1562/3–1628) and Nathaniel Giles.<sup>102</sup> That Rice was chosen over the Chapel Royal boys to deliver Jonson's speech at the earlier performance is surely testament to the talent of the boys of the adult companies, as well as further evidence of the dissociation of the Chapel Royal choristers from their former theatrical activities.

It seems more likely that John Rice was an unusually late developer than that boys of seventeen were routinely perceived as children, or that it was customary or generally plausible for men of twenty to play female roles. That theory is borne out by Rice's somewhat stunted adult career; after leaving his apprenticeship in 1611, he appeared on the stage only sporadically before taking a full time position as a parish clerk.<sup>103</sup> As David Kathman puts it, 'We might speculate that the same features that made Rice so successful as a boy performer of female roles—a high voice and feminine face—were a handicap for an adult actor of male roles'.<sup>104</sup> It was certainly accepted that puberty could extend into the late teens and early twenties, according to one treatise:

the third our budding and blossoming age, when our cheekes and other more hidden parts begin to be clothe with that mossie excrement of haire, which is proroged vntil the eighteenth yeere: the last our youth, lasting vntil we be fiue and twentie yeeres old.<sup>105</sup>

Richard Mulcaster, one-time master of the Paul's company, was at pains to remind parents that 'ripenes in children, is not tyed to one time, no more then all corne is ripe for one

---

<sup>102</sup> Clode, *The Early History of the Guild of Merchant Taylors*, vol. 1, p. 291.

<sup>103</sup> Kathman, 'John Rice and the boys of the Jacobean King's Men', 260.

<sup>104</sup> Kathman, 'John Rice and the boys of the Jacobean King's Men', 260.

<sup>105</sup> Henry Cuffe, *The differences of the ages of mans life together with the originall causes, progresse, and end thereof* (London: Arnold Hatfield, 1607; STC 6103), sig. I3v.

reaping, though most what about one. Some be hastinges and will on, some be hardinges, and draw backe'.<sup>106</sup>

It has been proposed that, given Rice's apparently convincing performance as a woman in the water pageant of 1610, he may have been the actor who played Desdemona in a performance of *Othello* by the King's Men in Oxford that same year.<sup>107</sup> A member of the Oxford audience described Desdemona's performance in a letter:

At verò Desdemona illa apud nos a marito occisa quanquam optimè semper causam egit, interfacta tamen magis movebat; cum in lecto decumbens spectantium misericordiam ipso vultu imploraret.

Truly that Desdemona, killed in front of us by her husband, although she always pled her case very well, dead she moved us still more; while lying upon her deathbed, she begged with her very face for the pity of those looking on.<sup>108</sup>

If the Oxford Desdemona was indeed played by a twenty year old then this presents one possible explanation for the omission of Desdemona's Willow Song in Q1 *Othello*. That quarto appeared in 1622, six years after Shakespeare's death and one year before *F* was published, and it did not contain the song, Desdemona merely referring to the song without singing it.<sup>109</sup> *F* was the first publication to include the song, followed by Q2 in 1630.

Two conflicting hypotheses regarding the song's omission arose in the 1950s: on one hand, Alice Walker suggested that the song was cut owing to a change of the casting of Desdemona to a boy who was unable to sing;<sup>110</sup> on the other hand M. R. Ridley proposed that at some point in the stage history of the play an actor with a greater talent for singing

---

<sup>106</sup> Richard Mulcaster, *Positions wherein those primitiue circumstances be examined, which are necessarie for the training vp of children, either for skill in their booke, or health in their bodie* (London: Thomas Vautrollier, 1581; STC 18253), sig. Cv.

<sup>107</sup> Kathman, 'John Rice and the Boys of the Jacobean King's Men', 259.

<sup>108</sup> Letter from Henry Jackson to G. P., September 1610, *GB-Occc Fulman Papers*, X, ff. 83r-84v, reprinted in Penelope Woods, 'The Audience of the Indoor Theatre' in *Moving Shakespeare Indoors*, ed. Gurr and Karim-Cooper, 152-67 (155). Translation kindly provided for this dissertation by Miles Lallemand.

<sup>109</sup> See Chapter 3 for the song's textual and musical history.

<sup>110</sup> *Othello*, ed. Alice Walker and John Dover Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957), 121-6.

than the one for whom Shakespeare first wrote the part was cast, and so the song was added.<sup>111</sup> Ridley's theory implies that the inclusion of the Willow Song may have been due to someone other than Shakespeare.

In 1996, E. A. J. Honigmann determined that Q1 and *F* were constructed from separate yet authorial theatrical scripts of *Othello*. His explanation for the omission of the song in Q1 was that a boy actor's voice broke close to the first performance, leaving him unable to sing. According to Honigmann's theory, Shakespeare hastily reconstructed the scene without the song, and Q1 was copied from that manuscript, the song being preserved in a second, fairer authorial script, from which *F* was derived.<sup>112</sup> Honigmann's explanation is plausible in itself, but he elaborated to the point where the theory became dependent on re-dating the writing of *Othello* to 1601–2 to correspond with the writing of *Twelfth Night*; as discussed above, evidence of a similar problem with the singing of the actor playing Viola in *Twelfth Night* may be found in the dialogue surrounding the song 'Come away, death' (II.iv).

It is here suggested that both Honigmann's and Walker's theories might be correct if the change to the *Othello* script was made in 1610 to accommodate Rice's mature performance. *Othello* is generally agreed to date from 1604, since its first recorded performance took place at court in November of that year;<sup>113</sup> influences of Richard Knolle's *History of the Turks*, furthermore, published in late 1603, have been detected in the play.<sup>114</sup> It is thought that Rice's apprenticeship began in 1604, so it is possible that he created the role of Desdemona that year and was then able to sing in an appropriate register. Rice was certainly musically competent; his audition for the role of clerk at St

---

<sup>111</sup> *Othello*, ed. M. R. Ridley (London: Arden Shakespeare, 1958), 201.

<sup>112</sup> Honigmann, *The Texts of Othello and Shakespearian Revision* (London: Routledge, 1996), 1.

<sup>113</sup> *Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court in the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James I*, ed. Peter Cunningham (London: F. Shoberi, 1852), 203.

<sup>114</sup> *R*, p. 2,085.

Saviour's required him to read aloud from the Bible and sing a psalm, and the records show that 'both were well liked'.<sup>115</sup>

By my reckoning, five members of the Shakespearean company during the first half of the seventeenth century (by then known as the King's Men) can be confidently identified as former members of boy companies; their names are given in table 1.3. All five joined the King's Men after the demise of Paul's Boys and the dissociation of the Blackfriars Company from the Chapel Royal choir. On the basis of recorded birth and death dates, the joining age can be calculated for three of the five: William Ostler was twenty-three or twenty-four, Nathan Field was around twenty-eight and Charles Hart was fifteen. Of the five actors in question, Hart alone seems to have joined the company as an apprentice.<sup>116</sup> It is, of course, impossible to say whether Hart, Underwood and Hammerton joined the King's Men with unchanged or changed voices, and so speculation on the roles they may have played is futile; primary literature on the age of male puberty is contradictory and must be read with caution.<sup>117</sup> It is clear, though, that former boy actors migrated to the adult companies just as Hamlet implies, and that, in most cases, their previous stage experience allowed them to bypass the apprenticeship phase.

Appendix 1.1 and figure 1.1 illustrate the distribution of boy and adult songs in Shakespeare's plays throughout his career. Figure 1.1 clearly shows that adult songs dominated the scene until the final years, when boy songs rose to their peak. The peak in the incidence of adult songs coincides with the employment of the noted singer Robert Armin (1563–1615), for whom the role of Amiens in *As You Like It* was created (a character who exists solely to sing). The later rise in the number of boy songs coincides

---

<sup>115</sup> *GB-Lna* P92/SAV/0450, 547 (St Saviour's Southwark Vestry Minute Book, 1581/2–1628); described in Kathman, 'John Rice and the Boys of the Jacobean King's Men', pp. 247–9 and n. 66.

<sup>116</sup> See Gurr, *The Shakespeare Company*, 229.

<sup>117</sup> Ashley and Mecke, "Boys are apt to change their voice at about fourteene yeeres of age", 1.

with the Shakespeare company's move to the indoor theatre at Blackfriars (the former home of the Chapel Royal company), the retirement of Armin, the employment of former boy company actors William Ostler and John Underwood, the disintegration of Paul's Boys and the fall from grace of the Chapel Royal company. Given the demise of one child company and the disgrace of the other, it is possible that more boys were available to the adult companies at that time.

### 1.5 'The not received custom': Musical Practice in Child and Adult Companies

John Marston's play, *The Malcontent*, was originally performed by the Blackfriars company around 1602–3,<sup>118</sup> before being staged by the King's Men at the Globe in 1604. An induction written by John Webster for the Globe performance featured three King's Men actors—Richard Burbage, John Lowin and Henry Condell—as themselves. When asked what additions have been made to the original play, Burbage replies to the effect that it was necessary for the King's Men to lengthen its duration and to cut out some of its music:

Sly:               What are your additions?  
 Burbage:       Sooth not greatly needfull, only as your sallet to your  
                       greate feast, to entertain a little more time, and to abridge  
                       the not received custome of musicke in our Theater.<sup>119</sup>

While there are indeed some textual additions to the Globe edition which result in an extra act, all of the scripted musical events from Marston's earlier version, including songs, dances and a masque, are in fact retained. 'The not received custome', then, likely refers to the practice of inter-act musical entertainment which prevailed in the private theatres.

---

<sup>118</sup> See Lucy Munro, *Children of the Queen's Revels* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 18, and *The Malcontent*, ed. G. K. Hunter (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1999), 6.

<sup>119</sup> *The malcontent. Augmented by Marston. With the additions played by the Kings Maiesties servants. Written by Ihon Webster* (London: Valentine Simmes, 1604; STC 17481), Induction. The reference for the earlier playtext is John Marston, *The malcontent* (London: Valentine Simmes, 1604; STC 17479).

The Duke of Stettin-Pomerania's experience of a recital before a play has already been noted, but such recitals do not seem to have been the norm. What is certain, though, is that acts in the children's plays were divided by music. Marston's *Sophonisba* is unusual in giving explicit descriptions of the music, for instance, 'the Cornetts and Organs playing loud full Musicke for the Act' and 'Organs, Violls and Voices play for this Act'.<sup>120</sup> Marston's epilogue offers an apologetic explanation for the musical directions:

After all, let me intreat my Reader not to taxe me, for the fashion of the Entrances and Musique of this Tragedy, for know it is printed onely as it was presented by youths, & after the fashion of the private stage.<sup>121</sup>

It seems, then, that musical performances were routinely inserted between acts, with or without the playwright's approval.

That the children of St Paul's and the Chapel Royal were adept musicians is self-evident, and the intimate acoustics of the theatres at St Paul's and Blackfriars offered an ideal platform for the children's musical talent. Linda Austern has shown that the most widely used instruments in child plays were cornetts, lutes, viols and violins.<sup>122</sup> Ian Payne has shown, moreover, that English cathedral choristers were routinely taught to play keyboard instruments, sackbuts, cornetts and viols, and that the frequency of records relating to the purchase and repair of those instruments increases after 1600.<sup>123</sup> As early as c. 1535, John Redford—then master of Paul's Boys—called for four viol players in his morality play *Wit and Science*,<sup>124</sup> while an eyewitness account of Mary I's coronation in 1553 describes 'a pageant made against the Deane of Paules gate, where the queristers of

---

<sup>120</sup> John Marston, *The wonder of women or The tragedie of Sophonisba as it hath beene sundry times acted at the Blacke Friers* (London: John Windet, 1606; STC 17488), sigs B4v and E2v.

<sup>121</sup> Marston, *Sophonisba*, sig. G3v.

<sup>122</sup> Austern, *Music in English Children's Drama*, 63.

<sup>123</sup> Ian Payne, *The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music at Cambridge College and Selected Cathedrals c. 1547–c. 1646* (New York and London: Garland Publishing Inc., 1993), 134–47; Ian Payne, 'The Provision of Teaching on the Viols at Some English Cathedral Churches, c. 1594–c. 1645: Archival Evidence', *The Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society*, 19 (1990), 3–15 (*passim*).

<sup>124</sup> *GB-Lbl Add. MS 15233*, f. 2ir.



Paules plaied on vialles and song'.<sup>125</sup> Plays performed by both commercial child companies contain solo songs accompanied by consorts of viols, and also solo singers accompanying themselves on the viol. It is likely, then, that the children were largely able to provide their own music, and in a variety of styles. In William Percy's *Faery Pastorall* (1603), likely written with Paul's Boys in mind, two characters debate the value of harmony versus unison:

Hypsiphyle: Fiue Parts do make a whole Consort they say,  
Better then it is bid the Cast away.

Orion: Though but fiue make the Consort, they say,  
Yet many vnisons make full the Laye.

(III.ii.37–58)<sup>126</sup>

It has been proposed that after the Blackfriars company ceased to be associated with the Chapel Royal the City Waits became the company's musicians.<sup>127</sup> It seems to me that the company's use of the hautboy is key to this argument, there being no evidence to my knowledge of the use of that instrument in England outside of civic ensembles. According to Austern, neither Paul's Boys nor the original Chapel Royal company used hautboys, but they were used at Blackfriars by that company after its dissociation from the Chapel Royal Choir.<sup>128</sup> In the absence of those musically talented boys, it makes sense that the services of the Waits may have been called upon. A survey of instrumentation specified in *F*, furthermore, reveals a similar acceleration in the use of the hautboy after the Kings Men's move to the indoor Blackfriars theatre in 1608 (see table 1.4 and figure 1.2). It is often wondered whether the King's Men inherited the Blackfriars band,<sup>129</sup> and Shakespeare's

<sup>125</sup> John Stow, *The annales of England* (London: Ralfe Newberry, 1592; STC 23334), sig. Yyy2v.

<sup>126</sup> Fenn, 'William Percy's *Faery Pastorall*: An Old Spelling Edition', pp. 27, 45–6, 142.

<sup>127</sup> Austern, *Music in English Children's Drama*, 24–5; William Lyons, 'Theatre Bands and Their Music in Shakespeare's London' in *Shakespeare, Music and Performance*, ed. Bill Barclay and David Lindley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 14–28 (16).

<sup>128</sup> Austern, *Music in English Children's Drama*, 63.

<sup>129</sup> Stern, '“A Ruinous Monastery”: The Second Blackfriars Playhouse as a Place of Nostalgia' in *Moving Shakespeare Indoors*, ed. Gurr and Karim-Cooper, 97–114 (107); Lindley, *Shakespeare and Music*, 102.

later preference for the hautboy certainly seems to support that theory. It is true that hautboys were particularly well suited acoustically to indoor theatres. Christopher R. Wilson's claim, though, that hautboys replaced trumpets for that reason when Shakespeare's company moved indoors, is overly simplistic.<sup>130</sup> *Coriolanus*, for instance, calls for both instruments: 'Trumpets, hautboys, drums beat all together' (V.iv.40). It must be remembered too that only during the early seventeenth century did the hautboy emerge as distinct from the shawm, which may help to explain its predominance in Shakespeare's later plays.<sup>131</sup> The point is that when the adults took over the indoor theatres, the musical tradition established there by the children had to be maintained, and this was done through the appropriation of professional musicians. Although the rise of the Jacobean court masque undoubtedly contributed to an increase in the musical content of stage plays, the child actors had played no small part in the development of English theatre music.

---

<sup>130</sup> Christopher R. Wilson, *Shakespeare's Musical Imagery* (London and New York: Continuum, 2011), 4–5.

<sup>131</sup> Bruce Haynes, 'Oboe: History to 1800' in *Grove Music Online*, 2001.

## CHAPTER 2

THE EARLY CIRCULATION OF SHAKESPEARE'S SONGS<sup>1</sup>

The mid-twentieth century saw a rise of scholarly interest in Shakespeare's songs. Groundbreaking works by F. W. Sternfeld and Peter J. Seng sought to establish the origin and circulation of the songs that formed part of the plays' earliest texts. In more recent years, Ross W. Duffin has mustered long-lost sources for text and music, and David Lindley has explored the dramatic function of music in Shakespeare's day.<sup>2</sup> The present enquiry does not seek to revise those studies, but rather to supplement them as they stand. Duffin's source list is the most comprehensive published list of sixteenth- to seventeenth-century sources for Shakespeare's songs, but he admits it is incomplete. Of the fifty-nine songs here considered, Duffin identifies 125 appearances in eighty-six primary sources whereas I identify 428 such appearances in 308: a more than three-fold increase (see appendix 2.1). Though my list, unlike Duffin's, includes eighteenth- and nineteenth-century sources that transmit early versions of text or music, it nonetheless incorporates sixty-six extra manuscripts and twenty-nine extra prints which do belong to the early modern period.<sup>3</sup>

My basis for selecting the songs for this chapter was to confine the enquiry to songs which were likely sung, either in full or in part, thereby excluding spoken references to song titles. Duffin has thoroughly covered all musical references in Shakespeare's canon;<sup>4</sup> I, rather, examine the circulation of songs *performed* during the plays. Naturally, all songs

---

<sup>1</sup> In the context of the present study, 'the terms 'Shakespeare's songs' and 'a Shakespeare song' apply to any song included or explicitly identified in a Shakespeare play.

<sup>2</sup> Sternfeld, *Music in Shakespearean Tragedy* (2nd edn, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul; New York: Dover Publications, 1967); Seng, *The Vocal Songs in the Plays of Shakespeare* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967); Duffin, *Shakespeare's Songbook* (London and New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2004); Lindley, *Shakespeare and Music* (London, New Delhi, New York and Sydney: Bloomsbury, 2006).

<sup>3</sup> See Duffin, *Shakespeare's Songbook*, pp. 39 and 488–502.

<sup>4</sup> Duffin, *Shakespeare's Songbook*, *passim*.

which do not appear to have circulated outside of their dramatic context are eliminated from the study: some examples include ‘The ousel cock’ (*A Midsummer Night’s Dream*), ‘Come unto these yellow sands’ (*The Tempest*) and ‘When daisies pied’ (*Love’s Labour’s Lost*). It is true that a certain amount of conjecture is necessary to determine whether short snippets of song text were spoken or sung, stage directions for singing being sparse and inconsistent in *F*. We cannot know, moreover, whether pre-existing songs were certainly sung to the tunes which have survived. Nonetheless, for the purposes of developing the argument it is necessary to postulate (on a case by case basis) which songs were sung and to what tunes. A complete methodology for the selection of data is laid out in appendix 2.1; importantly, only the earliest surviving musical settings are included, except where more than one musical setting may have been contemporary with Shakespeare.

Some commentators have seen fit to divide Shakespeare’s songs into two or more broad categories. W. H. Auden, for instance, identified ‘two kinds of songs in Shakespeare’s plays, the called-for and the impromptu’. John Stevens likewise classified the songs according to their dramatic function: ‘we can regard any song or instrumental piece from two points of view: (i) as part of the Imitation which constitutes a play; and (ii) as part of the Communication which the audience receives’. Others have categorised the songs by genre: Lindley, for instance, differentiated between ‘popular’ and ‘formal’ song, and Catherine A. Henze between ‘popular songs’ and ‘art songs or lute ayres’. John H. Long established four categories: ‘the folk songs, the street songs, the “ayres,” and the madrigals and canzonets’. Long considered ballads, three man songs and catches to be folk music, and labelled broadside ballads set to those popular tunes ‘urban street songs’. Claude M. Simpson similarly subdivided popular song into two types: ‘the orally circulating ballad of tradition and the printed or broadside ballad’. Christopher Marsh offered a more complex view of the origins of ballad tunes, proposing that while some stemmed from folk music

and others were composed specially for their original ballads, there were also those which had their roots in instrumental court music.<sup>5</sup>

It is true that dividing the songs into genres can be useful for studying their dramatic function and also for speculating how they might have been originally performed on the stage. For the purposes of the present study, though, which examines the circulation of the songs, it is more useful to define the songs as either pre-existing or original. For practical purposes, the term ‘original’ is used hereafter to define songs that were likely specially composed for their respective plays, even if they should quote other models or make reference to contemporary cultural events. Of course, not every song can be classified as being either pre-existing or original beyond reasonable doubt: should one or another have been present in manuscript or print prior to the composition date of the Shakespeare play in which it is sung, it was certainly pre-extant. If, however, a song does not survive in any source created prior to the composition of its play, it can be impossible to prove that the song in question did not pre-exist in a now lost document and/or oral tradition. That said, the sources in which the song in question did circulate can provide clues as to its origin. It seems appropriate, furthermore, when studying the circulation of songs, to define a song as ‘popular’ only if it achieved wide circulation through a variety of different media.

---

<sup>5</sup> W. H. Auden, ‘Music in Shakespeare’ in *The Dyer’s Hand and other essays*, ed. W. H. Auden (London: Faber and Faber, 1956), 500–527 (511); John Stevens, ‘Music of the Elizabethan Stage: An Introductory Essay’ in *Shakespeare in Music: A Collection of Essays*, ed. Phyllis Hartnoll (London, Melbourne and Toronto: Macmillan, 1966), 3–48 (14); Lindley, *Shakespeare and Music*, 141; Catherine A. Henze, *Robert Armin and Shakespeare’s Performed Songs* (London and New York: Routledge, 2017), 9; John H. Long, *Shakespeare’s Use of Music: A Study of the Music and Its Performance in the Original Production of Seven Comedies* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1955), 1–2; Claude M. Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music* (New Brunswick and New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1966), p. ix; Christopher Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 238.

## 2.1 Manuscript vs Print

According to Arthur F. Marotti, the two systems of literary transmission that co-existed and competed in England from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century—manuscript and print—each fulfilled discrete cultural functions.<sup>6</sup> In a society which was not entirely oral nor yet entirely literate, the written word or note belonged predominantly to the middle and upper classes while the oral tradition arguably belonged to everyone. Print certainly did not quickly overtake manuscript culture. The technical and financial obstacles encountered by those early music printers caused the manuscript tradition to remain the principal means whereby music was disseminated until after the Restoration.<sup>7</sup> It should be borne in mind, nonetheless, that print, though used for a smaller number of songs, resulted in those songs' enjoying a much wider circulation.

For musical notation of Shakespeare's songs, manuscript sources predominate: sixty-four per cent of the manuscript sources listed in appendix 2.1 transmit music, compared with only twenty-one per cent of the printed sources. For the transmission of Shakespeare's song lyrics, print was the primary medium, owing mainly to the preponderance of mid- to late-seventeenth-century broadside ballads, which make up thirty per cent of the printed source list while not transmitting any music whatsoever. If the phenomenon which has been controversially labelled 'the stigma of print' has any validity, then poets retained an attachment to manuscript transmission.<sup>8</sup> Even while late Tudor poetry was flourishing in print, John Lyly voiced in his epistle to Thomas Watson's *Hekatompathia* (1582) a

---

<sup>6</sup> Arthur F. Marotti, *Manuscript, Print and the English Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1995), 1.

<sup>7</sup> Rebecca Herissone, *Musical Creativity in Restoration England* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 61.

<sup>8</sup> Subscribers to the concept include J. W. Saunders, 'The Stigma of Print: A Note on the Social Bases of Tudor Poetry', *Essays in Criticism*, 1 (1951), 139–64, and Marotti, *Manuscript, Print and the English Renaissance Lyric*, 210–81. For a refutation of the existence of the stigma of print, see Stephen W. May, 'Tudor Aristocrats and the Mythical "Stigma of Print"', *Renaissance Papers* (1980), 11–18.

reluctance perhaps shared by his contemporaries to publish his poetry on the grounds that it lost something of its essence when typeset in straight lines.<sup>9</sup> Ben Jonson, furthermore, in an epigram introducing a printed collection of consort music by Alfonso Ferrabosco II, seems to warn the composer of the perils of making one's work available to a wider readership than one's own coterie:

When we doe giue, Alphonso, to the light,  
A worke of ours, we part with our owne right;  
For, then, all mouthes will iudge, and their owne way:  
The learn'd haue no more priuilege, then the lay.<sup>10</sup>

In our own time, Shakespeare has himself been dubbed 'a voice essentially of pre-print culture, of closet or privileged readership, of (to a degree) social snobbery'.<sup>11</sup> While print may have been alien to certain of Shakespeare's plays, about half of which remained unpublished during his lifetime,<sup>12</sup> the music of his songs seems to have circulated more freely. For the purposes of the present study, it is essential to differentiate between pre-existing and original songs, since those characteristics help to determine what was in circulation—a popular song or a Shakespeare song. Roughly speaking, the music for pre-existing songs circulated more widely than original songs, whose musical transmissions were largely confined to a handful of manuscripts. Songs which Shakespeare appropriated from a pre-existing repertoire base probably circulated mostly orally, but their tunes were often preserved in solo instrumental anthologies such as lutebooks, albeit in complex arrangements; those resources have proven invaluable to scholars of Shakespeare's songs. Original songs for *Macbeth*, *The Tempest*, *The Winter's Tale* and *Cymbeline* for which

---

<sup>9</sup> Thomas Watson, *The hekatompethia or Passionate centurie of loue* (London: Iohn Wolfe, 1582; STC 25118a), sig. Bv.

<sup>10</sup> Alfonso Ferrabosco, *Lessons for 1.2. and 3. viols* (London: Thomas Snodham, 1609; STC 10828), sig. A2v.

<sup>11</sup> Richard Dutton, 'The Birth of the Author' in *Texts and Cultural Change in Early Modern England*, ed. Cedric C. Brown and Arthur F. Marotti (London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1997), 153–78 (175).

<sup>12</sup> *R*, 52.

Robert Johnson wrote music, are preserved almost exclusively in manuscript;<sup>13</sup> the only exceptions prior to the twentieth century are the *Tempest* songs printed in three-voice arrangements by John Wilson in his *Cheerful ayres* of 1659.<sup>14</sup> Those Johnson songs, unlike pre-existing tunes, tended to circulate with their texts intact.

Figure 2.1 illustrates the overall circulation of Shakespeare's songs in manuscript and print between 1500 and 1900. The graph's obvious limitations are a) that it does not account for multiple printings of any given book, thereby failing to demonstrate that print was inevitably more far-reaching than manuscript, b) that it cannot show the impact of oral transmission, and c) that many of the manuscript sources are at best only vaguely dateable; where a manuscript source listed in appendix 2.1 has a date range, the exact midpoint of that range is used for figure 2.1.

The quantitative difference between manuscript and print publication is impossible to measure since early modern manuscripts were seldom replicated while multiple copies of any individual book were produced during a print run. The concept of manuscripts as publications has been developed by A. I. Doyle and Harold Love, and has even been extended to public performances of plays.<sup>15</sup> Doyle defines publication as the communication of a work to others, a process which may or may not rouse demand for

---

<sup>13</sup> On the attribution of those songs to Johnson, see John P. Cutts, "Robert Johnson: King's Musician in His Majesty's Public Entertainment", *Music & Letters* 36 (April 1955), 110–25; *La musique de scène de la troupe de Shakespeare: The King's Men sous le règne de Jacques I<sup>er</sup>*, ed. J. P. Cutts (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1959); *Robert Johnson: Ayres, Songs and Dialogues*, ed. Ian Spink (2nd edn, London: Stainer & Bell, 1974), p. iv.

<sup>14</sup> John Wilson, *Cheerfull ayres or ballads* (London: W. Hall, 1659; Wing W2908), Cantus primus pp. 6–9, cantus secundus pp. 5–6, cantus bassus pp. 5–6. John P. Cutts's view that the *Tempest* songs printed by Wilson were his arrangements of Johnson's originals is here accepted: 'Robert Johnson: King's Musician', 111.

<sup>15</sup> A. I. Doyle, 'Publication by Members of the Religious Orders' in *Book Production and Publishing in Britain, 1375–1475*, ed. Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 109–23; Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1993); T. H. Howard-Hill, "'Nor Stage, Nor Stationers Stall Can Showe": The Circulation of Plays in Manuscript in the Early Seventeenth Century', *Book History*, 2 (1999), 28–41.



reproduction.<sup>16</sup> Love emphasizes the importance of differentiating between ‘an initiatory act and a replicatory act’.<sup>17</sup> If the act of communicating a song via manuscript or print can be taken as initiatory, then that is what figure 2.1 measures; in other words, a manuscript transmission and a print transmission both have a value of one. While it is true that a print inevitably circulated more widely than a manuscript, the actual dissemination and readership of prints and manuscripts must surely remain unquantifiable. In that light, replications of a print may be justifiably eliminated from the data.

Notwithstanding its limitations, figure 2.1 confirms a peak in the manuscript transmission of Shakespeare’s songs during the first half of the seventeenth century, followed by a peak in their print transmission in the second half of the century. The manuscript peak is due mainly to the popularity of the solo instrumental anthology during the 1630s and ’40s, while the print peak is caused, for the most part, by the high volume of broadside ballads surviving from between 1650 and 1700. Those statistics confirm Marotti’s view that manuscript and print cultures co-existed during the period but performed different roles. The data also show, though, that both media often performed a common function, and to the same degree. As far as verse anthologies are concerned, for instance, the number of manuscript and printed sources listed in appendix 2.1 are comparable (twenty-two and twenty-three respectively). The present study therefore does not generally draw needless distinction between manuscript and print, and opts instead to treat all sources as publications.

Of those sources tabulated in appendix 2.1, broadsides (*B*) form the largest transmission group, followed by verse anthologies (*VA*), musical anthologies (*MA*) and solo instrumental anthologies (*SIA*). Other types of sources which occur in high numbers are

---

<sup>16</sup> Doyle, ‘Publication by Members of the Religious Orders’, 110.

<sup>17</sup> Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England*, 44.

song and ballad anthologies (*SBA*) and verse and prose anthologies (*VPA*). Those proportions indicate a healthy circulation of both the text and music of Shakespeare's songs. In some cases, compilers may have been practising what has been termed 'dramatic extracting', that is the practice of copying extracts from plays into an anthology. Laura Estill states that 'as dramatic extracting became more widespread after 1600, songs were especially popular: the majority of dramatic extracts in seventeenth-century manuscript are songs'.<sup>18</sup>

Dramatic songs, though, were paratextual in that they were likely omitted from performance play scripts, circulating orally instead, or indeed as independent documents.<sup>19</sup> In that sense, it is important to ascertain whether a compiler included a song because of its dramatic context, its wider popularity or both. Songs that pre-dated their use by Shakespeare continued, as a rule, to circulate in their popular rather than their Shakespearean forms. Some, however, circulated in both forms, 'In youth when I did love' from *Hamlet* being a case in point (see 2.2.2 below).

Songs likely penned by Shakespeare are at times referenced in their dramatic capacity, but can also stand alone in miscellanies as independent poems or songs. *GB-Lbl* Egerton 2421, for instance, transmits the text of five songs from *The Tempest* under the heading 'Songes out of Shakespeare', which have demonstrably been copied either from *F* or *F2*;<sup>20</sup> the Shakespeare songs in Egerton 2421 are therefore clearly dramatic extracts. By contrast, the version of 'Hark, hark the lark' from *Cymbeline* copied into *GB-Ob* MS Sancroft 53 is uniquely titled 'The Morning. Reveille-Matin'.<sup>21</sup> Archbishop Sancroft was an habitual

---

<sup>18</sup> *Dramatic Extracts in Seventeenth-Century English Manuscripts* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2015), 24.

<sup>19</sup> See Tiffany Stern, *Documents of Performance in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 171–3.

<sup>20</sup> *GB-Lbl* Egerton 2421, ff. 6v–7r; *The Tempest*, ed. David Lindley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 237.

<sup>21</sup> *GB-Ob* MS Sancroft 53, p. 43.

dramatic extractor, and his inclusion of page numbers reveals that *F3* was his source for both the *Cymbeline* song and a passage from *Othello* which precedes it in the manuscript.<sup>22</sup> In its dramatic context, the song is indeed performed as a ‘veille-matin’ or morning awakening for Innogen, but as Estill notes, the song’s line ‘& Phoebus ’gins to rise’ identifies it as such, allowing the song to stand also as an independent piece in the anthology, despite being copied from a playbook.<sup>23</sup>

Pre-existing songs account for sixty-two per cent of the total number of transmissions tabulated in appendix 2.1. The majority of Shakespeare song texts found in purely verbal anthologies (*VA*, *VPA* and *SBA*) belong to the pre-existing group and therefore their popularity cannot necessarily be attributed to their use by Shakespeare. Two songs in particular are represented in numerous textual anthologies and illustrate the unpredictable nature of the distribution of Shakespeare’s songs. The first is Christopher Marlowe’s ‘Come live with me and be my love’, purloined by Shakespeare for *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, which was certainly pre-existing (see 2.2.4 below). And the second is ‘Under the greenwood tree’, performed by Amiens in *As You Like It*, II.v.

‘Under the greenwood tree’ is not to my knowledge present in any source which pre-dates *As You Like It*. Its earliest appearance outside of the context of the play seems to be as a poem/song in *GB-Ob* Ashmole 36 (c. 1634) which is unrelated to Shakespeare’s song apart from the refrain ‘Under the greenwood tree’ at the end of each stanza. More than twenty years later, Shakespeare’s version appeared in two printed song and ballad anthologies with several other Shakespeare songs, including songs with extremely limited circulation such as ‘Sigh no more ladies’ from *Much Ado About Nothing* and ‘Come away

---

<sup>22</sup> Estill, *Dramatic Extracts*, 161 and 170.

<sup>23</sup> Estill, *Dramatic Extracts*, 172.

death' from *Twelfth Night*.<sup>24</sup> Appendix 2.1 reveals a plethora of broadside ballads with diverse texts but all directed to be sung to the tune 'Under the greenwood tree', the music for which is preserved in John Playford's *English Dancing Master* in both duple and triple metre.<sup>25</sup> The tune therefore acquired an independence from its original text and maintained its independence from dramatic associations.

Three song tunes that were certainly pre-existing are notable for their apparent widespread circulation: 'O Sweet Oliver' (*As You Like It*), 'Bonny sweet Robin' (*Hamlet*) and 'Walsingham' (*Hamlet*). The transcultural circulation of 'Bonny sweet Robin' and 'Walsingham'—evidenced by their presence in Dutch and German seventeenth-century musical sources—is anomalous in the data of the present study, but demonstrates the wider impact of itinerant musicians on the circulation of English theatre music: masque music associated with Robert Johnson, for instance, was printed in William Brade's *Newe ausserlesene liebliche Branden* (Hamburg, 1617).<sup>26</sup>

## 2.2 Pre-existing Song and Musical Hierarchization

Appendix 2.1 lists all of the known manuscript and print sources for the fifty-eight songs which circulated outside of their dramatic contexts. Table 2.1 lists twenty which can be proven to pre-date the Shakespeare plays in which they are sung, and identifies the earliest extant source in each case. The column 'hierarchization device' relates to the categories of

---

<sup>24</sup> Philomusus, *The marrow of complements* (London: for Humphrey Moseley, 1654; Wing M719), 153–4; Charles Sackville, *The New academy of complements* (London: for Samuel Speed, 1669; Wing N529), 156–7.

<sup>25</sup> Duple metre in John Playford, *The dancing master* (London: A. Godbid and J. Playford, 1679; Wing P2472 ), p. 168; duple and triple metre in John Playford, *The dancing-master* (London: John Playford, 1686; Wing P2473), p. 168 and sig. T6v.

<sup>26</sup> See Peter Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court, 1540–1690* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 155; David Fuller, 'The Jonsonian Masque and Its Music', *Music & Letters*, 54 (1973), 440–52 (449); Tiffany Stern, *Documents of Performance in Early Modern England*, 139. Stern's claim that Brade must have been in possession in the 1590s of a collection of music manuscripts related specifically to the King's Men requires further musicological clarification.

character who sing pre-existing songs, described in detail below. Of those twenty songs, nineteen belong to plays written in or before 1606. Of the twenty-one plays included in this study, eleven contain pre-existing songs, and of those all except one were written during the period 1590-1606. Amongst Shakespeare's later plays, only *The Two Noble Kinsmen* contains a pre-existing song ('O fair, O sweet', IV.i.142); it is likely, though, that most of Act IV, and almost certainly the scene in question, was penned by John Fletcher rather than Shakespeare.<sup>27</sup> The apparent change in the pattern of Shakespeare's inclusion of popular song coincides with the King's Men's use of the indoor Blackfriars theatre from 1608. The audience at the Blackfriars would have been more gentrified than that of the Globe, perhaps accounting for the change in musical style from popular songs to specially composed pieces. It is thought, moreover, that the Blackfriars came with an in-house mixed consort;<sup>28</sup> possibly, then, the company was able to utilise the composing talents of those musicians, leaving less requirement for pre-existing songs. Besides the musicians of the Blackfriars, the King's Men's elevation to royal servants upon the accession of James I undoubtedly brought them into regular contact with such court musicians as the royal lutenist Robert Johnson, the composer of music for *Macbeth*, *The Tempest*, *Cymbeline* and *The Winter's Tale*.

Although the dramatic effects of Shakespeare's use of song in general are outside the scope of the present chapter, it is helpful to consider the reasons behind the widespread practice of including pre-existing or popular songs in early modern plays. The obvious

---

<sup>27</sup> See *R*, p. 2,357.

<sup>28</sup> See Tiffany Stern, "'A Ruinous Monastery': The Second Blackfriars Playhouse as a Place of Nostalgia' in *Moving Shakespeare Indoors: Performance and Repertoire in the Jacobean Playhouse*, ed. Andrew Gurr and Farah Karim-Cooper (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 97–114 (107); Lindley, *Shakespeare and Music*, 102; Ross W. Duffin, 'Music and the Stage in the Time of Shakespeare' in *The Oxford Handbook of the Age of Shakespeare*, ed. Malcolm R. Smutts (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 748–63 (748–57); *The New Oxford Shakespeare: The Complete Works*, ed. Gary Taylor, John Jowett, Terri Bourus and Gabriel Egan (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 26.

practical benefits to a company of actors are that those songs require neither instrumental accompaniment nor much musical coaching, benefits which may have been vital for Shakespeare's company before it came under royal patronage. From a dramatic perspective, though, Shakespeare tended to employ pre-existing songs as a hierarchization device. Table 2.1's column entitled 'hierarchization device' reveals the four circumstances under which characters sing the twenty certainly pre-existing songs: eight are sung by people who are drunk, five by clowns, four by mad people, and three by characters who are at that moment the butt of a joke. This section will trace the circulation of those songs and consider the hierarchization techniques used by Shakespeare (bibliographical details for all sources discussed are given in appendix 2.1).

### 2.2.1 *Drunk*

Eight of the twenty pre-existing songs are sung by characters who are drunk or feigning drunkenness: Petruchio in *The Taming of the Shrew*, Silence in *2 Henry IV*, Sir Toby Belch and Sir Andrew Aguecheek in *Twelfth Night*, and Iago in *Othello*. Those drunken performances of familiar songs draw on a 'commonality of memory' amongst the audience that allows the playwright to manipulate their sympathies, and perhaps even to draw on the alehouse associations of some of that repertoire.<sup>29</sup> In the scenarios discussed below, furthermore, the duration of the songs aids the illusion of the passage of time, thus rendering plausible the increasing inebriation on stage.

Snippets of 'It was the friar of orders grey' and 'Where is the life that late I led?' are sung by Petruchio in *The Taming of the Shrew* (III.iii) where he simulates boorish, drunken behaviour as part of a scheme to 'tame' his headstrong wife. I have located 'It was the

---

<sup>29</sup> Bruce R. Smith, 'Shakespeare's Residuals: The Circulation of Ballads in Cultural Memory' in *Shakespeare and Elizabethan Popular Culture*, ed. Stuart Gillespie and Neil Rhodes (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2006), 193–217 (196).

friar' in four manuscript and four printed sources dating from c. 1500 to 1765. In both media, the text and music circulated independently of one another. The earliest source (*GB-Cu* Add. MS 7350, c. 1500), a small unbound paper bifolium containing the texts of four Medieval carols, is thought to be written in the hand of our song's author, or else to have been transcribed under his supervision.<sup>30</sup> A printed collection of carols dating from 1545 provides further evidence that the song was popular prior to Shakespeare's use of it.<sup>31</sup> Thereafter, the song tended to circulate in a purely musical form in late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century lute manuscripts and printed musical anthologies. The text's final appearance was in an eighteenth-century ballad anthology.<sup>32</sup> It is therefore indubitable that the song was both pre-existing and popular when Shakespeare included it for the purpose of representing drunken, uncouth behaviour. 'Where is the life that late I led' is present only as a tune direction in two sources external to *The Taming of the Shrew*, one of which predates the play. Its inclusion in this scene of *Taming of the Shrew*, sung by the character who also sings the widely circulated 'It was the friar', suggests that it too enjoyed a certain popularity, even if its circulation was mostly oral.

The character Silence drunkenly sings snatches of five songs in 2 *Henry IV* (V.iii), two of which certainly pre-existed: 'Do me right and dub me knight, Samingo' and 'Fill the cup'. While it is likely that other songs included in this scene were also popular, it cannot be proven since none of their known sources pre-date the play. 'Do me right and dub me knight' derives from the English lyric 'Monsieur Mingo' set to the music of 'Un jour vis un foulon' composed by Orlande de Lassus (1530/32–1594),<sup>33</sup> and circulated in manuscript

<sup>30</sup> See P. J. Croft, 'The "Friar of Order Gray" and the Nun', *The Review of English Studies*, 32 (1981), 1–16 (1–3).

<sup>31</sup> Richard Keele, *Christmas carolles newly inprynted* (London: Richard Keele, 1545; STC 5205.5), sig. Iiii.

<sup>32</sup> Thomas Percy, *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, 3 vols (London: for J. Dodsley, 1765; ESTC T084936), vol. 1, pp. 226–30.

<sup>33</sup> Frederick W. Sternfeld, 'Lasso's Music for Shakespeare's "Samingo"', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 9 (1958), 105–116 (*passim*).

only; I have located ‘Monsieur Mingo’ in eight sources created between 1583 and 1666. This is not an isolated example of a continental song’s having made its way into the English dramatic song repertory: the popular English ballad ‘There dwelt a man in Babylon’ used by Shakespeare in *Twelfth Night* is another such example, descending as it did from an international musical tradition surrounding the Old Testament story of Susanna (Dan.13), incidentally also set to music by Lassus.<sup>34</sup> The text and music of ‘Monsieur Mingo’ circulated both independently and together in solo instrumental anthologies, song anthologies, vocal partbooks and a verse anthology. Only one of the sources pre-dates Shakespeare’s play—*IRL-Dtc* 410/1—but since Silence sings only the last line of the song, it can be safely assumed that it was popular enough to be immediately recognizable to an Elizabethan audience.

‘Fill the cup’ also circulated entirely in manuscript. Of its three sources, a medieval verse/prose anthology (*GB-Lbl* Cotton MS Vespasian A XXV, c. 1576) and a catch anthology (*GB-Ckc* MS Rowe 1, c. 1680) pre-date the play; the third version (*GB-Lbl* Add. MS 15015) was copied in the nineteenth century. Although none of the sources matches Shakespeare’s text exactly, their first and last lines are similar enough that they may certainly be considered variants of the same song. Duffin has shown, furthermore, that Shakespeare’s text fits the music transmitted in *GB-Ckc* MS Rowe 1.<sup>35</sup>

Three of the five certainly pre-existing songs in *Twelfth Night* are sung by characters under the influence of alcohol: ‘Farewell dear heart’, ‘Hold thy peace’ and ‘Three merry men be we’. For the first two, the clown Feste joins the singing. Catherine A. Henze has speculated that the increased use of song in *Twelfth Night* corresponded, as we have seen,

---

<sup>34</sup> See Kenneth Jay Levy, ‘*Susanne un Jour*: The History of a Sixteenth-Century Chanson’ in *Annales Musicologiques*, vol.1, ed. M. Bukofzer, F. Lesure, L. Schrade and G. Thibault. (Paris: F. Paillart, 1953), 375-408; James Haar, ‘Lassus, Orlande de’ in *Grove Music Online* (2001).

<sup>35</sup> Duffin, *Shakespeare’s Songbook*, 145.



with the company's engagement of Robert Armin, a notable singer who likely took the role of Feste.<sup>36</sup> 'Farewell dear heart' circulated in a variety of manuscript and printed source types ranging from miscellaneous papers to musical anthologies to prose and verse anthologies. One or two sources pre-date *Twelfth Night*: an arrangement for voice and lute in Robert Jones's *First Book of Songs and Ayres* (1600) is proof of its pre-existence, and a version of the song text found among the miscellaneous papers of the Jervoise family of Herriard Park (GB-WCr 44M69, c. 1600) may also pre-date the play. Shakespeare's inclusion of Feste in a dialogic performance of this clearly popular song surely amused his audience and united them in ridiculing the drunken Sir Toby, particularly at Feste's alteration of Jones's line 'mine eies do shew my life is almost done' to 'his eyes do show his days are almost done'.

The catch 'Hold thy peace', sung by Sir Andrew, Sir Toby and Feste circulated in three glee and catch anthologies, one of which pre-dated *Twelfth Night*: the so-called Lant Roll of Catches (GB-Ckc MS Rowe 1, c. 1580). Despite the slightly more protracted nature of subsequent transmissions of the catch in Ravenscroft's *Deuteromelia* (1609) and Melville's Book of Roundels (US-Wog M1490 M535.A5, 1612), all three versions undoubtedly derive from the same source.<sup>37</sup>

The remaining drunken rendition of a pre-existing song in *Twelfth Night*, 'Three merry men be we', occurs during a speech where Sir Toby references several familiar songs:

My Lady's a *Catayan*, we are politicians, *Malvolio's* a Peg-a-ramsie, and  
*Three merry men be wee*. Am not I consanguinious? Am I not of her blood:  
 tilly vally. Ladie, *There dwelt a man in Babylon*, *Lady, Lady*.  
(*Twelfth Night*, II.iii)<sup>38</sup>

---

<sup>36</sup> Henze, *Robert Armin and Shakespeare's Performed Songs* (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2017), 4–5.

<sup>37</sup> For all three versions, see Duffin, *Shakespeare's Songbook*, 200–202.

<sup>38</sup> *F*, GB-Ob (online), 261.

The broadside ballad ‘Peg-a-Ramsey’ is not included in the present study since Sir Toby merely mentions the title without singing any of its lines. ‘Tillyvally’ was likely a popular refrain which has yet to be traced,<sup>39</sup> and there are no known extant sources for ‘There dwelt a man in Babylon’ that pre-date *Twelfth Night*. As with Silence’s singing in 2 *Henry IV*, though, the song’s inclusion in this particular speech points to its pre-existence. Italicization in *F*, though inconsistent in the main, may provide some rough clues as to which of Sir Toby’s lines were intended to be sung. The whole text of ‘O mistress mine’, sung in the same scene, is italicized, a standard commonplace marker for song texts and other passages which an editor imagined readers might extract for their own anthologies.<sup>40</sup> Most but not all of the dialogic ‘Farewell dear heart’ is italicized, and although the full text of ‘Hold thy peace’ is substituted with the direction ‘Catch sung’, the song lines ‘Hold thy peace’ and ‘thou knave’ are italicized each time they are spoken or perhaps sung by the actors in the prelude to the performance.

In the passage quoted above, the italicization of ‘Three merry men be we’, a line from the pre-existing song ‘Three merry men’, would suggest that Toby sings this line. The song’s text was printed in George Peele’s play *The Old Wives’ Tale* prior to its inclusion in *Twelfth Night*, and was later used in John Fletcher’s *Bloody Brother*, though there the words were altered to suit Fletcher’s plot. A melody for the song was printed in William Chappell’s nineteenth-century anthology *Popular Music of the Olden Time*, which Chappell claimed to have got from a manuscript in the hand of John Playford. There is no trace of that tune now in any of Playford’s autograph manuscripts.<sup>41</sup>

---

<sup>39</sup> See Duffin, *Shakespeare’s Songbook*, 387.

<sup>40</sup> See Laura Estill, ‘Commonplace Markers and Quotation Marks’ in *Archbook* (<drc.usask.ca/projects/archbook/commonplace.php#>, 2014–; accessed 26 June 2018).

<sup>41</sup> Duffin, *Shakespeare’s Songbook*, 395–6.

In *Othello* II.iii, Iago feigns drunkenness in order to encourage the soldier Cassio to drink while on duty and thereby disgrace himself in Othello's eyes. Exceptionally for a Shakespearean villain, Iago sings. His two songs during the drinking scene are 'And let me the cannikin clink, clink' which has not been traced outside of this play, and 'King Stephen was and-a worthy peer', a variation of the song 'Take thy auld cloak about thee' which was cited in a legal case of 1603 as having been sung in 1601, three years before the first recorded performance of *Othello* took place.<sup>42</sup> In 1936, C. J. Sisson gave an account of the Star Chamber case between plaintiff Michael Steel and defendant Edward Meynell regarding an incident which occurred in Yorkshire in 1603.<sup>43</sup> Meynell's servant testified that in 1601 Meynell had composed a jig on the subject of Steel's relationship with a female servant. The jig, known as 'The Jig of Michael and Frances' was copied out to be retained as evidence and has survived. The text is entirely original and clearly pertains to the circumstances of the libel, but one of the verses bears the direction 'To the tune of take thy old Cloake about thee', proving that the ballad was not only in existence in the north of England prior to the writing of *Othello*, but was also well enough known by 1601 to merit parody. Sternfeld refers to Sisson's book and the jig but does not note the significance of the dates contained in the testimony, while Seng, Long and Duffin make no mention of the legal document.<sup>44</sup> For scholars of the origins of Shakespeare's songs, very little of the wide range of available evidence is as conclusive as this legal document for the pre-existence of 'Take thy old cloak about thee'.

The earliest external sources for the song's true text are Bishop Percy's mid-seventeenth-century ballad manuscript (*GB-Lbl* Add. MS 27879), and a Scottish broadside

---

<sup>42</sup> *Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court in the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James I*, ed. Peter Cunningham (London: F. Shoberi, 1852), 203.

<sup>43</sup> C. J. Sisson, *Lost Plays of Shakespeare's Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936), 129–40.

<sup>44</sup> Sternfeld, *Music in Shakespearean Tragedy*, 156.

of 1707 which instructs that the song be sung ‘to its own proper tune’ (‘Moncur’ in appendix 2.1). It subsequently circulated widely in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century printed Scottish musical anthologies, but it is by no means certain that the tune transmitted via those sources was the same that was sung during the seventeenth century. It is impossible to know, furthermore, whether the song originated in Scotland, spreading to England via the oral tradition, or vice versa. Despite the apparently Scottish inflections in the broadside, the accession of James VI of Scotland to the English throne in 1603 prompted a convergence of Scottish and English culture at court whereby song lyrics may have become contaminated.

### 2.2.2 *Clown*

Five of the twenty pre-existing songs are sung by clown characters: one each by Peter in *Romeo and Juliet*, Touchstone in *As You Like It* and also by the Gravedigger in *Hamlet*, and two by Feste in *Twelfth Night*. Those songs provide comic relief for the audience by virtue of the pleasure derived from recognition; they also confirm the low social status of fools. Feste is an atypical fool in that he gives formal musical performances on request (‘O mistress mine’ and ‘Come away death’) as well as the more usual impromptu musical outbursts identified with fools. This irregularity can perhaps be explained by the company’s acquisition of the singer-actor Robert Armin around the time of the first performance of *Twelfth Night*. Textual anomalies in the play, moreover, suggest that Feste was not initially the intended singer of ‘Come away death’, and indeed that ‘Come away death’ was not the original song performed in that scene (see 5.3.2 below). If it is the case that the song was redistributed to accommodate or perhaps exploit the talents of Armin, then ‘O mistress mine’ (to be discussed shortly) could have been included for the same reason.

Peter's rendition of the pre-existing song 'When griping griefs the heart doth wound' occurs in a complex scene where Shakespeare systematically applies rhetorical artifice to simulate a mourning scene following the discovery of Juliet's apparent but feigned death<sup>45</sup> (see 5.3.2 below for more on that scene). The scene closes with a comedic exchange between Peter and a group of musicians. In place of a mourning song, Peter requests 'some merry dump to comfort me', and himself sings 'When griping griefs', interrupting his own performance to make quips based on the song's lyrics. For the purposes of the present study, Peter is classified as a clown despite some confusion over his identity in the playbooks. The character who is simply labelled 'servingman' in Q1 appears variously in Q2 and *F* as 'clown', 'servingman' and 'Peter'.<sup>46</sup> In Q2 and *F* I.ii, for instance, a character whose name is listed as 'Ser.' in the dialogue—presumably an abbreviation of 'servingman'—is referenced as a clown in the stage direction 'Enter Capulet, Countie Paris, and the Clowne'.<sup>47</sup> At IV.iv, furthermore, Q2's stage direction 'Enter Will Kemp' at Peter's entrance suggests that the passage was indeed intended as a clown interlude, Kemp being the company clown at that time. The corresponding stage direction in *F* is simply 'Enter Peter'.<sup>48</sup>

---

<sup>45</sup> Jeremy L. Smith, 'What Do Shakespearean Musicians Think? Complementary Rhetorical Devices in *Romeo and Juliet* and Byrd's *O that most rare breast*', *Journal of Musicological Research*, 36 (2017), 336–63.

<sup>46</sup> Though Q1 *Romeo and Juliet* has often been termed a 'bad quarto' whose text is based on memorial reconstruction, recent scholarship has advanced the theory that it is a theatrical abridgement. For the memorial reconstruction theory, see W. W. Greg, *the Shakespeare First Folio* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), 225–31. For the abridgement theory, see *The First Quarto of Romeo and Juliet*, ed. Lukas Erne (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 5.

<sup>47</sup> *The most excellent and lamentable tragedie, of Romeo and Iuliet* (London: Thomas Creede, 1599; STC 22323), sig. B2v; *F*, *GB-Ob* (online), 55.

<sup>48</sup> *The most excellent and lamentable tragedie, of Romeo and Iuliet*, sig. K3v; *F*, *GB-Ob* (online), 73.

‘When griping grief’ is attributed to Richard Edwards in the first print of *The Paradise of Dainty Devices* (1585), the most reprinted verse anthology of Elizabethan England.<sup>49</sup> The extant tune may also have been by Edwards, who was a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal as well as a poet and dramatist.<sup>50</sup> Its earliest source seems to be the so-called Mulliner Book (*GB-Lbl* Add. MS 30513, 1545–70), which transmits the melody in a keyboard arrangement. The same arrangement, but excluding the melody, was later transmitted in the Brogyntyn lutebook (*GB-AB* Brogyntyn 27, c. 1600). A later and entirely different melody transmitted in the Taitt Manuscript (*US-LAuc* MS.1959.003, f. 3r–v, 1676–89) is omitted from the present study since it is the earlier tune that is of interest. An unattributed four-voice setting of the early melody was printed with Edwards’s text by the pioneering eighteenth-century music historian Sir John Hawkins (1719–89).<sup>51</sup>

A second pre-existing song is conceivably referenced and performed in the same scene, though the evidence for this is purely circumstantial. Smith has convincingly posited William Byrd’s lament on the death of Philip Sidney, ‘O that most rare breast’, as the object of Peter’s line ‘I’ll re you, I’ll fa you. Do you note me?’ (IV.iv.147).<sup>52</sup> Certainly a number of pre-existing death songs open with the melodic interval of a minor third (re to fa)—Richard Farrant’s ‘Alas, you salt sea gods’, for instance—and it is hinted by one of the musicians that one such was performed at the end of the scene: ‘Come, we’ll in here, tarry for the mourners, and stay dinner’ (IV.iv.167).

---

<sup>49</sup> Ros King, *The Works of Richard Edwards: Politics, Poetry and Performance in Sixteenth-Century England* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2001) 41; *The Paradise Of Dainty Devices 1576 –1606*, ed. Hyder E. Rollins (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1927), p. xlvii. Rollins concludes that the poem was probably penned by Edwards.

<sup>50</sup> Sternfeld is of the opinion that it is reasonable to credit Edwards with the music (*Music in Shakespearean Tragedy*, 119).

<sup>51</sup> *A general history of the science and practice of music*, 5 vols (London: for T. Payne and Son, 1776; ESTC T146459), vol. 5, pp. 444–5.

<sup>52</sup> Smith, ‘What Do Shakespearean Musicians Think?’, *passim*.

The role of Touchstone in *As You Like It* is not a singing one in general; he simply sings a snippet of ‘O sweet Oliver’. A ballad identified as ‘O swete Olyuer Leaue me not behind the[e]’ was registered for printing on 6 August 1584 but is now lost:<sup>53</sup>

Touchstone: Come, sweet Audrey:  
We must be married, or we must live in bawdry.  
Farewell, good Master Oliver. Not—  
‘O sweet Oliver, O brave Oliver,  
Leave me not behind thee’

but—

‘Wind away,  
Begone, I say,  
I will not to wedding with thee.’

*As You Like It* (III.iii.61–9)

The 1584 ballad must have been an instant hit, since a reply (also non-extant) was printed two weeks later.<sup>54</sup> The ballad was referred to in 1598, furthermore, by Ben Jonson.<sup>55</sup>

It is generally accepted that the ballad ‘O sweet Oliver’ must have been sung to the tune *Hunt’s Up* or *In Peascod Time*, given the interchangeability of those three titles in several instrumental MSS.<sup>56</sup> Duffin has shown that Shakespeare’s lyric fits the duple metre version of the tune transmitted in the Thysius lutebook (*NL-Lt* MS.1666, c. 1620).<sup>57</sup> I have located the tune *Hunt’s Up/In Peascod Time* in twenty-one external sources, ten of which pre-date or are contemporary with *As You Like It* (1598–1600). The earliest source—the so-called Lodge lutebook (*US-Ws* v.a.159)—dates from between 1559 and c. 1575. Nineteen of the twenty-one musical transmissions are instrumental, the exceptions being a four-voice setting by John Bennet in Ravenscroft’s *Briefe Discourse* (1614), and a song entitled ‘O

<sup>53</sup> *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London 1554–1640 A. D.*, ed. Edward Arber, 5 vols (London: privately printed, 1875), vol. 2, p. 434. See Henze, *Robert Armin and Shakespeare’s Performed Songs*, 100 for speculation that Armin doubled in the roles of Amiens and Touchstone.

<sup>54</sup> *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers*, ed. Arber, vol. 2, p. 201.

<sup>55</sup> Ben Jonson, *Euery man in his humor* (London: for Walter Burre, 1601; STC 14766), sig. G4r. The reprint in Jonson’s 1616 folio gives 1598 as the date of the play’s first performance. Jonson’s reference is noted in Duffin, *Shakespeare’s Songbook*, 292.

<sup>56</sup> See Sternfeld, *Music in Shakespearean Tragedy*, 114.

<sup>57</sup> Duffin, *Shakespeare’s Songbook*, 292.

myn Engeleyn, ô myn Teubeleyn' in the Dutch songbook *Friesche Lust-Hof* (1621). While Bennet's piece is set to his own music rather than the popular tune, it is recorded in appendix 2.1 on the grounds that it was certainly composed during Shakespeare's lifetime.

Two ballads calling for the tunes 'The Queenes Majesties new Hunt is vp' and 'The Queene's hunt's vp' are included in appendix 2.1 on the grounds that their texts fit the received tune and both are roughly contemporary with *As You Like It*.<sup>58</sup> There is some indication that a second, now lost 'Hunt's up' tune was also in circulation; a poem in the *Garland of Good Will* (1628), for instance, calls for the tune 'Hunt's up' but does not fit the received tune; it is omitted from appendix 2.1 for that reason.<sup>59</sup>

*Hamlet*'s clown song, 'In youth when I did love' is a variation of Thomas, Lord Vaux's popular sixteenth-century lyric 'I loathe that I did love'. I have located the text without music in ten sources—a mixture of verse anthologies, song and ballad anthologies, commonplace books and miscellaneous papers—four of which certainly pre-date *Hamlet*. The earliest source for Vaux's text seems to be either the so-called Tottel's miscellany (1557) or *GB-Ob* Ashmole 48 (mid-sixteenth century). The two texts are very similar but not identical, suggesting that Ashmole 48 was not directly copied from Tottel's miscellany. Two sources transmit two different musical settings, and neither source can be deemed with certainty to pre-date *Hamlet*. The most stable musical transmission is found in *GB-Lbl* Add. MS 4900 (early seventeenth century) where the melody is given with lute

---

<sup>58</sup> 'Women are strongest' in Munday's *Banquet of Daintie Conceits* (1588) and 'A pleasant newe Ballad' in the *Shirburn Ballads* (1600).

<sup>59</sup> Thomas Deloney, *The garland of good will* (London: for E. B. and Robert Bird, 1628; STC 6553.5), sig. A6v.



accompaniment. The other is a nineteenth-century transcription of marginalia from a now-lost 1557 print of Tottel's miscellany.<sup>60</sup>

Though this was apparently a lute song, a genre traditionally associated with the nobility, its influence was clearly far-reaching enough for Shakespeare comically to splice together lines from different stanzas of Vaux's text and create a fittingly macabre version of the song (see 5.3.3 below). The fact that Shakespeare's verses are interspersed with dialogue and were likely sung without accompaniment points again to hierarchization: an art song deconstructed and performed by a clown. Of the seven textual sources which post-date *Hamlet*, five transmit Vaux's original while the remaining two reproduce Shakespeare's version nestled amongst other Shakespeare songs. It might be argued, therefore, that in this case, Shakespeare's adaptation of a pre-existing song not only circulated in its own right, but perhaps helped to prolong the original's popularity.

The music and text of Feste's song 'Hey Robin'—penned by composer William Cornysh (ii)<sup>61</sup> and poet Thomas Wyatt respectively—circulated in two manuscripts, both of which date from the reign of Henry VIII. William Cornysh's round 'Ah Robyn' is transmitted in the so-called Henry VIII Manuscript (*GB-Lbl* Add. MS 31922), an anthology of music from Henry's court, and Wyatt's text was copied without music into a verse anthology dating from the 1530s (*GB-Lbl* Egerton MS 2711). Sternfeld has pointed out that John Davies of Hereford addressed Robert Armin in a poem as 'honest Robin', which perhaps supports the case for Armin as the original Feste.<sup>62</sup>

---

<sup>60</sup> *Songs and Sonnets*, ed. George Frederick Nott, 1814: a unique copy of Nott's edition of *Tottel's Miscellany* currently housed in Arundel Castle and containing William Crotch's transcription of a melody for 'I loathe that I did love', copied by Crotch from a marginal gloss in a now lost copy of Tottel's 1557 edition. See Sternfeld, *Music in Shakespearean Tragedy*, 151–7 for a transcription of Crotch's melody.

<sup>61</sup> See David Greer and Fiona Kisby, 'Cornish Family' in *Grove Music Online* (2001).

<sup>62</sup> Sternfeld, *Music in Shakespearean Tragedy*, 113.

Feste's rendition of 'O mistress mine' is both called for and paid for by Sir Toby Belch. Henze's hypothesis that the role of Feste was re-worked to display the talents of Robert Armin would explain this performance: there seems to be no dramatic reason for the inclusion of the song other than to promote a particular singer. Two tunes associated with this title were published by Thomas Morley: an arrangement for mixed consort entitled 'Mistresse mine' in his *First booke of consort lessons* (1599), and a song entitled 'Mistresse mine well may you fare' in his *First booke of ayres* (1600). The earlier Morley tune (assuming Morley was the composer, which is by no means certain) was also transmitted in two other contemporary sources. The first is an arrangement by William Byrd in the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book (*GB-Cfm* MU.MS.168, before 1617). Although Byrd's arrangement may have been copied as late as 1617, it could in fact pre-date any of the other sources (see appendix 2.1, n. 5). As far as I can see, there is no firm evidence of *imitatio* between Morley's and Byrd's versions, and so it is possible that they are independent arrangements of a popular song. Byrd's arrangement, furthermore, has not been located in any other source and therefore it is possible that Morley, who died in 1602, never saw it. The second seventeenth-century transmission of the earliest Morley tune is an anonymous version set to a text by Thomas Campion in John Gamble's *Commonplace Book* (*US-NYp* Drexel 4257, 1630s–50s).<sup>63</sup>

It is generally agreed that the 'O mistress mine' lyric in *Twelfth Night* is likely the work of Shakespeare.<sup>64</sup> I have located the text in only one external source—a Commonwealth period printed verse anthology containing a number of Shakespeare's song lyrics<sup>65</sup>—which

---

<sup>63</sup> Campion's text, 'Long have mine eyes gazed with delight', was previously set to a different tune in Philip Rosseter's *Book of Ayres* (1601). See Vincent Duckles, 'New Light on "O Mistresse mine"', *Renaissance News*, 7 (1954), 98–100 (99–100).

<sup>64</sup> Long, *Shakespeare's Use of Music: Seven Comedies* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1955), 169; Seng, *The Vocal Songs in the Plays of Shakespeare*, 95.

<sup>65</sup> Philomusus, *The marrow of complements*, 154–5.

suggests that the song performed in *Twelfth Night* did not become particularly popular. Musicologists have long struggled to fit Shakespeare's words to the early tune.<sup>66</sup> It has been noted that several renaissance lyrics began with the line 'Mistress mine',<sup>67</sup> and while some scholars have dismissed any association between Shakespeare's words and the pre-existing tune,<sup>68</sup> others have proposed that Shakespeare and Morley collaborated on the song and that the resulting musical setting is now lost.<sup>69</sup>

The present study does not reach any new conclusions on the matter, but rather offers the observation that the tune transmitted in Morley's *First Book of Ayres* has been persistently and perhaps unwisely overlooked in favour of the more widely circulating tune. Since no more manipulation is required to fit Shakespeare's words to that second Morley tune, the possibility that a variation of this was heard in *Twelfth Night* cannot be dismissed. I offer a conjectural setting in ex. 2.1; Shakespeare's words fit if Morley's two repeated musical phrases are omitted (a), or alternatively if the corresponding lines of Shakespeare's text are repeated (b). Stephen W. May's and William A. Ringler's cross-index of Elizabethan rhyme schemes and verse forms reveals no match for 'O Mistress Mine', which perhaps explains the musicological difficulty of fitting Feste's words to surviving popular tunes.<sup>70</sup>

---

<sup>66</sup> See Ernest Brennecke Jnr, 'Shakespeare's Musical Collaboration with Morley', *PMLA*, 54 (1939), 139–152 (146–9); Duckles, 'New Light on "O Mistresse mine"', 98–100; Long, *Shakespeare's Use of Music: Seven Comedies*, 168–72; Duffin, *Shakespeare's Songbook*, 286–8.

<sup>67</sup> Seng, *The Vocal Songs in the Plays of Shakespeare*, 97.

<sup>68</sup> Philip Gordon, 'The Morley-Shakespeare Myth', *Music & Letters*, 28 (1947), 121–5 (124); Long, *Shakespeare's Use of Music: Seven Comedies*, 172.

<sup>69</sup> John H. Long, 'Shakespeare and Morley', *Modern Language Notes*, 65 (1950), 17–22; Brennecke, 'Shakespeare's Musical Collaboration with Morley', 149. Lindley pronounces that argument 'unconvincing' (*Shakespeare and Music*, p. 267, n. 17).

<sup>70</sup> Steven W. May and William A. Ringler, Jr, *Elizabethan Poetry: A Bibliography and First-line Index of English Verse, 1559–1603*, 3 vols (London and New York: Thoemmes Continuum, 2004), vol. 3, p. 2,144.

### 2.2.3 *Mad*

Singing as a signifier of madness in early modern drama is well documented.<sup>71</sup> Amanda Eubanks Winkler dubs Ophelia's renditions of pre-existing ballads a 'sort of musical ventriloquism' whereby she modifies familiar texts to reflect her own situation.<sup>72</sup> Long sees Ophelia's familiar songs as representing her inner truth, the antithesis of the rotten state of Denmark, while Erin Minear notes that it is the disordered style of Ophelia's singing rather than the fact that she is singing which points to madness.<sup>73</sup> It seems to me that hierarchization also features in this argument, though sometimes it serves not to demean the character's status as with clowns and drunks, but rather to elicit the audience's sympathies by creating a bond of shared cultural experience. Pre-existing songs are also performed by Edgar in *King Lear* who is feigning madness while disguised as Poor Tom, and by the Jailer's Daughter in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*.

Ophelia's line 'For bonny sweet Robin is all my joy' (IV.iv.187) appears to have been sung, since it is printed in italics in *F*, as are her other song snatches in the same scene, 'How should I your true love know', 'He is dead and gone Lady', 'Tomorrow is S[aint] Valentine's day', 'By gis and by S[aint] Charity', 'They bore him bare fac'd on the bier' and 'And will he not come again'.<sup>74</sup> 'Bonny Robin', furthermore, is listed as one of the songs known by the Jailer's Daughter (*The Two Noble Kinsmen* IV.i.134), another woman afflicted by madness. A ballad entitled *A Dolefull adewe to the last Erle of Darby. to the*

---

<sup>71</sup> See Leslie C. Dunn, 'Ophelia's Songs in *Hamlet*: Music, Madness and the Feminine' in *Embodied Voices: Representing Female Vocality in Western Culture*, ed. Leslie C. Dunn and Nancy A. Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 50–64; Amanda Eubanks Winkler, *O Let Us Howle Some Heavy Note: Music for Witches, the Melancholic, and the Mad on the Seventeenth-Century English Stage* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2006); Erin Minear, *Reverberating Song in Shakespeare and Milton: Language, Memory and Musical Representation* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2011).

<sup>72</sup> Eubanks Winkler, *O Let Us Howle Some Heavy Note*, 85–6.

<sup>73</sup> John H. Long, *Shakespeare's Use of Music: The Histories and Tragedies* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1971), 129; Minear, *Reverberating Song in Shakespeare and Milton*, 91.

<sup>74</sup> *F*, *GB-Ob* (online), 273–4.

*tune of Bonny sweete Robin* was registered for printing on 26 April 1594, though it does not survive.<sup>75</sup> The tune itself, also identified in musical sources as *Robin is to the greenwood gone* and *Bonny sweet boy* survives in at least five sources which pre-date *Hamlet*, and I have located it in no fewer than twenty-one sources. The majority of those sources are instrumental anthologies compiled between 1597 and 1635. Sternfeld's theory that the eighteenth-century tune 'There's Nancy to the greenwood gane' is a Scottish variation of *Bonny sweet Robin* lacks, in my opinion, sufficient justification for inclusion in the present study because the melodic similarities are questionable.<sup>76</sup>

The song title *Bonny sweet Robin* is present as a tune direction in a number of song miscellanies and broadsides, and even in a psalter; appendix 2.1 identifies fourteen such instances. Although the full text for Ophelia's song has not survived, the tune became associated with a seventeenth-century ballad entitled *Fair Angel of England*, itself a tune direction for a large number of late-seventeenth- and eighteenth-century ballads. It is true that the tunes *Bonny sweet Robin* and *Fair angel of England* can likely be considered equivalent, particularly in light of the tune direction on one broadside which reads 'To the Tune of Faire Angell of England. Or, Bonny sweet Robin', and for three psalms in Slatyer's psalter to be sung to the tune 'Faire Angell of England, or Sweete Robin'.<sup>77</sup> The tune, though, continued to accumulate increasingly complex associations throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; later names seem to include *The poor man's comfort*, *The tyrant* and *The poor man's counsellor*. Since those broadsides are numerous and do not definitely refer to Ophelia's tune, they are omitted from appendix 2.1 and collated instead

<sup>75</sup> *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers*, ed. Arber, vol. 2, p. 306.

<sup>76</sup> Sternfeld, *Music in Shakespearean Tragedy*, 68–9 and 77. For the Scottish tune see Robert Bremner, *Thirty Scots Songs adapted for Voice and Harpsichord*, 2 vols (London: R. Bremner, 1757; ESTC T186834), vol. 1, pp. 16–17.

<sup>77</sup> *Englands Monthly Predictions for this present yeare 1649* (EBBA 36091); William Slatyer, *Psalmes, or songs of Sion* (London: Robert Young, 1631; STC 22635), table of tunes, no. 25. For the equivalence of those two tunes and their later titles see Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music*, 61–4.

in appendix 2.2. Whether or not those sources are transmitters of the Shakespearean *Bonny Sweet Robin*, the tune's evolution over several hundred years is evidence of its widespread and enduring popularity. That it is sung by one mad Shakespearean character and known by another is further testament to Shakespeare's use of popular song as a hierarchization device.

Another of Ophelia's songs which was unquestionably popular at the time of *Hamlet*'s inception is 'How should I your true love know', a variation of the song *Walsingham*. The extant evidence indicates that the text and tune circulated independently of each other in at least thirty-six sources created between 1563 and 1893, ten of which certainly pre-date *Hamlet* (1599–1601). Twenty-five of the sources transmit only the music, fourteen of which are anthologies for solo string and keyboard instruments; the remaining eleven comprise seven musical anthologies, one music and verse anthology, one musical treatise and two musical instruction manuals. Some sources transmit multiple versions of the tune, most notably *GB-Cu* Dd.2.11, which transmits five separate arrangements for lute by Marchant (fl. 1588–1611), Dowland (c. 1563–1626), Cutting (fl. 1571–1596), Collard (fl. 1595–1599) and John Johnson (fl. 1579–1594).<sup>78</sup> Eight sources transmit both *Bonny Sweet Robin* and *Walsingham*, all of which are arrangements for solo instruments.<sup>79</sup> This particularly high number of concordances between two songs points to the importance of solo instrumental anthologies for the transmission of popular tunes; it is likely coincidental that the two songs in question crop up in the same Shakespeare play. That both tunes are called for in Slatyer's psalter demonstrates their proportionate currency in seventeenth-

---

<sup>78</sup> See Julia Craig-Mcfeely, 'English Lute Manuscripts and Scribes 1530-1630' (D. Phil. diss., University of Oxford, 1993), Appendix 1.

<sup>79</sup> Anthony Holborne's *Cittharn schoole* (London: Peter Short, 1597; STC 13562); *F-Pc* Rés. 1185; *GB-Cfm* MU.MS.168; *GB Cu* Add. MS 3056; *GB-Cu* Dd.2.11; *GB-Cu* Dd 9.33; *GB-Cu* Nn.6.36; *GB-Ge* MS Euing 25.



The version quoted in Beaumont and Fletcher's play *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, first performed in 1607, is essentially lines 1–4 of Deloney, while the lines quoted in Belchier's translation of the Dutch play *Hans Beer-Pot* seem to be not only a combination of the broadside and Deloney's version, but also a parody:<sup>83</sup>

Hans: As I went to Walsingham,  
To that holy land,  
Met I with an olde balde Mare,  
By the way as I came.

This cross-contamination of sources is symptomatic of oral transmission and illustrates the ephemerality of Renaissance popular songs. Though several successful combinations of *Walsingham's* text and music have been put forward in the last century, the evidence preserved in early modern play texts points to the unlikelihood that any of the possible combinations accurately represents the song known by Shakespeare's audiences.<sup>84</sup>

In Q1 *King Lear*, Edgar, disguised as Tom of Bedlam and feigning madness, sings the opening line of the popular song 'Come o'er the broom, Bessy', and the Fool supplies the next two lines:

Edg. Come ore the broome Bessy to mee.  
Foole: Her boat hath a leake, and she must not speake,  
Why she dares not come ouer to thee.<sup>85</sup>  
(Q1 *King Lear*, III.vi)

---

<sup>83</sup> Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* (London: for Walter Burre, 1613; STC 1674), sig. E3v; Dabridgcourt Belchier, *Hans Beer-Pot his inuisible comedie, of see me, and see me not* (London: Bernard Alsop, 1618; STC 1803), sig. B3r.

<sup>84</sup> For text and tune combinations see Frederick W. Sternfeld, 'Ophelia's Version of the Walsingham Song', *Music & Letters*, 45 (1964), 108–113; *Songs from Shakespeare's Tragedies*, ed. Frederick Sternfeld (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), 8–10; Seng, *The Vocal Songs in the Plays of Shakespeare*, 135–6; Duffin, *Shakespeare's Songbook*, 422–4.

<sup>85</sup> William Shakespeare, *His True Chronicle Historie of the life and death of King Lear and his three Daughters. With the vnfortunate life of Edgar, sonne and heire to the Earle of Gloster, and his sullen and assumed humor of Tom of Bedlam* (London: Nathaniel Butler, 1608; STC 22292), sig. G3v.



I have located the music and text of this song in six sources, all of which pre-date *King Lear*. Two different musical settings of ‘Come o’er the broom Bessy’ are recorded in appendix 2.1 on the grounds that both tunes seemingly pre-date *King Lear*.

The earliest sources are a version of the text copied into a late fifteenth-century verse anthology (*GB-Ctc* MS O.2.53), and a musical setting of the same text for three voices in a manuscript score-book of pre-Reformation liturgical music (*GB-Lbl* Add. MS 5665), both of which commence ‘Come o’er the bourn’, as distinct from Shakespeare’s ‘broom’. The non-musical miscellany *GB-Ob* Ashmole 176 transmits essentially the same Medieval text:

Come ore the borne besse  
The borne is this word blynde  
And besse ys mankynde  
So praty can noon fynde as she  
She dauncyth she lepyth  
And Crist standyth and clepith  
Come ore...

(*GB-Ctc* MS O.2.53, f. 55r)

A broadside licensed in 1564 though registered in 1558 transmits a more modern text, though both versions are metrically comparable with Shakespeare’s snippet:<sup>86</sup>

A songe betwene the Quenes majestie and Englande.

Come over the born bessy, come over the born bessy  
Swete Bessy come over to me  
And I shall the take, and my dere lady make  
Before all other that ever I see

(EBBA 36301)

A second tune which was copied into two lute books (*GB-Cu* Dd.2.11 and Welde) has been shown capable of accommodating the text of both the broadside and *King Lear*.<sup>87</sup> Two eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Scottish prints of the words are omitted from

---

<sup>86</sup> See *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London 1554–1640 A. D.*, ed. Arber, vol. 1, p. 96.

<sup>87</sup> Sternfeld, *Music in Shakespearean Tragedy*, 187; Duffin, *Shakespeare’s Songbook*, 105–8.

appendix 2.1 on the grounds that that version differs substantially from the early version.<sup>88</sup> The Scottish version demonstrates, nonetheless, the song's survival in oral tradition, at least in Scottish culture. The song's absence from *F King Lear* is perhaps explained by the absence of physical evidence of its circulation between 1600 and 1733; *F*'s editors possibly felt that the song was no longer sufficiently popular by 1623 for it to function successfully as a hierarchization device. This hypothesis is, of course, merely speculative since sources may have been lost and the song may have continued to circulate orally.

*The Two Noble Kinsmen* is usually excluded from Shakespearean musicological studies, presumably on the grounds that it was co-authored with John Fletcher.<sup>89</sup> Yet, owing to the play's large volume of song and the recent controversial advancement of collaboration theories concerning the wider canon,<sup>90</sup> it is included in the present study. The Jailer's Daughter—a character allegedly penned entirely by Fletcher and modelled on Shakespeare's Ophelia<sup>91</sup>—sings snatches of six songs after being driven mad by unrequited love, and one of them, 'O fair, o sweet' (IV.i.142), is present in a source which pre-dates the play. 'O fair, o sweet, when I do looke on thee, / In whom all ioyes so well agree' is the refrain of the sixth of Philip Sidney's *Certaine Sonets*, to be sung 'To the tune of the Spanish song, Se tu señora no dueles demi';<sup>92</sup> though I can find no trace of that tune now, it must have been popular during Sidney's lifetime.

---

<sup>88</sup> Alan Ramsay, *The tea-Table miscellany*, 3 vols (London: A. Millar, 1733; ESTC T062726), vol. 1, p. 30. Robert Maver, *Maver's Collection of Genuine Scottish Melodies* (London: R. Maver, 1866), 98.

<sup>89</sup> The title page of a 1634 quarto reads *The two noble kinsmen presented at the Blackfriars by the Kings Maiesties servants, with great applause: written by the memorable worthies of their time; Mr. Iohn Fletcher, and Mr. William Shakspeare* (London: Tho. Cotes, 1634; STC 11075).

<sup>90</sup> See *The New Oxford Shakespeare: The Complete Works*, ed. Taylor *et al*, 57–8, and *The New Oxford Shakespeare: Authorship Companion*, ed. Gary Taylor and Gabriel Egan (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), *passim*.

<sup>91</sup> See *R*, p. 2,356.

<sup>92</sup> Sir Philip Sidney, *The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia* (London: for William Ponsonbie, 1598; STC 22541), 474–5.

It is true that another of the Jailer's Daughter's song snatches, 'When Cynthia with her borrowed light' (IV.1.200) corresponds to a line from Thomas Sackville's Induction to the 'Complaint of Henry Duke of Buckingham' in the sixteenth-century verse anthology *A Mirror for Magistrates*: 'And pale Cinthea with her borrowed light / Beginning to supply her brothers place'.<sup>93</sup> It is unlikely, though, that Sackville's poem was intended to be sung, and the moon's borrowing light from the sun, moreover, was a literary trope; Christopher Marlowe, for instance, used it in *Tamburlaine*:

Before the Moone renew her borrowed light,  
Doubt not my Lord and gracious Soueraigne,  
But Tamburlaine, and that Tartarian rout,  
Shall either perish by our warlike hands,  
Or plead for mercie at your highnesse feet.<sup>94</sup>

Since I have detected no other sources for that song, it is excluded from the present study.

#### 2.2.4 Characters who are the Butt of a Joke

Shakespeare used popular song on occasion to unite his audience in ridiculing a character, thus exploiting a commonality of musical memory to generate comic interludes. The parson Sir Hugh Evans is a figure of ridicule throughout *The Merry Wives of Windsor* on account of his Welsh accent. The French Doctor Caius receives the same xenophobic treatment, all in the name of comedy. Sir Hugh's unintentional mash-up of a popular song and a psalm in III.i is therefore further evidence of Welsh stupidity. Singing to calm his 'trempling' mind as he awaits his opponent, he mixes the lyrics of the immensely popular poem 'Come live with me and be my love' and psalm 137 'Whenas we sat in Babylon'. While other comic characters such as Bottom in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* III.i and

---

<sup>93</sup> *A myrrour for magistrates* (London: Thomas Marsh, 1563; STC 1248), sig. P3v. The link is pointed out in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, ed. G. R. Proudfoot (London: Edward Arnold, 1970), 93.

<sup>94</sup> Christopher Marlow, *Tamburlaine the Great* (London: Richard Ihones, 1590; STC 17425), sig. A4r.

Stephano in *The Tempest* II.ii also sing to calm their nerves, their songs have not been traced outside of those plays and so are not discussed here.

Christopher Marlowe's 'Come live with me' was by far the most popular song used by Shakespeare in terms of circulation. Appendix 2.1 lists seventy-eight sources for the song, of which two manuscript versions certainly pre-date *Merry Wives* (1597–1601);<sup>95</sup> a further three are approximately contemporary with the play.<sup>96</sup> All twenty-seven manuscript sources for the song—twenty-four verse and prose anthologies, two commonplace books and a ballad anthology—transmit only its text. While the sources date from 1572 to 1896, the song's manuscript presence is most concentrated between 1620 and 1640. The lyrics first appeared in print in 1599 and seemingly continued to crop up sporadically in seventeenth-century printed verse anthologies. The song enjoyed a notable surge in popularity during the eighteenth-century, particularly in printed song and ballad anthologies.

Though the tune was called for in Thomas Deloney's *Strange Histories* in 1607, the earliest extant version of the music was printed in William Corkine's *Second Booke of Ayres* in 1612. I have collected twenty-five sources in all which call for that tune. Since the tune was strongly associated with the ballad of Jane Shore (appendix 2.1 lists nine Jane Shore broadside ballads calling for the tune 'Come live with me'), it is possible that two broadsides calling for the tune 'Jane Shore' were intended to be sung to that same tune;<sup>97</sup> since this is not certain, those ballads are omitted from appendix 2.1. A second tune, first printed in the second edition of the Johnson-Steevens *Shakespeare* (1778) is included in appendix 2.1 since it was purportedly copied from 'a MS as old as Shakespeare's time' and

---

<sup>95</sup> *US-Ws* z.e.28(2); *GB-Ob* Ashmole 1486.

<sup>96</sup> *GB-Ob* Rawl. poet. 148; *The passionate pilgrime* (London: for W. Jaggard, 1599; STC 22342), sig. D4r; John Bodenham, *Englands helicon* (London: I. R., 1600; STC 3191), sigs Aav–Aa2r.

<sup>97</sup> *The Age and Life of Man* (London: T. Mabb, 1650–65; EBBA 31654); *The Age and Life of Man* (London: for F. Coles, J. Vere, J. Wright and J. Clarke, 1674–9; EBBA 20655).

may therefore have been contemporary; that MS has not since been traced.<sup>98</sup> As Simpson notes, the tune included in Chappell's *Popular Music of the Olden Time* does not quite reproduce either version, and is therefore excluded from appendix 2.1.<sup>99</sup> A third, later tune which is printed in Ritson's *English Songs* alongside the Johnson-Steevens version, and also in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. 22 is omitted from appendix 2.1 since it was certainly not the song's original tune.<sup>100</sup>

Notation for psalm 137, 'Whenas we sat in Babylon' was printed in Sternhold and Hopkins's *Whole Book of Psalms* (1562), allegedly 'the most printed text in England during the early modern period'.<sup>101</sup> The Wode part-books also pre-date *Merry Wives* and transmit a three-voice setting of the tune by the Scottish composer David Peebles (*fl* 1530–76; *d* 1579); the Sternhold/Hopkins tune is sung by the tenor. Although the text of the psalm was undoubtedly printed many more times, appendix 2.1 lists only those versions whose opening line exactly matches Shakespeare's snippet. A psalter with musical notation printed in 1700 reproduces the Sternhold/Hopkins melody and the Wode bassus part transmitted in *GB-Eu* MS La III. 483 (c).<sup>102</sup>

The final comic song discussed in this chapter is 'The god of love', sung by Benedick in *Much Ado About Nothing* (V.ii.16–19); having realised that he loves Beatrice, a woman with whom he has thus far mostly quarrelled, he attempts to express his feelings in writing.

---

<sup>98</sup> For details of the 1778 edition, see Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and its Music*, 120. I have viewed the musical excerpt in the following later edition: *The plays and poems of William Shakspeare*, ed. E. Malone, 16 vols (Dublin: John Exshaw, 1794; ESTC T138592), vol. 3, p. 244.

<sup>99</sup> Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and its Music*, 120; William Chappell, *Popular Music of the Olden Time*, 2 vols (London: Cramer, Beale and Chappell, 1855–9), vol. 1, p. 215.

<sup>100</sup> Joseph Ritson, *A Select Collection of English Songs*, 3 vols (London: for J. Johnson, 1783), vol. 3, sig. H3; Sylvanus Urban, *The gentleman's magazine, or, Trader's monthly intelligencer*, vol. 22 (London: for Edward Cave, 1752), p. 83.

<sup>101</sup> Louise Rayment, 'A New Context for the Manuscript of *Wit and Science*', *Early Theatre*, 17 (2014), 49–73 (57); Beth Quitslund, *The Reformation in Rhyme: Sternhold, Hopkins and the English Metrical Psalter, 1547–1603* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 239.

<sup>102</sup> Henry Hunt, *A Collection of some verses out of the Psalms of David suited to several occasions* (London: J. Heptinstall, 1700; Wing H3729A), 128–9.

While Bruce R. Smith interprets Benedick's singing of the popular song as a moment of 'lyric intensity' equal to Desdemona's rendition of the Willow Song prior to her murder (*Othello*, IV.iii.42–59),<sup>103</sup> Benedick's singing is, in my opinion, a comic interlude. It is preceded by jocular, lewd banter between Benedick and the servant Margaret, and followed by Benedick's comic monologue regarding his fruitless attempts at writing poetry.

The extant evidence suggests that the song originated in the 1560s and ceased to circulate in the early seventeenth century. Sources comprise three solo instrumental anthologies, one commonplace book and one verse anthology. A now lost broadside ballad entitled 'the godes of Love &c' was registered in 1567–8.<sup>104</sup> As Simpson notes, however, it must have been printed earlier since an answer to 'godes of love' and also a moralization entitled 'The complaynte of a synner vexed with payne' were registered in 1562–3; the moralization survives.<sup>105</sup> Fortunately, the text of the lost song was copied into the so-called Osborne commonplace book during the 1560s and closely resembles Shakespeare's snippet:

Benedick:     The god of love,  
                   That sits above,  
                   And knows me, and knows me,  
                   How pitiful I deserve—  
*Much Ado About Nothing*, V.ii.16–19

The gods of love ^yt^ sytts above  
 & knowe me & knowe me  
 how sorrowfull I do serue  
*US-NHub* Osborn Music MS 13, f. 55v

---

<sup>103</sup> Bruce R. Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 169.

<sup>104</sup> *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers*, ed. Arber, vol. 1, p. 355.

<sup>105</sup> *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers*, ed. Arber, vol. 1., p. 205; *The complaint of a sinner, vexed with paine, desyring the ioye, that euer shall remayne* (London: Alexander Lacey, 1563; STC 3076).

Another moralization printed in the 1584 edition of *A Handefull of Pleasant Delites* calls for the tune *The Gods of Love*; that song may also have been present in the non-extant first edition of 1566.<sup>106</sup> John Ward has shown that the same tune went by the name *Turkeyloney* and was labelled such in the Willoughby Lute Book.<sup>107</sup>

While scholars have long accepted that madness and drunkenness amongst Shakespeare's character set often manifests itself in the singing of popular songs, the present hierarchization hypothesis was arrived at from my expanded, rigorous survey of early sources for those songs. Their circulation as documented in appendix 2.1 directly influenced Shakespearean audiences' experience of scenes containing pre-existing songs, and my next chapter illustrates that, on the flip-side, songs penned by Shakespeare for his plays found new cultural contexts outside of the theatre.

---

<sup>106</sup> Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and its Music*, 260.

<sup>107</sup> John Ward, 'Music for "A Handefull of pleasant delites"', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 10 (1957), 151–80 (164); *GB-NO Mi LM* 16, ff. 88v–9r.





## CHAPTER 3

## THE CIRCULATION OF SHAKESPEARE'S SONGS: CASE STUDIES

## 3.1 Introduction

## 3.1.1 Aims

Using the sources collated in appendix 2.1, this chapter considers in detail the circulation and transmission in manuscript and print of six Shakespearean songs. The cases represent a cross-section of songs of unique provenance, excluding pre-existing songs which have been dealt with in detail in Chapter 2. To that end, this chapter examines two cases where I conclude that the song text was likely penned by Shakespeare—‘What shall he have that killed the deer?’ (*As You Like It*) and ‘Where the bee sucks’ (*The Tempest*)—and four whose origins are indeterminate or complicated—‘Take, o take those lips away’ (*Measure for Measure*), The Willow Song (*Othello*), ‘Come away, Hecate’ (*Macbeth*) and ‘Black spirits and white’ (*Macbeth*). It must be acknowledged that the availability of the relevant manuscripts influenced my selection of cases, and that a wider study might well yield different overall results. Each song is treated as an individual case where the method of enquiry is determined by the specific circumstances of transmission that spark musicological, historical or sociological interest. The purpose of this exercise is not always to establish the authorial text as an ideal version, nor to identify and eliminate ‘errors’ of transmission, but rather to shed new light on the origins and early circulation of Shakespeare’s songs.

Where appropriate, stemmatology is used to trace relationships between different forms of the same song text, and sometimes to reconstruct the original text. It is true that that method of textual criticism for early modern texts has come under attack in recent decades, mainly because it has long been associated with the outmoded notion of an ideal authorial

text and depends on the subjective identification of errors.<sup>108</sup> The resulting edition, moreover, represents a text which has not survived and which admittedly may never have existed. Broadly speaking, my approach favours the eclectic method whereby each variant is examined and either accepted or rejected with a view to approximating as closely as possible to an authoritative version of the text. Variants, however, are preserved in *variorum* format rendering transparently each link in the chain of transmission. Where *examinatio* (i.e. judging a textual tradition in terms of form, style and other external evidence)<sup>109</sup> strongly pointed to an existing source as the archetype, I used that source as copy-text; in all three cases ('What shall he have that killed the deer?', 'Take, o take those lips away' and 'Where the bee sucks'), that source proved to be *F*. While it is acknowledged that the editors of *F* must have copied from sources that are now untraceable, any attempt to document those songs' prior written histories would be purely conjectural and therefore is not attempted here. Musical variants are discussed in my accompanying narratives but not subjected to the same rigorous analysis. The whole process is conceived as an exercise in positivism but in reality cannot help but be an exercise in hermeneutics. Its results are of course qualitative from a point of probabilism, given that it is impossible to distinguish correct readings from 'errors' every time. Nonetheless, by accepting the limitations of subjectivity and applying a rigorous methodology to the selection of variants and the construction of stemmata, the end result arguably attains a controlled objectivity.

---

<sup>108</sup> See Edwin Wolf II, "'If Shadows Be a Picture's Excellence': An Experiment in Critical Bibliography", *Modern Language Association*, 63 (1948), 831–57 (833).

<sup>109</sup> See Paul Maas, *Textual Criticism*, trans. Barbara Flowers (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), 10–21.

### 3.1.2 Methodology for Stemmatic Analysis

Where a song text is transmitted in more than two documents, variant readings are collated and examined. The discrete documents are referred to as ‘witnesses’ or ‘sources’, and the texts they transmit as ‘states’. Accidental errors and corruptions of the textual tradition are identified during the process of *examinatio*, as are intentional scribal changes that may be due to harmonization or censorship. By this process, a single variant is preferred in each case with a view to the reconstruction of the text in its original form. Where several solutions are possible, criteria for selection include but are not limited to:

1. Preference of the variant which best explains how a corruption arose.
2. Preference of the *lectio difficilior* on the basis that the more unusual reading is likely to be the original since editors are often guilty of trivialization—the tendency to replace an uncommon expression with a common one.
3. Application of ‘Occam’s razor’ whereby the simplest explanation for how a variant was arrived at is the most likely.

By preferring variants in this way, it is sometimes possible to reconstruct the *constitutio* text of the earliest exemplar through the process of recension. The recension is presented as a variorum edition with each textual variant numbered and notated. The states are labelled chronologically from A according to their creation dates, with musical sources given in italic script.

Variants which are rejected in favour of the ‘correct’ reading may be deemed ‘directional variants’ since they impose order on the relationship of the witnesses. Differences of spelling and punctuation are here treated as non-substantive variants and therefore are not collated. Reconstructed texts are therefore presented in modern spelling. In some cases, where a surviving state is clearly the exemplar, that source is treated as copy text. In those cases, a stemma is still constructed to illustrate the relationships between later states and therefore track a song’s transmission history.

Using the algorithm for textual criticism set out by Penelope Rapson in 1989, concordances between states can be recorded quantitatively in the following way, where the letters represent the source sigla and the numbers represent the number of times that groups of states agree:

A/BCD 15  
C/ABD 2  
B/ACD 2  
AB/CD 2  
AC/BD 1

The first formula, for instance, indicates that B, C and D agree against A fifteen times.

Those concordances can be set out in the following triangle matrix, where familial relationships become clear:

AB 4		
AC 3	BC 15	
AD 4	BD 18	CD 19

A stemma can then be constructed to illustrate those relationships, with inferential or conjectural states indicated where appropriate to relate surviving states logically. Those inferred sources are labelled according to the Greek alphabet. The numbered textual variants are notated in their appropriate positions on the stemma.

I disagree with the argument that contamination precludes the construction of stemmata.<sup>110</sup> In the present study, a broken line on a stemma represents contamination; in those situations, two states which are not immediately related share a reading which is unlikely to have been arrived at by independent error or emendation. In such cases, it is likely either that the scribe of one state had knowledge of the other and chose that reading over the reading of his copy text, or that both scribes were influenced by a common branch of the song's oral tradition. In some cases, depending on the nature of the variant in

---

<sup>110</sup> James Grier, 'Musical Sources and Stemmatic Filiation: A Tool for Editing Music', *The Journal of Musicology*, 13 (1995), 73–102 (100).

question, this is better described as conflation. States which are identical to and obviously copied directly from other states are usually eliminated from the critical process, though their existence is acknowledged in the narrative.

### 3.1.3 *The Quest for Authenticity*

But where does the urge to uncover original material come from? While musicologists' and performers' desires to adhere to composers' original intentions gave rise to the twentieth-century's early music revival, Shakespeare scholars since Victorian times have sought to reinstate Shakespeare's original text. At a conference at Shakespeare's Globe I struck up a conversation with a delegate about whether the song 'Come away death' was present in early performances of *Twelfth Night*, or was in fact a later replacement for a different, unknown song (see 1.3.3 above). The delegate's very valid response was 'Why does it matter?' *Twelfth Night*'s performance tradition has afforded 'Come away death' an authenticity of flux whereby its place in the play is secure, notwithstanding scholarly debate over its legitimacy.<sup>111</sup>

It has long been acknowledged that authentic performance of period material is impossible given that the performers, audience, venues etc. must be modern, and given too that so many 'authentic' performances are now preserved as inauthentic visual and audio recordings.<sup>112</sup> By the same token, it remains debatable whether or not an original text is truly authentic if arrived at using modern analytical methods and typed up on a computer. If modern practice implies that early music is authentic only when played on period instruments, then my reconstructed texts should be written in secretary hand on early

---

<sup>111</sup> For a summary of the debate on the song's authenticity, see 1.3.3 above and Tiffany Stern, 'Inverted Commas Around the "Fun": Music in *Twelfth Night*' in *Twelfth Night: A Critical Guide*, ed. Alison Findley and Liz Oakley-Brown (London: Methuen, 2013), 166–88 (185–7).

<sup>112</sup> Stephen Orgel, 'What's the Globe Good For?', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 49 (1998), 191–4; *Authenticity and Early Music*, ed. Nicholas Kenyon (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 4.

modern paper, or perhaps not written down at all but transmitted orally. By performing these redactions, I am by no means advocating that the songs be performed in their original states. But establishing the original text aids understanding of the evolutionary processes of a song's written and performance traditions. That is not to say that the songs should be performed in their original states, since they have a continuity of tradition which renders their transmuted forms valid for modern audiences. The songs texts, like their plays, are transhistorical and can of course be approached without reference to their original states. Nor is the original text always the best for all time. By understanding the songs' genealogies, though, it is possible to make historically informed decisions regarding their performance.

### 3.2 Case Studies

#### 3.2.1 'What shall he have that killed the deer?' (*As You Like It*, IV.ii)

In the absence of any quarto editions of *As You Like It*, *F* is the earliest source for the Forrester's song 'What shall he have that killed the deer?' Duffin has documented the song's early sources and their textual and musical variants, and has, like many scholars before him, addressed the issue of the incongruous third line of *F*'s text 'Then sing him home, the rest shall beare this burthen'.<sup>113</sup> Duffin convincingly argues that the line is 'a spoken interjection, inviting those present to join in the round'.<sup>114</sup> He also examines in detail further usage of the phrase 'sing him home' within Shakespeare's canon, and diverse contemporary meanings of the term 'burden'. To Duffin's list of meanings for 'burden', I would add its usage to describe the lower line of a three-part vocal piece. It was used in

---

<sup>113</sup> *F*, *GB-Ob* (online), 202; Ross W. Duffin, 'Catching the Burthen: A New Round of Shakespearean Musical Hunting', *Studies in Music from the University of Western Ontario*, 19–20 (2000), 1–15. For a bibliographical account of the findings of previous scholars on the third line conundrum, see Peter J. Seng, 'The Foresters' Song in *As You Like It*', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 10 (1959), 246–9.

<sup>114</sup> Duffin 'Catching the Burthen', 15.

that context by Robert Manning of Brunne in his *Rimed Story of England* (1338), for instance: ‘Of tho clerkes that best couthe synge / Wyth treble, mene & burdoun.’<sup>115</sup> See 5.1.5 below for further discussion of this interpretation in relation to ‘Full fathom five’.

Appendix 3.1 examines the textual variants of five sources, and the sigla there assigned to the sources are used in the following narrative. The 1669 verse anthology *The New academy of complements* (S in appendix 2.1) is eliminated from the process since it replicates exactly the text of *F* (source A in appendix 3.1). There is no textual variance, furthermore, between A and the later folio editions. The musical sources *B*, *C* and *E* omit A’s third line, a fact which supports the case for a spoken interjection relevant only to the play. The line is included in source D, a verse anthology, but with variant 2—‘Then sing him home, the rest shall bear *his* burthen’; by altering ‘this’ to ‘his’ source D’s editor simplified A’s implied double entendre by clearly designating the deer’s corpse as the ‘burden’; for details of the double entendre, see Duffin, ‘Catching the Burthen’, 9.

Duffin identifies *B* as ‘the prime candidate for the work that Shakespeare had in mind for *As You Like It*’, based on his convincing re-dating of the manuscript to 1625, and the fact that *B*’s musical style is generally an older style than is found in *C* and *E*.<sup>116</sup> His postulation, though, that the round pre-dated the play must remain speculative since no extant source pre-dates A. It is true that *B* is textually closer to A than are the other musical sources, but there are no variants which support *B* as the original text over A. In that light, appendix 3.1c’s stemma positions A as the archetype from which all other texts derive. Of course the song may have pre-existed in oral tradition, but it is impossible to be sure. If the song was included in early performances of *As You Like It*, it cannot be the original work of John Hilton (1599–1657) since he was born around the time of the play’s composition.

---

<sup>115</sup> *The Story of England by Robert Manning of Brunne, A.D. 1338. Edited from MSS at Lambeth Palace and the Inner Temple*, ed. Frederick J. Furnivall (London: Longman & Co., 1887), 393.

<sup>116</sup> Duffin, ‘Catching the Burthen’, 13–15.

The round is unattributed in source *B*, which pre-dates its first appearance in print (Hilton's *Catch That Catch Can*, 1652), but is attributed to Hilton in source *E* which was copied after its circulation in print began.

### 3.2.2 *The Willow Song (Othello, IV.iii)*

The Willow Song, snatches of which are sung by Desdemona in *Othello* IV.iii, may well have been pre-existing—not least because Desdemona describes it as ‘an old thing’—though no texts that match Shakespeare's pre-date the play. Willow songs, nevertheless, had precedent. Five discrete sixteenth-century willow songs survive, all of which have ‘willow’ burdens that resemble Shakespeare's. Since the verses of each early version are entirely dissimilar from each other and from the *Othello* song, those songs are excluded from appendix 2.1 and collated instead in table 3.1.

The earliest extant willow song seems to be an anonymous musical fragment copied on the flyleaf of a set of Tudor partbooks known as the Drexel fragments.<sup>117</sup> John Ward has dated the fragment to the 1530s or 40s and linked it to another musical manuscript fragment of roughly the same date which is bound into a printed book on musical notation held at the library of Case Western Reserve University.<sup>118</sup> The Drexel fragment transmits verse material while the Case Western fragment comprises solely a willow burden. Ward proposed that these are two vocal lines from the same part-song, and he reconstructed the missing music accordingly. There is no reason to doubt Ward's theory, which has been supported by David Fallows.<sup>119</sup> In Ward's reconstruction, the four lines of burden ‘Syng all

---

<sup>117</sup> *US-NYp* Drexel 4183.

<sup>118</sup> David & Lussy, *Histoire de la Notation Musicale* (Paris, 1882), shelfmark *US-CLwr*, SpecCol 3/Lge/ML 431.D24. See John Ward, ‘*Joan qd John* and Other Fragments at Western Reserve University’ in *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music: A Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese*, ed. Jan LaRue, (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), 846–51.

<sup>119</sup> Ward, ‘*Joan qd John*’, 846–51; David Fallows, ‘The Drexel Fragments of Early Tudor Song’, *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 26 (1993), 5–18.



a grene wyлло, / Syng wyлло wyлло wyлло wyлло, / Wyлло wyлло wyлло wyлло wyлло, / Syng all a grene wyлло ys my garland’ alternate with the text of the stanza proper, much like Desdemona’s version. Alone among the willow songs examined here, the Drexel/Case Western text is in iambic meter (short long): ‘When I have pleased my lady now and then’.

Chronologically, the next extant text was written by John Heywood and included in a manuscript with ‘The Play of Wit and Science’ by John Redford (*GB-Lbl* Add. MS 15233). On the basis of internal evidence in Redford’s play relating to the reign of Mary I and her husband Philip of Spain (1554–58), 1555 has been suggested as a likely date for the copying of the manuscript.<sup>120</sup> Heywood’s song follows a simple structure: a five-line stanza followed by a two-line burden which differs slightly each time. Heywood’s version marks the beginning of the use of the anapaestic metre (long short short) for willow songs: ‘Alas! by what mene may I make ye to know’. It seems this metre became the basis for the Shakespearean Willow Song: ‘The poor soul sat sighing by a sycamore tree’.

The employment of the burdens became more elaborate as the written tradition of willow songs developed. An anonymous willow song printed in 1578 exhibits a complex dispersal of the willow burden throughout the stanza.<sup>121</sup> The full burden occurs at the end of every second verse, with the other verses ending ‘Willow, willow, willow, willow’. Three years later, Thomas Howell printed a willow song bearing structural and thematic resemblance to Heywood’s setting, which implies that the older song may have been known to Howell.<sup>122</sup> Both songs adopt a simple verse/chorus structure, unlike the other three Tudor texts. The final surviving sixteenth-century willow song was included in

---

<sup>120</sup> Louise Rayment, ‘A Study in Sixteenth-Century Performance and Artistic Networks: British Library, Additional Manuscript 15233’ (Ph. D. diss., University of Southampton, 2011), 24.

<sup>121</sup> Thomas Proctor, *The Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions* (1578), ed. Hyder E. Rollins (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1926), 83–6.

<sup>122</sup> Howell, *Devises* (London: H. Jackson, 1581; STC 13875), sigs Ciir–Ciiir.

Thomas Deloney's novel *The Gentle Craft*, first published in 1597.<sup>123</sup> Like Shakespeare's version and the anonymous version of 1578, Deloney's version disperses the burden throughout each verse, and also displays a connection with Heywood's text in that the final line of each verse differs each time but ends with the words 'willow garland'.

Two versions of the same tune are transmitted in lutebooks which pre-date *Othello*: the so-called Lodge lutebook (*US-Ws* v.a.159, 1559–c. 1575) and the Dallis lutebook (*IRL-Dtc* 410/1, 1583–5). The two versions have minor melodic differences, but more importantly, the Lodge version allows for a burden and three lines of verse to alternate, whereas the Dallis version allows for six lines of verse and no burden at all. The tune is essentially the same as that transmitted in the Drexel/Case Western fragments. None of the Tudor texts fit either the Lodge or Dallis versions without some manipulation, but generally speaking Proctor and Deloney fit the Lodge tune quite easily, and Heywood fits Dallis.<sup>124</sup>

A new willow song tradition emerged at the start of the seventeenth century, of which Shakespeare's version was a part. Appendix 3.2 documents the relationships between the seventeenth-century texts. As Frederick W. Sternfeld notes, a study of Shakespeare's Willow Song involves the acceptance of *F*'s text (source D in appendix 3.2) 'as a superior and more authentic source' than *Othello* Q1 (1622), since the song is not performed in Q1 but merely referred to: 'She has a song of willow. / An old thing 'twas'.<sup>125</sup> The issue of the song's omission in Q1 has been discussed in 1.1.4 above, where I endorse the theory that the song was temporarily dropped from the script to accommodate a performance in

---

<sup>123</sup> Thomas Deloney, *The gentile craft. The second part* (London: Elizabeth Purslow, 1639; STC 6556), sig. Cr–v.

<sup>124</sup> For settings of Heywood's text to the Dallis tune see Sternfeld, *Music in Shakespearean Tragedy* (2nd edn, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul; New York: Dover Publications, 1967) 48–9 and *Old English Popular Music*, ed. William Chappell and H. Ellis Wooldridge (London: Chappell & Macmillan, 1893), 110. For conjectural settings of Shakespeare's lyrics to both the Lodge and Dallis tunes, see Catherine A. Henze, *Robert Armin and Shakespeare's Performed Songs* (London and New York: Routledge, 2017), 184–8.

<sup>125</sup> Sternfeld, *Music in Shakespearean Tragedy*, 25; William Shakespeare, *The tragædy of Othello, the Moore of Venice* (London: Thomas Walkley, 1622; STC 22305), 76.

Oxford in 1610 that cast the twenty year old James Rice as Desdemona: that is to say, an actor with a changed voice for whom singing at a woman's pitch may have been difficult.

Desdemona's prologue to the Willow Song testifies to the song's pre-existence, and also documents the traditional association of willow garlands with forsaken lovers:

My mother had a maid called Barbary:  
 She was in love, and he she loved proved mad  
 And did forsake her. She had a song of 'willow',  
 An old thing 'twas, but it expressed her fortune,  
 And she died singing it: that song tonight  
 Will not go from my mind.

(*Othello*, IV.iii.27–32)

Desdemona goes on to sing fragments of the song while she undresses for bed, breaking off several times to instruct and question Emilia. And it is through those interpositions that Desdemona's underlying anxiety permeates the singing: 'Lay by these', 'Prithee hie thee, he'll come anon', 'Nay that's not next. Hark, who is't that knocks?'. It is unlikely that Shakespeare would deconstruct a song specially written for the play, but if the song in question were already popular, its deconstruction would create tension and disharmony for early modern listeners. The halting nature of Desdemona's singing and her self-correction 'Nay that's not next' give the impression of a distracted rendition of a half-remembered song. If we accept that Shakespeare's audience knew the Willow Song, they must have been prompted at this point to recall which line *was* in fact next; whichever line it was, the usual gender of the singer has been reversed by Shakespeare to make the lyrics pertinent to Desdemona's situation. By impelling the audience to consider which line *is* next, Shakespeare hints that if the 'poor soul' reverts to his original male gender, then the song is equally relevant to the situation Othello believes himself to be in. Of the Shakespearean texts, the second and third folios are identical to the first (D) and so are eliminated from the process of textual criticism. The Fourth Folio (1663) transmits only a minor variant; that

variant is noted in appendix 3.2a (variant 64) but the source is nonetheless eliminated from the process.

Previous studies have documented a song in the so-called Swarland lutebook or *GB-Lbl* Add. MS 15117, c. 1615 (*B*) as the only manuscript transmission of the Shakespearean willow song text.<sup>126</sup> All musicological studies of the Willow Song have therefore overlooked the existence of the song text in *GB-Lbl* Add. MS 22601 c. 1603–06 (*A*), a verse and prose miscellany which pre-dates *B* by as much as twelve years and is roughly contemporary with the first performance of *Othello* (here accepted as 1604, see 1.4 above). Stephen W. May has provided a *terminus ad quem* of 1604 for the transcription of a poem by King James I on f. 36v of *A*, and Maria Louise Reardon has suggested a *terminus ante quem* of late 1606 for the entire volume.<sup>127</sup>

To my knowledge, the only study to acknowledge this version of the Willow Song is an unpublished doctoral thesis on the manuscript.<sup>128</sup> The song's transmission in *A* is significant not only because it replaces *B* as the earliest witness for the Shakespearean Willow Song, but also for what its inclusion in that particular miscellany may reveal about the song's cultural and perhaps political appeal. Some of the miscellany's most notable pieces include a letter exchange between Matthew Hutton and Robert Cecil underlining religious divide during the early years of James I's reign and criticising the king's expenditure, poems by James I and Sir John Davies (a prominent figure at court), Walter

---

<sup>126</sup> Ernest Brennecke, "'Nay, That's Not Next!': The Significance of Desdemona's 'Willow Song'", *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 4 (1953), 35–8 (35, n. 1); Sternfeld, *Music in Shakespearean Tragedy*, 23–52; John P. Cutts, 'A Reconsideration of the "Willow Song"', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 10 (1957), 14–24; Duffin, *Shakespeare's Songbook*, 467–70.

<sup>127</sup> Stephen W. May, 'The Circulation in Manuscript of Poems by King James VI and I' in *Renaissance Historicisms: Essays in Honor of Arthur F. Kinney*, ed. James M. Dutcher and Anne Lake Prescott (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008), 206–224 (215); Maria Louise Reardon, 'The Manuscript Miscellany in Early Stuart England: A Study of British Library Manuscript Additional 22601 and Related Texts', (Ph. D. diss., University of London, 2007), 25–6.

<sup>128</sup> Reardon, 'The Manuscript Miscellany in Early Stuart England', 29–31.

Raleigh's letter to the king after his arraignment for the crime of pro-Spanish activity, poems lampooning Raleigh, and a poem by Raleigh himself.

The collection opens with the politically charged letter exchange, followed by an entertainment performed for James at a tilt in 1606, and a group of courtly poems including our Willow Song, all of which exhibit a cynical attitude towards love. It is true that the Willow Song's proximity to the opening political prose conceivably underlines parallels between the religious divisions of early Jacobean England and the conflict between Christianity and Islam in *Othello*. Hutton's audacity in voicing discontent concerning the king's conduct, moreover, could be viewed as a precursor to the political discontent which would eventually lead to the downfall of the English monarchy. Mark Matheson has drawn attention to Shakespeare's preoccupation with Venetian republican culture, and posits *Othello* IV.iii as representing the emerging political power of women which Desdemona ultimately fails to wield but Emilia displays in the final act.<sup>129</sup> The presence of Raleigh's begging letter in the manuscript could likewise be interpreted as a political statement on the part of the compiler, perhaps in favour of Raleigh's enemy the Earl of Essex who supported James's claim to the throne during the latter Elizabethan era and whose rebellion of 1601 Shakespeare is said to have supported.<sup>130</sup>

That said, it is equally plausible that A is simply a collection of popular early seventeenth-century literary material. Raleigh's letters in general and this one in particular were commonly copied into miscellanies of the period.<sup>131</sup> The letter exchange between Hutton and Cecil was likewise popular and widely copied in personal collections.<sup>132</sup> The

---

<sup>129</sup> Mark Matheson, 'Venetian Culture and the Politics of *Othello*' in *Shakespeare and Politics*, ed. Catherine M. S. Alexander (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 169–84 (180–81).

<sup>130</sup> See Paul E. J. Hammer, 'Shakespeare's *Richard II*, the Play of 7 February 1601, and the Essex Rising', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 59 (2008), 1–35; Jonathan Bate, 'Was Shakespeare an Essex Man?' in *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 162 (2009), 1–28.

<sup>131</sup> See *The Letters of Sir Walter Raleigh*, ed. Agnes Latham and Joyce Youings (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1999), p. xxvi.

<sup>132</sup> See Reardon, *The Manuscript Miscellany in Early Stuart England*, 58.

Willow Song, though, does not appear to have been widely copied, and its inclusion in *A* therefore suggests that the miscellany reflects the personal interests and views of its compiler. Though the Willow Song was undoubtedly generally sung, the text transmitted in *A* is a poeticised version which omits the usual refrain ‘O willow, willow, willow’ etc., until the concluding line ‘Ay me y<sup>e</sup> greene willow shalbe my garland’, bringing the total line count to an uneven nineteen. One explanation for this version’s structure could be that at the time it was copied into *A*, the song was customarily sung to the tune transmitted in the Dallis lutebook (see ex. 3.1 for a conjectural setting of text and music; a repetition of the final four bars of music is required to accommodate the final line of text).

The musical setting of the Willow Song transmitted in *B* has received much attention from musicologists. Owing to a certain concentration of theatre music in the volume, Sternfeld was of the opinion that it was owned and used by a professional musician who may have worked in the theatre, though probably not exclusively so. Mary Joiner amplified Sternfeld’s hypothesis in 1969, stating that the volume’s music was compiled by a musician with an interest or involvement in the theatre. That claim was eventually refuted by Linda Austern in 2011, who argued that the volume’s contents are diverse in genre and range over half a century. Austern’s opinion that the volume was compiled for an amateur, possibly female lutenist and singer by one or more tutors seems plausible; as she points out, the general lack of theatrical scores from this period indicates that professional theatre musicians worked mostly within the oral tradition.<sup>133</sup> Two scribes copied the music of *B*, one of whom has been positively identified as the lutenist Richard Allison, and the other more tentatively as Richard Mynshall (the scribe of the Mynshall lutebook of whom little

---

<sup>133</sup> Sternfeld, *Music in Shakespearean Tragedy*, 35; Mary Joiner, ‘British Museum Add MS. 15117: A Commentary, Index and Bibliography’, *R. M. A. Research Chronicle*, 7 (1969), 51–109 (51); Linda Austern, “‘For Musicke is the Handmaid of the Lord’: Women, Psalms, and Domestic Music-Making in Early Modern England” in *Psalms in the Early Modern World*, ed. Linda Austern (Surrey: Ashgate, 2011), 77–114 (100–101).

is known). The Willow Song is copied in the Mynshall hand.<sup>134</sup> My textual criticism of the Willow Song (appendix 3.2) supports Austern's claim since there is no strong link between sources *B* and the play texts D and E. I suggest that the version transmitted in *B* is a memorial reconstruction born of oral tradition.

Two broadsides dating from 1615 (C) and 1639 (F) are testament to the Willow Song's popular appeal.<sup>135</sup> The broadsides generally follow the verse/burden structure of *B* but transmit many unique textual variants (see the stemma, appendix 3.2c). The two documents bear close resemblance to each other and are, as the stemma proves, the closest textual relations to Shakespeare's version. Both, however, exhibit textual idiosyncrasies which may be due to oral transmission, but may also suggest that the song was not as popular or well known as is now assumed. C, for instance, uniquely transmits the word 'under' rather than the usual 'by' at variant 3. Such a metrically obtrusive variant is an unusual occurrence in the first line of a song, and to anyone familiar with the opening strains of the Lodge/Dallis and the Swarland tunes, it obviously does not fit. The most simple explanation is that the scribe/editor of C did not know the song and corrected 'by a sycamore tree' to 'under a sycamore tree' because he considered 'under' more logical.

A later reprint of C in Archbishop Percy's *Reliques* is included in appendix 2.1 but omitted from appendix 3.2 on the grounds that it purports faithfully to transmit the original broadside. Closer inspection reveals, however, that Percy not only misread words but has also edited the poem. 'Flete' [fleet] has been misread as 'flote', for instance, rendering nonsensical Percy's line 'For women are trothles, and flote in an houre'. Percy has omitted the word 'my', furthermore, from C's original reading 'But what helps my complaining in

---

<sup>134</sup> See Craig-McFeely, 'English Lute Manuscripts and Scribes, 1530–1630', chapter seven 'Case Studies; Mynshall and Swarland' and Appendix 1: 'Mynshall'.

<sup>135</sup> *A Louers complaint being forsaken of his Loue* (London: for I. W., 1615; EBBA 20167); *The Complaint of a Lover forsaken of his Love* (London: M. P., 1639; EBBA 30040).

vaine I complaine’, either in an attempt to correct the metre or in direct imitation of Shakespeare. Despite those minor discrepancies, Percy’s version was undoubtedly copied from C as he claims, and is therefore unhelpful for deciphering the relationships between the early states.

The triangle matrix appendix 3.2b reveals that the strongest relationship is between the two Shakespearean texts (D and E) and the second strongest is between the two broadsides (C and F). The two manuscript sources (A and B) also share a reasonably high number of readings, though neither can be said to have been copied from the other. Given that A is a non-musical source while B is a songbook, and given too the notable discrepancies in order and content of stanzas, it is unlikely that A or B were copied directly from  $\alpha$ . I propose that both versions show signs of oral transmission and memorial reconstruction. The stemma verifies the relationship, furthermore, between Shakespeare’s version and the broadsides. That said, of the three variants shared by that branch of the stemma (7, 35 and 48), one is cancelled out in C (7) and another in D (35). Of the two broadsides, F, therefore bears closest resemblance to *Othello*, and particularly to E.

### 3.2.3 ‘Take, o take those lips away’ (*Measure for Measure*, IV.i)

It has long been acknowledged that the song performed by Mariana’s page in *Measure for Measure* also made an appearance in the collaboratively written play *The Bloody Brother*, performed by Shakespeare’s company around 1616 and published in 1639.<sup>136</sup> In the latter play, the song has a supplementary second verse. While most scholars agree that John Wilson’s musical setting—the earliest surviving one—must post-date *Measure for*

---

<sup>136</sup> Dates from Dinah Birch (ed.), ‘Bloody Brother, The, or Rollo, Duke of Normandy’ in *Oxford Companion to English Literature* (online edn: Oxford University Press, 2009), and Andrew Gurr, *The Shakespeare Company, 1594–1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 286. Birch identifies the collaborators as John Fletcher, Ben Jonson, George Chapman, and Philip Massinger. Gurr posits the later date of 1630 for the first performance.



*Measure*'s first performance since Wilson would have been too young to have composed it in 1604, the song's provenance remains a bone of contention. The theory that 'Take o take' was a later interpolation for a Jacobean revival of *Measure for Measure* has long been a popular one,<sup>137</sup> but John H. Long claims the lyrics for Shakespeare, and Seng argues for an anonymous archetypal song anterior to both plays. Seng believes too that Shakespeare rejected the second stanza because it is inappropriate to Mariana's situation.<sup>138</sup> Sternfeld, however, posits *The Bloody Brother*'s second verse as an answering poem to Shakespeare's original.<sup>139</sup> While the present investigation cannot conclusively confirm or rule out any of those theories, it points to Shakespearean authorship of the song's first verse as the simplest explanation.

Appendix 3.3a supplies a variorum edition of verse one using *F* (source A) as copy text. Any attempt to reconstruct Seng's conjectural two verse exemplar yields high levels of contamination and conflation that render stemmatic treatment impossible. If, however, Shakespeare's version is used as copy text and therefore posited as the archetype, all seventeen sources yield easily to stemmatic treatment, as demonstrated in appendix 3.3c. Of course in this case the presence of a second verse is reduced to a single variant (14), artificially simplifying the process; were the numerous variants of that second verse also recorded, it would become impossible to plot the later witnesses on a stemma. That circumstance, though, is in itself informative, since it establishes the first verse as more stable than the second. Since A is the earliest surviving source of the text, this corroborates

---

<sup>137</sup> See for instance E. K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare: A Study of Facts and Problems*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930), vol. 1, p. 455; Gary Taylor and Andrew J. Sabol, 'Middleton, Music, and Dance' in *Thomas Middleton and Early Modern Textual Culture: A Companion to the Collected Works*, ed. Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), 119–81 (167–8).

<sup>138</sup> John H. Long, *Shakespeare's Use of Music: The Final Comedies* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1961), 23; Seng, *The Vocal Songs in the Plays of Shakespeare*, 183.

<sup>139</sup> Frederick W. Sternfeld, 'Appendix II: *Take, O Take Those Lips Away*' in *Measure for Measure*, ed. J. W. Lever (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd, 1965), 201.

one of the major findings of this chapter—that songs penned by Shakespeare tended to circulate with textual stability.

It cannot be denied that the song's second verse is much cruder than the first and could conceivably, as Sternfeld suggests, be a parody of the first. Wilson's musical setting includes the second verse in all known sources. Since the earliest musical source for the song dates from between 1630 and 1650 (*US-NYp* Drexel 4257), two explanations seem equally possible: if Sternfeld is correct, Wilson may have composed music for a popular lampoon which was later included in *The Bloody Brother*; alternatively, and in my opinion more likely, Fletcher *et al* lampooned Shakespeare's song in *The Bloody Brother* and John Wilson, thought to have been associated with the King's Men from 1614, set it to music.<sup>140</sup> Shakespeare's original, then, was almost certainly sung to a different tune. That hypothesis is supported by the intriguing repetition of the lines 'bring again' and 'seal'd in vain' in the Second Folio (source B); since those repetitions disrupt the poem's metre and do not fit with Wilson's setting, it seems likely that they bear witness to a now lost musical setting. The repetitions are replicated in the Third Folio (eliminated from stemmatic analysis on the grounds that its text is identical to B's), and 'bring again' but not 'seal'd in vain' is repeated in the Fourth Folio (source N).

During the process of textual criticism I was able to eliminate three texts which are listed in appendix 2.1 but are obviously direct copies of other sources: a printed verse and prose anthology entitled *The Card of Courtship* and a 1686 reprint of *Rollo, Duke of Normandy* are direct copies of source D, while the eighteenth-century song and ballad anthology *The Charmer* transmits the same text as sources E, F, H, K and L.<sup>141</sup> While E, F,

<sup>140</sup> On Wilson's involvement with the King's Men, see Ian Spink, 'Wilson, John (English composer, lutenist and singer)' in *Grove Music Online* (2001).

<sup>141</sup> Musophilus, *The Card of courtship* (London: J. C., 1653; Wing C489); John Fletcher, *Rollo, Duke of Normandy, or, The bloody brother* (London: R. Holt, 1686; Wing F1350); *The charmer; a choice collection of songs, English and Scots* (Edinburgh: for J. Yair, 1749; ESTC T187927).

*H*, *K* and *L* all transmit identical texts for verse one, none have been eliminated because the four musical sources are not musically identical, and their common textual ancestry may inform future musicological studies. All five sources, furthermore, are roughly contemporary with each other, making it impossible to identify the exemplar. The stemma (appendix 3.3c) reveals that Playford's and Wilson's printed versions (sources *J* and *M*) are related from a textual perspective and transmit the largest number of variants, making them the farthest removed sources from Shakespeare. The same two sources are also very close musically. They alone of the song's musical sources transmit un-ornamented melody lines. The stemma also demonstrates that four of the music manuscript sources are related (*F*, *H*, *K* and *L*) and are closer to Shakespeare than are the printed musical sources *J* and *M*.

Musically speaking, the main variants are rhythmic differences and unique ornamental figures. All of the manuscript sources exhibit some ornamentation of the vocal line, and sources *F* and *H* are transposed a tone lower than the others, presumably to aid performance.<sup>142</sup> While the ornamentation in sources *F*, *H* and *K* is confined to passing notes and other diminutive details, John Hilton's autograph manuscript, source *L*, transmits a highly ornamented version of the melody which seems symptomatic of aural transmission. That source is reproduced as illus. 3.1. Hilton's and two other unidentified hands are present in the manuscript, and while it is true that 'Take o take' was copied by the so-called scribe C and not by Hilton, Mary Chan has shown that all three scribes were involved in the compilation of the volume from its inception.<sup>143</sup> The volume as a whole was clearly used for performance and shows signs of aural transmission throughout: on f. 63v, for instance, 'The treble I tooke & prickt / downe as mr Thorpe sung it'. As Taylor and

---

<sup>142</sup> See Taylor and Sabol, 'Middleton, Music and Dance', 167–8 for a textual and musical commentary, with a stemma by John Jowett.

<sup>143</sup> Mary Chan, 'John Hilton's Manuscript British Library Add. MS 11608', *Music & Letters*, 60 (1979), 440–49 (443).

Sabol note, the in-score ornamentation of ‘Take, o take’ appears to have been added by the scribe around his initial transcription, though I contend that space was deliberately left to allow for those additions.<sup>144</sup> Elaborate *ossia* passages at the foot of the page seem typical of the Italianate performance style in vogue during the latter half of the century,<sup>145</sup> which leads me to conclude that source *L*’s ornamentation was transcribed from a specific performance of the song. Chan has surmised that the manuscript belonged to and was well used by Hilton’s own musical circle. It is worth noting that source *I*, though not nearly as heavily ornamented as *L*, transmits a similarly florid figure on the word ‘though’ in the final line of verse one. Since there is no apparent connection between the two manuscripts, it must be surmised that Wilson’s song acquired its own performance tradition which was in keeping with contemporary vocal practice.

### 3.2.4 ‘Come away, Hecate’ and ‘Black Spirits and White’ (*Macbeth*, III.v and IV.I)

It is generally agreed that there is a link between *Macbeth* III.v and IV.i, and Middleton’s *The Witch*. Middleton’s play was written around 1615 or possibly earlier, but not published until 1778.<sup>146</sup> It was apparently unpopular, judging by Middleton’s own description of it as ‘ignorantly ill-fated’.<sup>147</sup> In the absence of any early quartos of *Macbeth*, scholars and editors disagree over the authorship and provenance of those scenes. While Stern and Bate/Rasmussen are of the opinion that Middleton constructed *Macbeth*’s Hecate scenes for a post-Shakespearean performance, borrowing the songs from his own play, Brooke and Shapiro contend that the Hecate material was originally written by Middleton for *Macbeth*

<sup>144</sup> Taylor and Sabol, ‘Middleton, Music, and Dance’, 167.

<sup>145</sup> For a discussion of aural transmission and Italian vocal style, see Rebecca Herissone, ‘Daniel Henstridge and the Aural Transmission of Music in Restoration England’ in *Beyond Boundaries*, ed. Linda Phyllis Austern, Candace Bailey and Amanda Eubanks Winkler (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2017), 165–86 (171–7).

<sup>146</sup> Date from *The Tragedy of ‘Macbeth’*, ed. Nicholas Brooke (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 65.

<sup>147</sup> *GB-Lbl* MS Malone 12, front matter.

and subsequently used in *The Witch*.<sup>148</sup> Wills claims that the interpolation was made while Shakespeare was still the King's Men's principal author and was therefore done with his sanction, while Nosworthy's view that Thomas Middleton is a less likely candidate for authorship than Shakespeare, or any other contemporary playwright, has won few converts.<sup>149</sup> From a musical point of view, John P. Cutts contends that while *The Witch* may have been unpopular, its songs and dances were not, and were therefore appropriated for use in a revival of *Macbeth*.<sup>150</sup>

The texts of the two witch songs were indicated in *F* by their first lines only. For this reason, sources for William Davenant's Restoration adaptation of *Macbeth* are included in textual analysis for this song, since these are the earliest available Shakespearean sources for the song texts. Music for the first song, 'Come away, Hecate' (see appendix 3.4), survives in two early seventeenth-century manuscripts—*GB-Cfm* Mus. MS 782 (source *B*) and *US-NYp* Drexel 4175 (source *C*)—and is usually attributed to Robert Johnson, a prominent musician of the Jacobean court who, as we have seen (1.3.1 above), was apparently affiliated with the King's Men. Cutts, for instance, points out the similarity between 'Come away, Hecate' and Johnson's 'Come away thou lady gay' from Beaumont and Fletcher's play *The Chances*.<sup>151</sup> The attribution to John Wilson, though, of another song from *The Witch*—'In a maiden-time profest'—casts doubt on the attribution of 'Come away Hecate' to Johnson. If Johnson had already set *The Witch* to music during his

---

<sup>148</sup> Tiffany Stern, 'Middleton's Collaborators in Music and Song' in *The Oxford Handbook of Thomas Middleton* ed. Gary Taylor and Trish Thomas Henley (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 64–80 (75); *R*, pp. 1,860–61; *The Tragedy of 'Macbeth'*, ed. Brooke, 66; James Shapiro, *1606: Shakespeare and the Year of Lear* (London: Faber and Faber Ltd, 2015), 223–4.

<sup>149</sup> Gary Wills, *Witches and Jesuits: Shakespeare's 'Macbeth'* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 44; J. M. Nosworthy, 'The Hecate Scenes in *Macbeth*', *The Review of English Studies*, 24 (1948), 138–9 (138).

<sup>150</sup> John P. Cutts, 'Robert Johnson and the Court Masque', *Music & Letters*, 41 (1960), 111–26 (115).

<sup>151</sup> John P. Cutts, 'The Original Music to Middleton's *The Witch*', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 7 (1956), 203–9 (206–7).

presumed tenure as composer for the King's Men, why would Wilson—his successor—have needed to re-compose that song?<sup>152</sup> Ross W. Duffin makes a strong case for Robert Johnson as the composer of both 'In a maiden-time profest' and 'Come away, Hecate', based on stylistic similarities between 'In a maiden-time' and Johnson's 'Shall I like a hermit dwell'.<sup>153</sup>

The distribution of the song's lines amongst diverse witch characters varies hugely between the texts of *The Witch* and William Davenant's adaptation of *Macbeth*, while both of the extant musical versions are seemingly arranged for solo voice and therefore, I suggest, probably intended for domestic performance. Musical settings of Davenant's Restoration *Macbeth* exist by Matthew Locke (b. 1621–3, d. 1677), John Eccles (c. 1688–1735) and Richard Leveridge (1670–1758). Dating respectively from 1663–4, c. 1694 and c. 1700–1715, each setting appears to have supplanted the last in performance. Surviving music by Locke, however, consists solely of two dance tunes, which has led to the assumption that Locke was engaged to supplement rather than replace the Johnsonian score.<sup>154</sup> Locke's song settings may of course have been lost, but it is also possible that Johnson's 'Come away, Hecate' remained in the repertory for most of the seventeenth century.

Brooke correctly asserts that the main musical differences between the two versions of 'Come away Hecate' occur in their accompaniments, but his claims that *B* is 'marginally superior' and that *C* is 'careless both with words and music' are questionable, since the

---

<sup>152</sup> 'In a maiden-time profest' survives in *GB-Ob* Mus. b.1, f. 21r (attrib. John Wilson), and *US-NYp* Drexel 4257, no. 32 (unattrib.).

<sup>153</sup> 'Shall I like a hermit dwell' survives in *GB-Ob* Don.c.57, f. 36v (unattrib.) and *US-NYp* Drexel 4257, no. 259 (attrib. Robert Johnson). See Ross W. Duffin, *Some Other Note: The Lost Songs of English Renaissance Comedy* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 384 and 439.

<sup>154</sup> *Music for 'Macbeth'* ed. Amanda Eubanks Winkler (Middleton, Wisconsin: A-R Editions Inc., 2004), p. viii; Robert E. Moore, 'The Music to *Macbeth*', *Musical Quarterly*, 47 (1961), 22–40 (34).

scribe of *B* made, amongst others, the egregious melodic and contrapuntal errors shown in music examples 3a and b.<sup>155</sup> In ex. 3.2a, notwithstanding source *B*'s unorthodox A4 against B flat2 on the first beat of the second bar, the melody's E natural on 'mount' against the bass F is a clear error which is correctly transcribed as unison F in source *C*. While dominant seventh chords were not unknown in seventeenth-century England, the fact that 'mountains' in ex. 3.2b is followed by a B flat major chord in the next bar makes source *B*'s melodic reading with its B natural seem unlikely. In this light, it is tempting to agree with Spink's unqualified assertion that *C* 'seems preferable' to *B*.<sup>156</sup>

Aside from the two musical sources, the text of 'Come away, Hecate' exists in a further five textual sources: Ralph Crane's transcription of Middleton's *The Witch* (source A); a transcription of William Davenant's revised *Macbeth* (source D); a quarto of *Macbeth* based on a mixture of Cademan's (the printer) and Davenant's texts (source E); a quarto of *Macbeth* based on Davenant's text (source F); and the first printed edition of *The Witch* (source G). Brooke and Taylor have edited the song texts but have come to no conclusions about the relationships of the various sources, Brooke stating that he could 'find no pattern to establish a chain or tree relating them.'<sup>157</sup> Of course the song text is also present in the sources associated with Restoration musical settings by John Eccles and Richard Leveridge, but those songs were obviously commissioned for later performances of Davenant's adaptation and are therefore excluded from the present study.

Appendix 3.4c shows the two musical settings to be intermediate between *The Witch* and Davenant's *Macbeth*. In the case of this song, it has been possible to perform a recension, revealing the earliest form of the text (appendix 3.4a). There is a reasonably

---

<sup>155</sup> Brooke (ed.), *The Tragedy of Macbeth*, 225, 227.

<sup>156</sup> *Robert Johnson: Ayres, Songs and Dialogues* ed. Ian Spink (2nd edn, London: Stainer & Bell, 1974), 74.

<sup>157</sup> *The Tragedy of Macbeth*, ed. Brooke, 227.

large degree of textual variance in the song's evolution, and an obvious corruption of the tradition at Crane's line 'Over seas, my mistress fountains'; where source *B* transmits 'over seas and misty fountaynes', the compiler of *C* offered the bracketed alternatives 'mistris/ cristall' fountaines.' Brooke argues that *B*'s reading is the most likely, but Taylor points out that Middleton used the term 'master fountain' in *The Mayor of Quinborough*.<sup>158</sup> It seems to me that Taylor's argument for 'mistress fountains' is good, and the other variants are the result of what Paul Maas's translator has termed 'trivialization'—the scribal tendency to replace an uncommon expression with a common one.<sup>159</sup>

The triangle matrix of appendix 3.4b reveals that the strongest relationship is between the two Middleton texts (sources A and G), and the next strongest is between the Davenant texts D and F. Of the two musical settings (*B* and *C*), it can be said they agree with each other more often than either of them agree with any other state, and that they agree more often with Middleton's texts (A and G) than with Davenant's (D, E and F). From those results it might be deduced that the scribes of the musical manuscripts were working either from a lost manuscript of *The Witch*, or a lost pre-Restoration manuscript of *Macbeth* (both possibilities represented as  $\alpha$  on the stemma) which derived its song texts from a now lost copy of *The Witch*. Source  $\beta$  on the stemma is a conjectural lost source which helps to explain the presence of variant 31 in source *B* as well as in the two related Davenant sources D and F. Of course it is also possible that the scribe of *B* arrived at variant 31 independently without having consulted D or F, or that Davenant had Johnson's musical setting in mind when he penned his script for *Macbeth*.

---

<sup>158</sup> *The Tragedy of Macbeth*, ed. Brooke, 227; *Thomas Middleton and Early Modern Textual Culture: A Companion to the Collected Works* ed. Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino (Oxford and New York: Clarendon Press, 2007), 697.

<sup>159</sup> Maas, *Textual Criticism*, 13.



The original musical setting of ‘Black Spirits and White’ has not survived, John Eccles’s 1674 setting being the earliest extant version.<sup>160</sup> The text was not printed in source E, leaving only four witnesses: A, D, F and G. The stemma of appendix 3.5c indicates minimal textual divergence between states and shows a clear split in the tradition between *The Witch* and Davenant’s *Macbeth*. Source G is identical to  $\alpha$ , and without the results of the parallel ‘Come away, Hecate’ study which encompasses the same sources, might have taken  $\alpha$ ’s place in the stemma. The texts of D and F are identical and, again, were it not for the ‘Come away, Hecate’ study, one of those sources would have been eliminated from appendix 3.5c; as things stand, though, it is intriguing to observe the different relationships between sources in respect of the two songs. Unlike the ‘Come away, Hecate’ stemma, the exclusion of source *B* means that there is no call here for the conjectural source  $\beta$ ; that is not to say, though, that it did not exist, simply that it had no bearing on this song. More remains to be said on Middleton’s sources for ‘Black spirits and white’ (see 4.2.2 below).

### 3.2.5 ‘Where the Bee Sucks’ (*The Tempest*, V.i)

The earliest musical setting of ‘Where the bee sucks’ from *The Tempest* is probably the work of Robert Johnson. Attribution to Johnson is generally accepted amongst scholars, though it has never been proven.<sup>161</sup> John P. Cutts’s general grounds for stylometric attribution of songs to Johnson are a lack of ‘elaboration or florid embellishment’ and ‘emphasis on verbal rhythm’.<sup>162</sup> In his *Cheerful Ayres* (1659), John Wilson published his

<sup>160</sup> Date from *Music for ‘Macbeth’*, ed. Eubanks Winkler, p. viii.

<sup>161</sup> Cutts’s view that the *Tempest* songs printed by Wilson were his arrangements of Johnson’s originals (‘Robert Johnson: King’s Musician’, 111) is largely accepted. For further corroboration of Johnson as the composer of ‘Where the bee sucks’, see Seng, *The Vocal Songs in the Plays of Shakespeare*, 271, and *Robert Johnson: Ayres, Songs and Dialogues*, ed. Spink, 26–7, 72. Catherine A. Henze, though, reminds readers that ‘It is virtually impossible to prove, beyond any doubt, attribution to the master lutenist’ (*Robert Armin and Performed Song*, 156).

<sup>162</sup> Cutts, ‘Robert Johnson: King’s Musician’, pp. 113, 116 and 125.

own three-voice arrangements of Johnson's *Tempest* songs 'Full fathom five' and 'Where the bee sucks'. And it was mostly Wilson's music which circulated so widely thereafter. 'Full fathom five' is not selected as a case study since its textual transmission was almost entirely stable. *Cheerful Ayres* preserved Johnson's solo songs with their basso continuo parts alongside Wilson's own settings. Of the musical sources for 'Where the bee sucks' collated in appendix 2.1, *GB-Ob* Don.c.57 alone transmits Johnson's solo version; that version is nonetheless attributed there to Wilson, implying that Wilson's Commonwealth era settings replaced Johnson's original to the degree that Wilson was often mistakenly credited as the composer. Don.c.57 pre-dates *Cheerful Ayres*, and its melody for 'Where the bee sucks' differs from Wilson's printed cantus primus only at the final four notes, a variant which is unique to this manuscript (see ex. 3.3).

All other musical sources for the song are vocal partbooks. *GB-Bc* Acc. No. 57316 constitutes leaves removed from *GB-Eu* Dc.1.69, a manuscript which transmits the cantus primus of many items from *Cheerful Ayres*. The corresponding cantus secundus book is held at the Bodleian Library (*GB-Ob* Mus, d. 238), and the whereabouts of the bassus book is unknown.<sup>163</sup> Copied by the Oxford-based organist and music tutor Edward Lowe (c.1610–1682), those partbooks were certainly connected with the mid-century musical circle in Oxford of which Wilson was himself a member.<sup>164</sup> Since public performance of plays was banned from 1642 to 1660, it is likely in my opinion that theatre songs copied into anthologies during that period were intended for performance at private musical gatherings. The version of 'Where the bee sucks' transmitted in the Edinburgh/Birmingham manuscript is a direct musical copy of the *Cheerful Ayres* version, but

<sup>163</sup> *English Song 8: Edinburgh University Library Manuscript Ms, Dc. 169*, ed. Elise Bickford Jorgens (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1987), p. v.

<sup>164</sup> See Bruce Bellingham, 'The Musical Circle of Anthony Wood in Oxford During the Commonwealth and Restoration', *Journal of the Viola da Gamba Musical Society of America*, 19 (1982), 6–70 (33–4), and John P. Cutts, 'Seventeenth-Century Songs and Lyrics in Edinburgh University Library Music Ms. Dc. 1. 69', *Musica Disciplina*, 13 (1959), 169–94 (170).

provides text for three additional and unique verses, allegedly ‘made by Mr Smith secretary to the Archbishop of Canterbury’. It is likely that Mr Smith was Myles Smith, a chorister at Magdalen College during the 1630s and secretary to Gilbert Sheldon, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1663.<sup>165</sup> The additional verses recast the protagonist—Shakespeare’s Ariel—as Cupid, thus substituting the song’s theatrical context for a more commonplace mythological theme appropriate to concert performance.

*US-NH Misc. MS 170*. Filmer 4 comprises three partbooks which begin with what have been identified as possible pre-publication copies of Wilson’s trios from *Cheerful Ayres*.<sup>166</sup> Compared with *Cheerful Ayres*, the version of ‘Where the bee sucks’ transmitted in Filmer 4 certainly exhibits a number of unique musical variants, supporting Ford’s claim that the *Tempest* songs in that manuscript pre-date publication. Ex. 3.4 identifies some melodic variants in the secundus and bassus parts, as well as rhythmic simplifications in the bassus. The Filmer family were based in Kent, and their manuscripts are testament to their patronage of and association with musicians.<sup>167</sup> Though it is impossible to be sure how or when Filmer 4 passed into the family’s possession, the unique variants transmitted in ‘Where the bee sucks’ perhaps place the manuscript outside of Wilson’s own musical circle.

*US-Ws v.a.411* comprises some leaves removed from a set of partbooks (*GB-Ge MSS Euing R.d.58-61*) in the hand of John Playford (1623–c. 1687), an important figure in the

---

<sup>165</sup> See Anthony Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses. An exact history of all the writers and bishops who have had their education in the University of Oxford*, ed. Philip Bliss, 4 vols (London: F. C. & J. Rivington et. al, 1817), vol. 3, p. 951 and Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1500–1714* (Oxford: Parker & Co., 1892), p. 1377. For more detail and a transcript of the extra verses, see Laura Estill, *Dramatic Extracts in Seventeenth-Century English Manuscripts: Watching, Reading, Changing Plays* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2015), 125–7 and Amanda Eubanks Winkler, ‘A Thousand Voices: Performing Ariel’ in *A Feminist Companion to Shakespeare*, ed. Dymrna Callaghan (2nd edn, Sussex: Wiley Blackwell, 2016), 520–38 (531–3).

<sup>166</sup> Robert Ford, ‘The Filmer Manuscripts: A Handlist’, *Notes*, 34 (1978), 814–25 (817).

<sup>167</sup> Ford, ‘The Filmer Manuscripts’, 814.

music publishing trade. The leaves in question were originally among loose papers compiled for use by the Old Jewry Music Society, and transmit Wilson's versions of the two *Tempest* songs.<sup>168</sup> Playford published 'Where the bee sucks' and other songs from those papers in his 1667 print of John Hilton's collection *Catch That Catch Can*. In Playford's preface to that edition, I propose that his acknowledgement of his friends' 'Excellent Musical performances, when it was thrown before you in loose Papers' perhaps identifies the Folger leaves and their use by that particular musical circle.<sup>169</sup> Musically speaking, it is unclear whether Playford copied v.a.411 from *Cheerful Ayres* or from a now lost source. There are certainly melodic deviations from *Cheerful Ayres* in all three voice parts, and additional variants were introduced to the secundus and bassus parts in the 1667 print; the majority of those variants constitute omissions of sharp signs, whether deliberate or not, on the part of Playford. The 1667 text is identical to the text of *Cheerful Ayres* but the text of v.a.411 is not, which perhaps suggests that v.a.411 pre-dates *Cheerful Ayres* (see appendix 3.6).

Appendix 3.6a is a variorum edition of the text of 'Where the bee sucks', using *F* as copy text. *The Tempest* was revived and rewritten as *The Enchanted Island* for the Restoration stage in 1667, but since it is likely that new music was composed by John Banister for that production, those Restoration texts are excluded from appendix 3.6.<sup>170</sup> Appendices 3.6b and 3.6c reveal a straightforward copying history since all sources relate strongly to *F* (source A). Several sources listed in appendix 2.1 are eliminated from this

---

<sup>168</sup> Richard Charteris, *An Annotated Catalogue of the Music Manuscripts in the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC* (New York: Pendragon Press, 2005), 226.

<sup>169</sup> John Hilton, *Catch that catch can* (London: W. Godbid for J. Playford, 1667; Wing H2039), p. i. See Stacey Houck, 'John Playford and the English Musical Market' in *Noyses, Sounds and Sweet Aires': Music in Early Modern England*, ed. Jessie Ann Owens (Washington DC: The Folger Shakespeare Library, 2006), 48–61 (50).

<sup>170</sup> See *Matthew Locke: Dramatic Music*, ed. Michael Tilmouth, *Musica Britannica*, 51 (London: Stainer and Bell, 1986), p. xviii, and Eubanks Winkler, 'A Thousand Voices: Performing Ariel', 529.

process on the grounds that they are identical to other witnesses: *GB-Lbl* Egerton MS 2421 is a direct copy of source A; *GB-Ob* Mus.d.238 is identical to its corresponding partbook source G, minus the extra stanzas; John Hilton's *Catch that Catch Can*, 1667 is identical to source F; Charles Sackville's *New academy of complements*, 1669, and *Windsor-drollery*, 1672 are identical to source D. Shakespeare's Fourth Folio, furthermore, is a direct copy of the Third Folio (source D). The line 'There I couch when owls do cry' is the most transmuted overall, appearing variously as 'There I crouch' and 'There I sit' (variants 4 and 5). The most likely explanation for this corruption is trivialization (see above). The most digressive text, and an epitome of trivialization, is H, with four variants (2, 3, 4 and 7). As well as participating in the 'crouch' corruption, H's printer has replaced Shakespeare's 'cowslip's bell' with 'cowslip bed', and reversed the word order in the line 'On the bat's back I do fly' to 'On the bat's back do I fly', which comes across less elegantly when sung to Johnson's tune since 'do' becomes elongated and emphasized.

In general, the circulation of 'Where the bee sucks' demonstrates the textual stability of Shakespeare's later songs. If the song's absence from Jacobean sources is any indication, it seems to have remained in obscurity until John Wilson set it for three voices, probably during the 1650s. It seems likely that Robert Johnson's solo song furnished pre-civil war performances of *The Tempest*, and Wilson's three part setting was popular amongst the private musical circles of the Interregnum.

### 3.3 Conclusions

The above textual investigations point to five general conclusions on the songs' early circulation. First, song texts written by Shakespeare circulated with stability. This is demonstrated by 'What shall he have that killed the deer' where five sources yield ten variants, 'Take, o take those lips away' where twenty-nine sources yield twenty-three

variants, and ‘Where the bee sucks’ where nine sources yield nine variants. It has already been noted, moreover, that ‘Full fathom five’ was excluded from this study on the grounds of its exceptional textual security. It is perhaps significant that none of those plays was printed in quarto, making *F* an authoritative archetype in each case. Secondly, songs born of oral tradition exhibit complex copying histories. This is apparent in the case of the Willow Song. Thirdly, songs which have an affiliation with more than one play have complex textual traditions. That is demonstrated by ‘Take, o take’ and ‘Come away, Hecate’. As noted above, if the second verse of ‘Take, o take’ as transmitted in *The Bloody Brother* were subjected to textual criticism, it would be impossible to plot the results on a stemma. The stemma for ‘Come away, Hecate’ likewise requires three contamination lines and two conjectural lost exemplars in order to function. Fourthly, dramatic songs for which no musical sources have survived are more likely to have straightforward copying histories, as illustrated by ‘Black spirits and white’. And finally, where more than one musical source exists, they tend to be related; that is illustrated by ‘What shall he have that killed the deer?’ ‘Take, o take’, and ‘Come away, Hecate’, where musical sources congregate together on the stemmata. The musical settings of ‘Where the bee sucks’ are the exception to the rule, since all sources of that song operate independently, according to the stemma.

## CHAPTER 4

## MUSICAL REPRESENTATIONS OF THE SUPERNATURAL

And now about the cauldron sing  
 Like elves and fairies in a ring,  
 Enchanting all that you put in.  
 (*Macbeth*, IV.i.41–3)

The very words of *Macbeth*'s 'weird sisters' sum up the problem of classifying the supernatural topoi of early modern England. The present chapter investigates the musical representation of the only two supernatural entities with which Shakespeare engaged musically on the stage: fairies and witches.<sup>171</sup> In truth, though, until a spate of Elizabethan demonological tracts provoked a discourse of classification, the boundaries between types in the pool of supernatural creatures were fluid, and vestiges of those ambiguities can be seen in the literature of the period.

A particular and somewhat confused affinity emerges between fairies and witches. Witches' 'familiars' or servants, a distinctive feature of English and Scottish witchcraft, evolved from fairy lore and were sometimes fairies themselves.<sup>172</sup> On one hand, the Witch of Ey in the Tudor poetry collection *The Mirror for Magistrates* calls forth fiends, fairies and the dead,<sup>173</sup> while on the other those accused of witchcraft in the Scottish witch trials, and also 'cunning folk', claimed to be in league with fairies to *avoid* association with witchcraft and the devil.<sup>174</sup> Indeed, Reginald Scot (d. 1599), the leading and most sceptical of the Tudor demonologists, noted that according to the Bible, those old women who dance with fairies are not witches.<sup>175</sup> In plays too, fairies and witches were often in league or

---

<sup>171</sup> Ghosts are discussed separately in relation to musical representations of death (see 5.4 below).

<sup>172</sup> See Kathryn A. Edwards, 'Witchcraft in Tudor England and Scotland' in *A Companion to Tudor Literature*, ed. Kent Cartwright (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 31–48 (43–4).

<sup>173</sup> *The last part of the Mirour for magistrates*, ed. William Baldwin (London: Thomas Marsh, 1578; STC 1252), sig. C3v.

<sup>174</sup> Diane Purkiss, *Troublesome Things: A History of Fairies and Fairy Stories* (London and New York: Penguin, 2000) 126.

<sup>175</sup> Scot, *The discoverie of witchcraft* (London: Henry Denham, 1584; STC 21864), 109.

even interchangeable. In *Romeo and Juliet*, for instance, Mercutio labels Queen Mab a ‘hag’ when describing her association with sex and fertility, a typical element of fairy lore: ‘This is the hag when maids lie on their backs, / That presses them and learns them first to bear, / Making them women of good carriage’ (I.iv.93–5). In *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, Puck reveals a threefold connection between the dead, fairies and Hecate, the Greek goddess of witchcraft:

Now it is the time of night  
That the graves all gaping wide,  
Everyone lets forth his sprite,  
In the church-way paths to glide.  
And we fairies that do run  
By the triple Hecate’s team,  
From the presence of the sun  
following darkness like a dream,  
Now are frolic;

(V.i.349–57)

And in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, Hugh Evans is branded both a ‘Welsh devil’ (V.iii.9–10) and ‘Welsh fairy’ (V.v.70–71).

Given the trend for depicting Elizabeth I as various goddesses and also the Fairy Queen (see 4.1 below), an important conflation was that of Diana, the moon and Hecate. In his *Mythologiae*, Natalis Comes (1520–1582) claimed that the moon, Hecate and Diana are the same,<sup>176</sup> and Richard Linche (fl. 1596–1601) later confirmed that the same being is known as Luna in the heavens, Diana on earth, and Hecate or Proserpina in the underworld.<sup>177</sup> In Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, moreover, the name Titania—used by Shakespeare for his fairy queen in *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*—is synonymous with the goddess Diana.<sup>178</sup> While the development of fairies and witches into discernible stage types during the late sixteenth

<sup>176</sup> ‘Atqui cum re ipsa una eademq[ue]; sit Diana, Lucina, Hecate, Luna’, Natalis Comitiss, *Mythologiae, sive explicationum fabularum* (Venice, 1568), sig. 90v.

<sup>177</sup> Richard Linche, *The fontaine of ancient fiction* (London: Adam Islip, 1599; STC 4691), sig. H3v.

<sup>178</sup> *Ovid’s Metamorphosis Englished by G. S.* (London: Robert Young 1628; STC 18965), 67.



and early seventeenth centuries owed much to progressions in musical tastes and a growing enthusiasm for spectacle, it was also bound up with the issue of belief. Belief in fairies had waned during the medieval period, and their cultural heritage was therefore already quite advanced by the mid-Elizabethan era. In other words, fairies were easy to stage in music and drama given their mythical status. Belief in witchcraft, though, lingered into the Jacobean era, and only when the sceptics found their voice did stage witches mature into musical entities.

#### 4.1 Fairies

Early modern fairies purportedly derived from the child-killing demons and sexualized nymphs of the ancient world.<sup>179</sup> The musical aspects of these beings are evident from the very foundations of Western literature. The *Odyssey*, for instance, records Odysseus' sexual enslavement to Calypso, a singing nymph.<sup>180</sup> The legendary Irish Banshee, furthermore, attended only on the musically inclined, 'for music and poetry are fairy gifts, and the possessors of them show kinship to the spirit race'.<sup>181</sup> Those ancient mythological figures attained the identity of fairy during the middle ages. Medieval English and Scottish fairies were located outside of the community in woods, caves, hills and dales, and yet posed a danger to it; closely associated with the dead and the underworld, particularly in Scottish folklore, these shadowy figures presided over the fundamental mortal events of birth, copulation and death.<sup>182</sup> Medieval literature concerning the unscrupulous inhabitants

---

<sup>179</sup> Purkiss, *Troublesome Things*, 35–42.

<sup>180</sup> The *Odyssey* was first printed in English in 1615: *Homer's Odysseys. Translated according to ye Greeke by. Geo: Chapman* (London: Rich. Field, 1615; STC 13637), sig. Hr. For a comparison of Calypso with Homer's sirens, see *Music of the Sirens*, ed. Linda Phyllis Austern and Inna Naroditskaya (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indianapolis University Press, 2006), 9.

<sup>181</sup> Lady Wilde, *Ancient Legends, Mystic Charms, and Superstitions of Ireland*, 2 vols (Boston: Ticknor and Co., 1887), vol. 1, p. 259.

<sup>182</sup> Purkiss, *Troublesome Things*, 52.

of the kingdom of fairy—broadly romances and ballads—seemingly reflects the commonly held beliefs and fears of the time (see 4.1.1 below).

During the latter years of Elizabeth I's reign, however, mythological ideology and the literary representation of fairies parted ways. A spate of demonological tracts aimed at dismantling popular beliefs in magic, ultimately casting elves and fairies as figures of popish superstition.<sup>183</sup> While depictions of Elizabeth as the Fairy Queen in poetry, music, royal entertainments and the dramatic output of the Inns of Court took the form of either plain-speaking flattery or political satire, an image of small and mischievous but basically harmless fairies took precedence on the commercial stage in the work of Shakespeare and his peers.<sup>184</sup> Following the accession of James I—himself the author of an influential essay on demonology—the function of fairies in dramatic contexts shifted from simple representation to a lampooning of those gullible fools who still believed in the existence of fairies.

Music, though, remained a vital element of that evolving fairy heritage. One politically charged ballad of the Caroline era utilised the theme of fairy dances to evoke nostalgia for Tudor England:

Witnesse those rings and rounde layes  
Of theirs, which yet remaine,  
Were footed in Queene Maries dayes  
On many a grassy plaine.  
But since of late Elizabeth,  
And later James came in,  
They never daunc'd on any heath  
As when the time had beene.<sup>185</sup>

---

<sup>183</sup> Scot, *The discoverie of witchcraft*; James VI of Scotland, *Dæmonologie* (Edinburgh: Robert Waldgraeue, 1597; STC 14364); Samuel Harsnet, *A declaration of egregious popish impostures* (London: James Roberts, 1603; STC 12880). Matthew Woodcock advances the theory that those tracts relegated fairies to the realms of popish superstition in *Fairy in 'The Faerie Queene': Renaissance Elf-Fashioning and Elizabethan Myth-Making* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 18.

<sup>184</sup> Purkiss, *Troublesome Things*, 158.

<sup>185</sup> Richard Corbet, 'A proper new Ballad, intituled The Fairies farewell' in *Certain elegant poems* (London: R. Cotes, 1647; Wing C6270), p. 48.

While the fairy myth continued to be extolled in ballads and part songs, the fairies themselves became all-singing, all-dancing stage attractions. The present section will trace the musical treatment of fairies in Britain from their medieval roots to their representation in the works of early modern writers, poets, dramatists and composers.

#### *4.1.1 Survey of Musical Fairies in English Culture and Literature*

The cruel, demonic and dangerous fairies of the Middle Ages are captured in the literature of the time, often in association with music and dancing. In Chaucer's *Merchant's Tale*, for instance, they are the musical servants of the rulers of the underworld: 'Ful ofte tyme he Pluto and his quene / Proserpina and al hire fayërye / Disporten hem and maken melodye / Aboute that welle, and daunced, as men tolde'.<sup>186</sup> The fairies of the anonymous Middle English poem *Sir Orfeo*, furthermore, are the dead of the community.<sup>187</sup> The following paragraphs discuss the musical representation of Medieval fairies with reference to two ballads: 'Thomas Rymer' and 'Tam Lin'. The fierce, anti-Christian fairy characters of those stories embody the tradition from which the mutable fairies of Shakespeare's own lifetime evolved.

The medieval tale of Thomas Rymer or Thomas the Rhymer likely originated in the thirteenth century when a prophetic poet of that name is said to have lived. Its popularity seemingly endured until at least the nineteenth century, when collectors of Scottish ballads were able to procure it from the singing of Scottish border dwellers. Extant in a handful of manuscripts copied between 1430 and 1824, the same tale was also printed under the title

---

<sup>186</sup> Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales: A Facsimile and Transcription of the Hengwrt Manuscript, with Variants from the Ellesmere Manuscript*, ed. Paul G. Ruggiers (Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979), *The Merchant's Tale*, pp. 585–6, lines 2,038–41. All subsequent quotations from *The Canterbury Tales* are from this edition.

<sup>187</sup> *Sir Orfeo*, ed. Edward Eyre Hunt (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Co-operative Society, 1909), 21.

*Thomas of Astledowne* in a collection of prophecies published in 1652.<sup>188</sup> The eight bar tune transcribed in the key of G minor (though of course the key has only gone by that name in more generations) and added to the 1833 edition of Walter Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (first published in 1802) was apparently taken down from the singing of one Anna Gordon in 1800.<sup>189</sup> The erotically charged story is one of fairy abduction. Thomas encounters the queen of Elfland in the woods, initially mistaking her for the Virgin Mary. The lady corrects his mistake and encourages him to follow her. She points out three paths, one leading to heaven, a second to hell and the third to her home in the fairy kingdom; after following her there, Thomas was not seen on Earth for a period of seven years. The key of G minor—known in England from c. 1600 as *Gamut flat*,<sup>190</sup> whether it had a signature of one or two flats—is perhaps significant since, as we shall see, it was somewhat prevalent in supernatural theatre music, and later came to be associated with death and grief on the seventeenth-century stage.<sup>191</sup>

The poetical metre is similar in all sources transcribed in the critical literature, mostly following a pattern of rhyming couplets in trochaic tetrameter, meaning that Scott's tune

---

<sup>188</sup> For details of the manuscript and printed sources, see Emily B. Lyle, *Fairies and Folk: Approaches to the Scottish Ballad Tradition* (Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier, 2007), 5–12; William P. Albrecht, *The Loathly Lady in 'Thomas of Erceldoune' With a Text of the Poem Printed in 1652* (Albuquerque: University of Mexico Press, 1954), 8–19; William P. Albrecht, 'A Seventeenth-Century Text of Thomas of Erceldoune', *Medium Ævum*, 23 (1954), 88–95; Francis Child, *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, 5 vols (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1904) vol. 1, pp. 63–6. *Thomas of Astledowne* is printed in *Sundry Strange Prophecies of Merlin, Bede and Others* (London: for Matthew Walbancke, 1652), 19–28; a transcription is given in Albrecht, *The Loathly Lady in 'Thomas of Erceldoune'*, 80–94.

<sup>189</sup> See W. Scott, *The Poetical Works*, ed. J. G. Lockhard, 10 vols (Edinburgh: Cadell, 1833) vol. 4, p. 116; *The Complete Works of Sir Walter Scott: With a Biography, and his last Additions and Illustrations*, 7 vols (New York: Conner & Cooke, 1833), vol. 1, p. 195. For details of Scott's letters which reveal his source, see Lyle, *Fairies and Folk*, 9. For transcriptions of the texts of Anna Gordon's ballads, see *The Ballad Repertoire of Anna Gordon, Mrs Brown of Falkland*, ed. Sigrid Riewerts (Woodbridge and New York: The Boydell Press, 2011).

<sup>190</sup> The term Gamut flat is found, for example, in the Cosyn Virginal Book, *GB-Lbl* R. M. 23. L. 4, where it designates a fantasia by Orlando Gibbons (f. 103v).

<sup>191</sup> See Amanda Eubanks Winkler, *O Let Us Howle Some Heavy Note: Music for Witches, the Melancholic, and the Mad on the Seventeenth-Century English Stage* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2006), 82.

fits all known versions of the text. There are some discrepancies between *Thomas of Astledowne* and the other sources, not least the fact that the former is written from Thomas's rather than a narrator's perspective and transmits a prophecy relating to a Scottish military campaign against England. Further variations in the story, though, include the adoption of the Medieval 'loathly lady' motif, whereby Thomas discovers that his fair young queen is in fact an old crone in disguise:<sup>192</sup>

Thomas looked in that sted,  
Upon that Lady that was so gay;  
Her haire hung about her head,  
Her eyes seemed out, that were so grey.  
All her clothing then was away,  
That he before saw in that stead,  
One leg was black, the other grey,  
And al her body like to lead.  
Thomas cried out, alas,  
Now is this a doleful sight,  
Thou art faded in the face,  
That shone before as sun so bright.<sup>193</sup>

The connection between the much discussed contemporary cult of Elizabeth and antithetical portrayals of the Fairy Queen in Elizabethan literature is discussed below, and it is easy to see how that convention might have sprung in part from the 'loathly lady' trope and the notion that a queen can be both beautiful and grotesque.

Though the earliest source for the ballad of 'Tam Lin' or 'Tom Lane' was its inclusion in an eighteenth-century ballad anthology,<sup>194</sup> its similarity to 'Thomas Rymer' indicates a much earlier point of origin. Like 'Thomas Rymer', the tale is a highly sexualized one of fairy abduction. The protagonist—on this occasion a female named Janet—falls pregnant by Tam Lin, a man who guards the woods of Carterhaugh, taking the virginity of any maiden who passes. Janet seeks to abort the child who she fears will be a supernatural

---

<sup>192</sup> For a discussion of the wider usage of the 'loathly lady' motif, see Albrecht, *The Loathly Lady in 'Thomas of Erceldoune'*, 29–70.

<sup>193</sup> Lines 129–40 of Albrecht's transcription, *The Loathly Lady in Thomas of Erceldoune*, p. 83.

<sup>194</sup> David Herd, *The Ancient and Modern Scots Songs, Heroic Ballads, &c* (Edinburgh: Martin and Wotherspoon, 1769), 300–303.

being, but Tam Lin reassures her that he is mortal and a prisoner of the Fairy Queen. He instructs Janet how to rescue him on Halloween night by pulling him from his horse as the fairies process through the woods, holding on to him as he morphs into various animals, throwing him into a well when he burns like a fire brand, and finally covering him with a green mantle. This she does successfully, only to be ultimately cursed by the Fairy Queen:

Out then spak the Queen o Fairies,  
And an angry woman was she:  
'Shame betide her ill-far'd face,  
And an ill death may she die,  
For she's taen awa the boniest knight  
In a' my companie.<sup>195</sup>

The earliest tune—and the only one surviving from the eighteenth century—was contributed to James Johnson's *Scots Musical Museum* by Robert Burns.<sup>196</sup> The four bar melody begins there in what today is called F major but modulates to D minor during the second bar, in which key it remains. In the case of both ballads, the predominance of a minor key arguably reinforces the dark and violent nature of fairy/human interaction as understood in medieval Scotland. As discussed below, when the myth of fairy gave way to more stylized dramatic representations of fairies, the musical style associated with fairies changed accordingly, though traces of their Medieval musical heritage, could, nonetheless, occasionally be glimpsed. The section below argues that the music of Elizabethan songs, madrigals and royal entertainments established a firm connection between ternary rhythm and fairy.

---

<sup>195</sup> Child, *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, vol. 1, p. 69.

<sup>196</sup> James Johnson, *The Scots Musical Museum*, 6 vols (Edinburgh: Johnson & Co., 1790), vol. 5, pp. 423–5. For more information on the tune's collation, see Lyle, *Fairies and Folk*, 114–15.

#### 4.1.2 *Fairies in Elizabethan Songs, Madrigals and Royal Entertainments*

From the 1570s, authors of royal entertainments used the Fairy Queen as a means of ‘speaking to the queen and ventriloquizing a contrasting set of political messages’.<sup>197</sup> During Elizabeth’s summer progress of 1575, the entertainment laid on by the Earl of Leicester at Kenilworth castle, Warwickshire, saw the queen met by ‘the Lady of the Lake (famous in King Arthurz book) with too Nymphes wayting upon her’.<sup>198</sup> The Lady spoke directly to Elizabeth, offering as a gift the castle and lake, ‘most allweyz in the handes of the Earls and Leyceter’.<sup>199</sup> Elizabeth’s droll response reveals her apparent awareness of the political difficulties surrounding the allegorical figure of the Fairy Queen and her supposed kingdom: ‘we had thought indeed the Lake had been oours, and doo you call it yourz noow? Well we wyll heerin common more with yoo hereafter’.<sup>200</sup>

During the same summer, at Woodstock Manor, Oxfordshire, Elizabeth again encountered the Fairy Queen, on this occasion at a banquet under an oak tree. Following a dramatized reading of the tale of Hermetes, the eponymous hermit led Elizabeth to the banquet, where

Her Maiesty thus in the middest of this mirth might espy the Queen of the Fayry drawn with 6. children in a waggon of state: the Boies bravely attired, & her selfe very costly apparelled, whose present shew might wel argue her immortality.<sup>201</sup>

---

<sup>197</sup> Woodcock, *Fairy in ‘The Faerie Queen’*, 43.

<sup>198</sup> The script of the entertainment has not survived, but an eyewitness account by Robert Langham is transcribed in various places, including *Robert Langham, A Letter*, ed. R. J. P. Kuin (Leiden: Brill, 1983), 40–41. The letter’s distinctive orthography (‘Arthurz’, for instance), possibly reveals it to be the work of William Patten and a joke at Langham’s expense (see H. R. Woudhuysen, ‘Langham, Robert’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (online edn: Oxford University Press, 2008)).

<sup>199</sup> For contrasting interpretations of the political implications of the Kennilworth entertainment, see Helen Cooper, *The English Romance in Time: Transforming Motifs from Geoffrey of Monmouth to the Death of Shakespeare* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 207, and Woodcock, *Fairy in ‘The Faerie Queen’*, 45.

<sup>200</sup> *Robert Langham, A Letter*, ed Kuin, 41.

<sup>201</sup> *The Queenes Maiesties entertainment at Woodstock* (London: for Thomas Cadman, 1585: STC 7596), sig. B4v.

It has been argued that the entertainments of the 1575 progress foregrounded the theme of marriage, thus affording courtiers and artists opportunities to express their concerns regarding the question of succession. Katherine Butler posits the Kenilworth entertainment as a proposal of marriage on the part of the Earl of Leicester, and the Woodstock spectacle as an acceptance of Elizabeth's refusal.<sup>202</sup> The Woodstock Fairy Queen certainly addressed Elizabeth's unmarried status, saying

your passing sprite whereby your same is blowen:  
doe knowe by certein skill you haue no mate:  
and that no man throughout the worlde hath seene  
a prince that may compare with th' English Queene.<sup>203</sup>

Importantly for the present enquiry, the Woodstock Fairy Queen presented herself to Elizabeth as 'now white, then blacke, your frende the fayery Queene'.<sup>204</sup> By calling attention to her changeable nature and appearance, she thus identified herself with the paradox surrounding works like *The Triumphs of Oriana* and Spenser's *Faerie Queene* (discussed below), in which the Fairy Queen functions as the allegorical alter ego of Elizabeth: as evidenced in the ballads of Thomas Rymer and Tam Lin, the Fairy Queen was not always beautiful, good or virtuous. An eyewitness account of the summer progress of 1578 in Suffolk and Norfolk confirms that Elizabeth was again entertained by fairies and their queen on her final day in Norwich. A speech by the Fairy Queen which celebrated and mythologized Elizabeth was bookended by dances performed by young boys dressed as fairies and playing timbrels.<sup>205</sup>

The dancing fairies of Norwich perhaps paved the way for the musical fairies of the public and private stages (discussed below). At Elvetham, Hampshire, in 1591, the Earl of

---

<sup>202</sup> *Music in Elizabethan Court Politics* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2015), 161–5.

<sup>203</sup> *The Queenes Maiesties entertainment at Woodstock*, sig. Cr.

<sup>204</sup> *The Queenes Maiesties entertainment at Woodstock*, sig. Cr..

<sup>205</sup> Thomas Churchyard, *A discourse of the Queenes Maiesties entertainment in Suffolk and Norffolk with a description of many things then presently seene* (London: Henry Bynneman, 1578; STC 5226), sigs Giiv– Givr.



Hertford presented what has been described as ‘perhaps the most extravagant and musical programme of entertainments in the reign’.<sup>206</sup> On the fourth and final day of Elizabeth’s stay, ‘there began three Cornets to play certaine fantastike dances, at the measure whereof the Fayery Queene came into the garden chanting with her maides about her’.<sup>207</sup> In a speech to Elizabeth, she introduced herself as a Proserpina-like Fairy Queen from the underworld: ‘I that abide in places vnder ground, / Aureola, the Queene of Fairy Land’.<sup>208</sup> After her speech, in which Elizabeth is gifted a garland allegedly wrought by Oberon, ‘the Fairy Queene and her maides daunced about the garland, singing a song of sixe partes, with the musicke of an exquisite consort, wherin was the Lute, Bandora, Base-violl, Citterne, Treble-violl, and Flute’.<sup>209</sup> The song ‘Elisa is the fairest queen’ was then sung by the fairies.

A five-part setting of that song survives with music by Edward Johnson (fl. 1572–1601), as does the song ‘Come Again’ from the same entertainment. E. Johnson’s employers, the Kytson family, certainly paid him to compose music for the Kenilworth entertainment, and it is generally accepted that the five-part versions of E. Johnson’s music which have survived are probably arrangements of the six-part piece heard at Elvetham.<sup>210</sup> It has been remarked that E. Johnson’s missing sixth part can be glimpsed at cadences, one such example being at Brett’s bars 9–10 which are blatantly missing a suspension and leading note.<sup>211</sup> The second tenor part at bar 4, furthermore, seems somewhat contrived in the way

---

<sup>206</sup> Butler, *Music in Elizabethan Court Politics*, 148.

<sup>207</sup> *The honorable entertainment giuen to the Queenes Maiestie in progresse, at Eluetham in Hampshire* (London: John Wolfe, 1591; STC 7583), sigs D4v–Er.

<sup>208</sup> *The honorable entertainment*, sig. Er.

<sup>209</sup> *The honorable entertainment*, sig. Er–v.

<sup>210</sup> See David C. Price, *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 76 n. 5; David Brown and Ian Harwood, ‘Johnson, Edward (i)’ in *Grove Music Online* (2001); *Consort Songs*, *Musica Britannica* 22, ed. Philip Brett (2nd, rev. edn, London: Stainer and Bell, 1974), 182; Butler, *Music in Elizabethan Court Politics*, 150–51. The five part music is transmitted in *GB-Lbl* add. MSS 30480–84 (the Hamond partbooks) and *GB-Ob* MS Tenbury 1465.

<sup>211</sup> Butler, *Music in Elizabethan Court Politics*, 151 n. 30.

that it moves in parallel octaves with the bass (see ex. 4.1); a five-part song would not usually require such doubling, which suggests the original existence of a sixth. The rhythmic movement at that moment, though would have been crucial, for ensemble reasons, to the amateur users of the five-part arrangement copied into the Hamond partbooks.<sup>212</sup> Not unlike the fairy music already discussed, ‘Elisa is the fairest queen’ adopts the metre of a galliard and the key of G minor.

Edmund Spenser’s epic poem *The Faerie Queen* (c. 1590), written in the style of a Virgilian heroic song, cannot be omitted from the present narrative. Though the story involves upwards of twenty-five major characters, the titular heroine is not one of them. But we have Spenser’s word that she represents Elizabeth: ‘In that Faery Queene I meane glory in my generall intention, but in my particular I concieue the most excellent and glorious person of our soueraine the Queene, and her kingdome in Faery land’.<sup>213</sup> Arthur’s tale of his meeting with her is clearly inspired by medieval sources, namely Sir Tophas’s dream of the Fairy Queen in Chaucer’s *Canterbury Tales* and the fairy encounters expressed in Medieval ballads, ‘Thomas the Rhymer’ in particular. In ‘Thomas the Rhymer’, *The Fairy Queen* and ‘Sir Tophas’s Tale’, the hero lies down on the grass to sleep and is thereafter enchanted by the Fairy Queen. Spenser’s account is closer to ‘Thomas the Rhymer’ than to Chaucer’s since both Thomas and Arthur experience a corporeal, sexual meeting with the queen, while Sir Tophas merely dreams the encounter.<sup>214</sup>

---

<sup>212</sup> I am grateful to Dr Butler for this observation (private correspondence).

<sup>213</sup> A letter from Spenser to Walter Raleigh, quoted in *The Poetical Works of Edmund Spenser*, ed. J. C. Smith and E. de Selincourt (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1924), 407.

<sup>214</sup> *The Complete Works of Walter Scott*, 1833, 195; *The Canterbury Tales*, ed. Ruggiers, p. 850, lines 1,976–85; Edmund Spenser, *The faerie queene Disposed into twelue books, fashioning XII. morall vertues* (London: John Wolfe, 1590; STC 23081), Book 1, Canto IX, sigs H6v–7r.

While it is true that the Fairy Queen herself is non-musical in all three tales, the tale of Thomas Rhymer was undoubtedly sung. And though *The Faerie Queen* probably was not, the poem, like Dante's *Divine Comedy*, is divided into 'cantos,' a derivation of the Italian term for 'song' or 'singing'.<sup>215</sup> *The Fairy Queen*, furthermore, is written in the style of those Homeric and medieval epic poems which were traditionally sung, and Spenser's narrator repeatedly refers to his 'song'.<sup>216</sup> The final line of the opening stanza of Book 1, for example, reads 'Fierce warres and faithfull loues shall moralize my song'. In the satire *Pierce Penniless* by Thomas Nashe (bap. 1567, d. c. 1601), furthermore, the eponymous narrator describes his experience of reading *The Fairy Queen* thus: 'Perusing yesternight with idle eyes, / The Fairy Singers stately tuned verse'.<sup>217</sup> The same device was used in *The Valiant Welshman* (attrib. Robert Armin)—a play which itself contains a masque of the Fairy Queen—to evoke the character of a long dead bard, brought to life by the music of harps: 'This onely doe I craue, that in my song, / Attention guyde your eares, silence your tongue'.<sup>218</sup> This apparent grey area between reciting and singing was likely a product of the Medieval *lai breton*, a tradition which was closely associated with Arthurian fairy tales.<sup>219</sup> Chaucer's Franklin succinctly summed up the interchangeable performance possibilities of the lai:

Thise olde gentil Bretouns in hir dayes  
Of diverse adventures maden layes,  
Rymeyed in hir firste Briton tonge;  
Which layes with hir instrumentz they songe,  
Or elles reddeden hem for hir plesaunce.<sup>220</sup>

<sup>215</sup> 'canto, n.' in *Oxford English Dictionary* (online edn: Oxford University Press, 2018).

<sup>216</sup> On the singing of epic poetry, see Alfred B. Lord, *The Singer of Tales*, ed. Stephen Mitchell and Gregory Nagy (2nd edn, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000); Milman Parry, 'Studies in the Epic Technique of Oral Verse-Making: I. Homer and Homeric Style', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 41 (1930), 73–148.

<sup>217</sup> Quoted in Woodcock, *Fairy in 'The Faerie Queene'*, 1.

<sup>218</sup> R. A., *The Valiant Welshman* (London: George Furslowe, 1615; STC 16), sigs A4v–Br. For the Fairy Queen masque, see sig. C2v.

<sup>219</sup> David Fallows, 'Lai' in *Grove Music Online* (2018).

<sup>220</sup> *The Canterbury Tales*, ed. Ruggiers, p. 609, lines 708–13.

Music plays a prominent part, furthermore, in some of the fabula of Spenser's mythopoeia. Other worldly music accompanies both the marriage of Una and the Redcrosse Knight in Book 1 and the enchantments of the witch Acrasia in Book 2. In the Book 1 passage, Spenser invokes angelic imagery such as 'heavenly noise' to describe the music accompanying the marriage of two virtuous characters.<sup>221</sup> In Book 2, though, the description of the heavenly music created by Acrasia to lure Guyon into sin is peppered with oxymoronic language such as 'The ioyous birdes *shrouded* in chearefull shade' (my italics), and more overt perversions of the supposedly 'angelicall' music: for instance, 'That euer mixt their song with light licentious toyes'.<sup>222</sup>

Throughout her reign, Elizabeth I was exalted in words, music and images as England's ever youthful virgin queen. That praxis grew to function as a cult, with the queen variously assigned such allegorical identities as Oriana, Diana, Cynthia, Astrea, and Gloriana or the Fairy Queen. Indeed, it was allegedly through translations of Virgil and Ovid that Diana came to be identified with the Fairy Queen, a process which 'opened the way for compliments to Queen Elizabeth as the fairy queen'.<sup>223</sup> Before his accession to the English throne, James VI of Scotland acknowledged the connection between Diana and fairy in his *Dæmonologie*:

The fourth kinde of spirits, which by the gentiles was called *Diana*, and her wandering court, and amongst us called the *phairie* (as I told you) to our good neighbors, was one of the sorts of illusions that was rifest in the time of Papistry.<sup>224</sup>

As this chapter demonstrates, that neoclassical version of the Fairy Queen did not displace her Medieval predecessor, but rather the two co-existed and were often conflated in

---

<sup>221</sup> Spenser, *The faerie queene*, Book 1, Canto XII, sig. M4v.

<sup>222</sup> Spenser, *The faerie queene*, Book 2, Canto XII, sig. Aa8v.

<sup>223</sup> Josephine Waters Bennett, *The Evolution of 'The Faerie Queene'* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942), 8.

<sup>224</sup> James VI of Scotland, *Dæmonologie*, pp. 73–4.

Elizabethan and Jacobean literary culture. To my mind, those aesthetic Elizabethan offerings took one of three broad forms:

1. Straightforward panegyrics, according to the Roman origin of the term, whereby the author praises the monarch publicly;<sup>225</sup>
2. A political weapon transmitting a subversive political message in the guise of panegyric flattery.
3. The replacement of one icon for another—and therefore one religious structure for another—for those who could no longer subscribe to the cult of the Virgin Mary.

The genesis of the entire English pastoral form has lately been linked with the cult,<sup>226</sup> and while poets like Spenser and Shakespeare presented their readers and audience with complex and contrasting depictions of the Fairy Queen, composers such as William Byrd (c. 1540–1623), Thomas Morley (1557/8–1602) and George Kirbye (d. 1634) set texts which have sparked much speculation as to their political intentions.

A consort song by William Byrd written some time between 1596 and 1605, and entitled ‘My mistress had a little dog’, is a case in point.<sup>227</sup> The song’s polysemous text (possibly by Edward Paston (bap. 1550, d. 1630), or at least relating to an incident in his home)<sup>228</sup> refers separately to the Fairy Queen, Diana and the influential political figure Lady Penelope Rich (1563–1607). The dog, ‘Pretty Royal’, belonged to the Fairy Queen, who made him wait for the opportunity to ‘tumble’. The dog, the listener learns, eventually died a violent death for his mistress’ sake. While there is often debate about whether the allegorical Mistress is Elizabeth I or Rich, I concur with Jeremy L. Smith that the imagery

---

<sup>225</sup> On the distinction between Greek and Roman traditions and customs regarding ‘panegyric’, and how these relate to early modern and modern definitions of the term, see James D. Garrison, *Dryden and the Tradition of Panegyric* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and Oxford: University of California Press, 1975), 3–37.

<sup>226</sup> See Jeremy L. Smith, ‘Music and the Cult of Elizabeth: The Politics of Panegyric and Sound’ in *‘Noyses, Sounds and Sweet Aires’: Music in Early Modern England*, ed. Jessie Ann Owens (Washington DC: The Folger Shakespeare Library, 2006), 62–77 (63).

<sup>227</sup> See *Consort Songs*, The Byrd Edition vol. 15, ed. Philip Brett (London: Stainer & Bell, 1970), 177, n. 36.

<sup>228</sup> The Byrd Edition vol. 15, ed. Brett, 177, n. 36. Also see Philip Brett, ‘Pitch and Transposition in the Paston Manuscripts’ in *Sundry Sorts of Music Books: Essays on the British Library Collections, Presented to O. W. Neighbour on his 70th Birthday*, ed. Chris Banks, Arthur Searle and Malcolm Turner (London: The British Library, 1993), 89–118 (91).

in Byrd's song concerning the Fairy Queen and Diana relates to Elizabeth, and only the obvious pun at the end of the third stanza refers to Rich. As Smith notes, 'the dog's career seems to offer strong parallels to those of Sidney and Essex'.<sup>229</sup>

The celebrated madrigal collection *The Triumphs of Oriana* assembled by Thomas Morley in 1601 further demonstrates that representations of the Fairy Queen did not necessarily function as unreserved pæans and may not even have been addressed to Elizabeth. Twenty-three composers contributed madrigals to the collection, including Daniel Norcome (1576–1653), John Bennet, Richard Carlton (c. 1558–c. 1638), Thomas Tomkins (1572–1656), Thomas Morley, John Wilbye (bap. 1574, d. 1638), Thomas Weelkes (c. 1576–1623), George Kirbye and Edward Johnson. With two exceptions, each madrigal concludes with the text 'Then sang the shepherds and nymphs of Diana: Long live fair Oriana'.<sup>230</sup> If Jeremy L. Smith is to be believed, Oriana was intended, in this collection, to represent the incoming queen, Ann of Denmark (wife of James VI of Scotland), meaning that Morley and his associates were actively supporting the Essex faction who sought to advance the claim of James VI to the English throne.<sup>231</sup> Smith's argument is partly built on the apparently widespread trend amongst composers for placing musical emphasis on the final two syllables of 'Oriana' in the madrigals of *The Triumphs* and elsewhere.<sup>232</sup>

---

<sup>229</sup> Jeremy L. Smith, 'Music and Late Elizabethan Politics: The Identities of Oriana and Diana', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 58 (2005), 507–558 (534). Philip Brett was of the opinion that the whole song concerns Rich: see *The Byrd Edition* vol. 15, ed. Brett, 177.

<sup>230</sup> See *The Triumphs of Oriana*, ed. Edmund H. Fellowes, rev. Thurston Dart (London and New York: Stainer & Bell, Ltd, 1962), pp.xi–xvii. Ellis Gibbons's 'Round about her charret' ends 'To the shepherds' pipes sing the nymphs of Diana: Long live fair Oriana', and Edward Johnson's 'Come blessed bird' ends 'Then sang the wood-born minstrel of Diana: Long live fair Oriana'.

<sup>231</sup> Smith, 'Music and Late Elizabethan Politics', pp. 507–8 and 540–41. Smith seems to have overlooked a literary reference which may support his cause: in an entertainment performed before the newly crowned Queen Anne and the Prince of Wales in 1603, Ben Jonson had an elf describe the occasion as 'Orana's wel-comming' (B. Jon., *his part of King Iames his royall and magnificent entertainment through his honorable cittie of London* (London: Valentine Simmes and George Eld, 1604; STC 14756), sig. A4r).

<sup>232</sup> Smith, 'Music and Late Elizabethan Politics', 540–41.

George Kirbye's contribution was originally printed with a text entitled 'Bright Phoebus greets most clearly', where Phoebus gives over her 'apple' or crown to Oriana.<sup>233</sup> In a second edition of *The Triumphs* produced in 1603 and therefore after Morley's death, Kirbye's music appeared with the same text as Daniel Norcome's madrigal, 'With angel's face and brightness'. Set to Kirbye's music, both texts introduce the Fairy Queen at the same musical moment (ex. 4.2a) but in very different guises: where 'With angel's face' references 'that maiden Queen of the fairyland', the text of the original edition, 'Bright Phoebus greets', references the character 'Proserpine'. As the wife of Pluto (as indeed she figures in the poem in question), Proserpina is best known as the queen of the underworld, but she was also, albeit rarely, associated with the queen of the fairies: in Chaucer's *Merchant's Tale*, for instance (see 4.1.1 above), and in a sixteenth-century English translation of the French romance *Petit Artus de Bretagne*.<sup>234</sup>

Kirbye's musical texture at that place becomes lighter than previously, perhaps more in keeping with the traditional image of the Fairy Queen presented in 'With angel's face' than with the darker connotations wrapped up with the Proserpina association. The reverse hemiola of Fellowes's bars 41–6, furthermore, fits particularly well with the text 'did show their nimble lightness' (ex. 4.2b).<sup>235</sup> Like many of the madrigals in the collection, when sung to the text 'With angel's face', Kirbye's implements ternary rhythm to symbolize

---

<sup>233</sup> The symbolism of the handover of the apple perhaps recalls similar instances in a wedding masque performed in 1566 where Venus handed her apple to the bride as a symbol of fertility (see Marie Axton, *The Queen's Two Bodies: Drama and the Elizabethan Succession* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1977), 1), and in George Peele's *Arraignement of Paris* (c. 1581–4) where a golden apple is presented to the nymph Eliza—in fact, to Elizabeth I herself seated in the audience (see George Peele, *The araygnement of Paris* (London: Henry Marsh, 1584; STC 19530), sig. Eiiii). If the madrigal text is referencing Peele's conceit, that may carry political connotations which have been hitherto overlooked by musicologists.

<sup>234</sup> trans. Lord Berners, *Arthur of Brytayne The hystory of the moost noble and valyaunt knyght Arthur of lytell brytayne* (London: W. Copland, 1560; STC 807), f. liii.

<sup>235</sup> Smith's explanation for the presence of two texts is that following Elizabeth's death and James's succession in 1603, Morley and his printer, Thomas East, wished to remove traces of treason, thus 'keeping Oriana safely under the guise of the dead monarch Elizabeth' (Smith, 'Music and Late Elizabethan Politics', 547). This is just one of a number of possible hypotheses.

dancing nymphs, fauns and satyrs (see ex. 4.2b). Music examples 4.3 and 4.4 show two similar instances in madrigals by John Hilton I (d. 1609) and Richard Carlton. Just as Diana was associated with the Fairy Queen, nymphs belonged to the same family as fairies and elves, as one of Thomas Churchyard's nymphs points out: 'The Phayries [like the nymphs] are another kind, of elfes that daunce in darke'.<sup>236</sup>

The Fairy Queen, though, receives more stately musical treatment from Kirbye when referred to directly (ex. 4.2a). Despite the lightened texture, the binary rhythm associated with Oriana earlier in the piece (ex. 4.2c) is maintained. Daniel Norcome, furthermore, in his setting of the same text, not only maintains Oriana's stately metre for the Fairy Queen, but also ends the passage in G minor (see ex. 4.5). In contrast, the final cadence of Norcome's setting concludes with a radiant G major chord on the word 'Oriana'. Norcome, like Kirbye, applies ternary rhythm to the refrain 'Then sang the shepherds and nymphs of Diana'. It seems, then, that where the Fairy Queen is depicted in *The Triumphs of Oriana*, she is given the same stately music as Diana and Oriana, while dance-like ternary rhythms are reserved for the pastoral treatment of nymphs, shepherds and satyrs. It is shown below that the same conventions seemed to hold when R. Johnson wrote music for Ben Jonson's masque *Oberon the Faery Prince* in 1616.

#### 4.1.3 Musical Fairies on the Stage

Whether because of a direct or a common influence, the topoi of the royal entertainments recur in the stage works of John Lyly; I refer specifically to the singing and dancing fairies of *Endymion* (1591) and *Gallathea* (1592) who were first brought to life by Paul's Boys.<sup>237</sup>

---

<sup>236</sup> Churchyard, *A discourse of the Queenes Maiesties entertainment in Suffolk and Norffolk*, sig. Giir.

<sup>237</sup> For parallels between Thomas Churchyard's entertainments and Lyly's plays, see Michael Pincombe, *The Plays of John Lyly: Eros and Eliza* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1996), 60–62, 98–9.



The impish fairies of *Endymion*, referred to in one breath as ‘fayre fiendes’, ‘nymphes’ and ‘hags’, torment Corsites with a song and dance before charming him to sleep and having their romantic way with the already enchanted Endymion: ‘the Fayries daunce, and with a song pinch him, and hee falleth asleepe, they kisse Endimion, and depart’(IV.iii).<sup>238</sup> No song text was printed in the original edition of *Endymion*. A song entitled ‘Pinch him, pinch him, blacke and blue’ which appeared in Edward Blount’s 1632 version of the play is generally believed to date from that later era.<sup>239</sup> In an echo of the entrance of the fairy ‘hags’ of *Endymion*, a troupe of fairies make a brief but possibly musical appearance in *Gallathea*. Though the ambiguous stage direction ‘Enter Fayries dauncing and playing and so, Exeunt’ (II.iii) allows for the boys to be at play rather than playing instruments, it is reasonable to infer that they danced to music.<sup>240</sup>

Though Mercutio’s lengthy Queen Mab speech in *Romeo and Juliet* (I.iv.55–97) has no musical associations, it crucially foreshadows the question of whether the singing fairies of *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* were cast as adults or boys (discussed further below). The enduring perception that Shakespeare invented the concept of diminutive fairies was in fact disproved some sixty years ago, when it was established that tiny and child-sized fairies are present in Medieval literature and folklore, alongside taller breeds who resembled adults.<sup>241</sup> Shakespeare’s Mab is ‘no bigger than an agate stone’ (I.iv.57). Her carriage—an

---

<sup>238</sup> John Lyly, *Endimion, the man in the moone* (London: J. Charlewood, 1591; STC 17050), sig G3r.

<sup>239</sup> See Pincombe, *The Plays of John Lyly*, 100; G. K. Hunter, *John Lyly: The Humanist as Courtier* (London: Routledge & Keegan Paul, 1962), 367; Peter Seng, *The Vocal Songs in the Plays of Shakespeare* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967), 169–70.

<sup>240</sup> John Lyly, *Gallathea* (London: John Charlewood, 1592; STC 17080), sig. C3r.

<sup>241</sup> Purkiss remains a major proponent of the view that diminutive fairies first entered the literature via Shakespeare’s Queen Mab speech (*Troublesome Things*, 158). In fact, Katharine M. Briggs collected references to tiny fairies in Medieval literature in her *Anatomy of Puck* (London and New York: Routledge & Keegan Paul, 1959), 13, and in her *Fairies in Tradition and Literature* (London and New York: Routledge & Keegan Paul, 1967), 3–4, 133–5. Harold F. Brooks reinforced Briggs’s argument in his edition of *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* (London and New York: Methuen, 1984), pp. lxx–lxxv.

empty hazelnut shell drawn by tiny creatures across the faces of dreaming mortals—is made of spiders’ legs, grasshoppers’ wings and moonlight, and her coachman is a gnat. By Mercutio’s own admission, Queen Mab and her miniature attendants are ‘...children of an idle brain, / Begot of nothing but vain fantasy’ (I.iv.101–2).

The premise of Mercutio’s speech is that romantic love is arbitrary, and in that sense Shakespeare casts Mab in a Cupidian role. Though the connection is not made by the most recent relevant scholarship, around the time that Shakespeare was creating the miniature fairies of *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* (c. 1595–6), Spenser too brought tiny Cupids into play in his *Epithalamion*:

The whiles an hundred little winged loues,  
Like diuers fethered doues,  
Shall fly and flutter round about your bed,  
And in the secret darke, that none reproues,  
Their prety stelthes shal worke, & snares shall spread <sup>242</sup>

Shakespeare’s Ariel was also aligned with Cupid in a late seventeenth-century part-book where three whimsical additional stanzas are supplied for ‘Where the bee sucks’ (see 3.5 above). The Cupidian lines run thus:

But in Autumne I as Cupid  
& God Bacchus blinde & stupid  
On the glasses brim I hopp  
Sippinge still, till from the topp  
to the bottom downe I dropp.  
Merrily merrily ther yet I lye  
I drinke, & am drunk, & dead drunk I dye.<sup>243</sup>

Shortly after the Queen Mab speech, Romeo meets Juliet and the tragedy begins to unfold.<sup>244</sup> By employing Mab at such a pivotal moment, Shakespeare seems to draw on

---

<sup>242</sup> Edmund Spenser, *Amoretti and Epithalamion* (London: P. Short, 1595; STC 23076), p. 208. The connection is not made by Woodcock or Purkiss. The only reference I have seen to *Epithalamion* in studies of fairy is in *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, ed. Brooks, p. xxxv, where Brooks compares Spenser’s poem with the fairies’ blessing of the bridal beds at the end of *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*.

<sup>243</sup> *GB-Eu* MS Dc.I.69, p. 88.

<sup>244</sup> See Purkiss, *Troublesome Things*, 166–70.

that sinister aspect of fairy heritage so palpable in Medieval literature, folklore and song. In a scene reminiscent of the Elizabethan royal entertainments, Mab went on to figure as the queen of fairies in an entertainment penned by Ben Jonson and presented to the newly crowned Queen Anne and her elder son Henry, Prince of Wales in 1603: ‘whilst to the sound of excellent soft Musique that was there conceald in the thicket; there came tripping vp the lawne, a Beuy of *Faeries* attending on *Mab* their Queene, who falling into an artificiall ring, that was there cut in the pathe, began to daunce a round’.<sup>245</sup> Jonson presumably employed the character of Mab in order to avoid any association with Elizabeth, who was never, it seems, depicted as Mab. The fairy poems of Robert Herrick (bap. 1591, d. 1674), moreover, published during the 1630s and 40s, ensured the survival of a miniscule Mab and attendants into the Caroline era.<sup>246</sup>

Like *Macbeth*’s witches (see 4.3 below), the fairies of *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* occupy a distinct sound world. The contrast between their lilting incantations and such famously lyrical passages as Oberon’s ‘I know a bank where the wild thyme blows’(II.i.254) have led one commentator to describe their language as ‘screeds of word music’.<sup>247</sup> The opening of II.ii serves as an example of the variegated texture of speech sounds heard in fairy land. The scene opens with Puck’s short enquiry of his fellow fairy ‘How now spirit, whither wander you?’. The passage that follows, though apparently not sung, has inspired many a composer to set it to music: ‘Over hill, over dale, / Through bush, through briar, / Over park, over pale, / Through flood, through fire...’(II.i.2–15). The fairy follows that fourteen-line verse with two lines of rhymed pentameter, ‘Farewell, thou

---

<sup>245</sup> Jonson, *his part of King Iames his royall and magnificent entertainment through his honorable cittie of London*, sig. A2v.

<sup>246</sup> Tom Cain, ‘Herrick, Robert (bap. 1591, d. 1674)’ in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online edn: Oxford University Press, 2008).

<sup>247</sup> Harley Granville Barker, ‘Screeds of Word-Music’ in *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, ed. Judith M. Kennedy and Richard F. Kennedy (London and New Brunswick: The Athlone Press, 1999), 378–80.

lob of spirits, I'll be gone: / Our queen and all her elves come here anon' (16–17), before Puck launches into his customary rhymed couplets: 'The king doth keep his revels here tonight: / Take heed the queen come not within his sight' (18–19). The form shifts at the entrance of Oberon and Titania, who speak here in blank verse, a symbol of their status:

Ob: Ill met by moonlight proud Titania.  
 Tit.: What, jealous Oberon? Fairies, skip hence,  
 I have forsworn his bed and company.  
 (II.i.61–3)

Those structural distinctions do not hold true for the whole play, for Oberon and Titania sometimes speak in rhymed verse, as do the mortals. The variety of verse form in the play is in fact a complex issue, more related to dramatic function than to differentiation of rank or species, and certainly characteristic of Shakespeare's overall style at that time.<sup>248</sup> The lilt of rhyming couplets nonetheless sets fairy land apart from the court as a general rule, and reinforces the close association of fairies and music. The interchangeability of verse form, moreover, cannot help but underline the parallels between the two worlds, which are both hierarchical societies disordered by lovers' conflicts.

As we have seen (2.2), Shakespeare and his contemporaries tended to use musical genre as a hierarchization device whereby musical taste is determined by social rank. Broadly speaking, performed songs are associated with the elite, and snatches of popular songs with the mad, the drunk and the lower classes. Shakespeare's supernatural characters always perform complete songs which further the plot and for which they do not step out of character. *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is no exception, and the fairies perform two charm songs at the request of their King and Queen: 'You spotted snakes with double tongue' (II.ii.9–26) and 'Now until the break of day' (V.i.371–92).

---

<sup>248</sup> See *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, ed. Brooks, pp. xl–liii.

Certain scholars of Shakespeare's songs tacitly omit 'Now until the break of day' from their study, presumably on the basis that it is unclear whether that is the text of the song, or a speech by Oberon given after the performance of a lost song.<sup>249</sup> It is true that neither Q1 nor Q2 of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* punctuate that passage in any way that sets it apart from the rest of the scene or predisposes it to extraction.<sup>250</sup> In my opinion, though, the typography of *F* leaves little room for doubt that 'Now until the break of day' constitutes the song text, since its heading 'The Song' and all twenty-two following lines are given in italics and indented.<sup>251</sup> Unlike the cryptic panegyrics of the royal entertainments and the impish pinching songs of *Endimion* and *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (discussed below), the fairy songs of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* are lovingly performed for the protection of fairies and mortals alike, confirming Oberon's statement, 'We are spirits of another sort' (III.ii.401). Shakespeare, in short, created in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* a species of fairies who use music to perform white magic.

'You spotted snakes' is a charm designed to protect the sleeping Titania from harm, and sung at her words of command: 'Come, now a roundel and a fairy song' (II.ii.1). The play closes with the sung fairy blessing 'Now until the break of day', which is commissioned by both Oberon and Titania:

Ob.: And this ditty after me  
Sing and dance it trippingly.  
Tit.: First rehearse your song by rote,  
To each word a warbling note;  
Hand in hand, with fairy grace  
Will we sing and bless this place.  
(V.i.365–70)

---

<sup>249</sup> For instance, the song is omitted by Duffin (*Shakespeare's Songbook* (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company Inc., 2004)) and Seng (*The Vocal Songs in the Plays of Shakespeare*).

<sup>250</sup> *A Midsommer nights dreame* (London: Thomas Fisher, 1600; STC 22302), sig. H4r; *A Midsommer nights dreame* (London: James Roberts, 1600), sig. H4r.

<sup>251</sup> *F*, *GB-Ob* (online), p. 162.

The attendant fairies, in this respect, play a similar role to those musical magicians' servants—Ariel in *The Tempest*, for instance (discussed below), or Shrimp in Anthony Munday's *John a Kent and John a Cumber* (c. 1580s)—who sing in order to attain their masters' ends: Ariel, for instance, uses music ultimately to draw Prospero's enemies into his trap, and Shrimp's musical magic supplements Kent's display of power in what is essentially a contest between magicians.<sup>252</sup>

No music survives for either of the fairy songs of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. Ross W. Duffin's conjectural setting of 'You spotted snakes' to the popular seventeenth-century ballad tune 'Robin Goodfellow',<sup>253</sup> although a good fit, is problematic on grounds both of style and of that tune's origin. Duffin's hypothesis is supported by a metrical change midway through the tune, unusual for a ballad and in keeping with the fairy music already discussed; if Shakespeare's words are fitted to the tune, the change occurs at the line 'Philomel with melody'.<sup>254</sup> The tune's later affiliation with Robin Goodfellow (see below), furthermore, strengthens the case for an association with a fairy play.

The two earliest known sources for the tune 'Robin Goodfellow' are *GB-Cfm* 32.g.29 (the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book, hereafter *FVB*), and *GB-Lbl* Add. MS 24665 (Giles Earle's Song Book). In *FVB*, likely compiled between 1609 and 1617, our tune is simply titled 'Daunce' and nested among other anonymous dances. It is presented twice in Earle's book (compiled 1615–26), first with the text of the ballad 'As at noon Dulcina rested', and afterwards with the Latin text 'Pulcher Nuper Rosalina'. On one hand, the fact that Earle's

---

<sup>252</sup> See J. W. Ashton, 'Conventional Material in Munday's *John a Kent and John a Cumber*', *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, 49 (1934), 752–61 (752).

<sup>253</sup> Duffin, *Shakespeare's Songbook*, 479–80.

<sup>254</sup> Duffin, *Shakespeare's Songbook*, 479–80.

book contains several other theatrical songs lends support to Duffin's conjecture,<sup>255</sup> but on the other, the tune in question has no association with fairies in either MS. As regards the tune's origin, its inclusion in those MSS provides, if anything, only a *terminus ante quem* of 1617; a controversial and widely discredited article, which challenged the traditional view that the scribe of *FVB* was Francis Tregian the Younger, nonetheless incontrovertibly revealed Tregian's death date to have been 1617, and not 1619 as was previously thought.<sup>256</sup> It is therefore impossible to say whether or not 'Robin Goodfellow' was already in circulation when Shakespeare wrote *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.

If, though, the direction 'To a new tune called Dulcina' on an extant broadside ballad dating from 1615 can be taken as indicative, it seems that the tune became popular some twenty years after the first performance of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.<sup>257</sup> Of course, that direction is inconclusive since novelty was a strong selling point where broadsides were concerned, and ballad tunes were often flippantly described as 'admirable', 'pleasant' and 'new'.<sup>258</sup> That said, I have found no trace of the song or the tune that can be dated prior to its inclusion in *FVB*. 'As at noon Dulcina rested' remained a popular song until at least

---

<sup>255</sup> For information on other theatrical material in the MS, see Mary Chan, 'Cynthia's Revels and Music for a Choir School: Christ Church Manuscript Mus 439', *Studies in the Renaissance*, 18 (1971), 134–72, (150, n. 32); John P. Cutts, 'Venus and Adonis in an Early Seventeenth-Century Song-Book', *Notes & Queries*, 10 (1963), 302–3; A. J. Sabol, 'Two Unpublished Stage Songs for the "Aery of Children"', *Renaissance News*, 13 (1960), 222–32.

<sup>256</sup> Ruby Reid Thompson, 'Francis Tregian the Younger as Music Copyist: A Legend and an Alternative View', *Music & Letters*, 82 (2001), 1–31 (15). For rejection of Thompson's hypothesis that *FVB* was assembled by a scriptorium connected to the English court, see David J. Smith, 'A Legend?: Francis Tregian the Younger as Music Copyist', *The Musical Times*, 143 (2002), 7–16; *Networks of Music and Culture in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries: A Collection of Essays in Celebration of Peter Philips's 450th Anniversary*, ed. David J. Smith and Rachelle Taylor (Surrey: Ashgate, 2013), 17; Pamela Willetts, 'Oportet meliora tempora non expectare sed facere. The Arduous Life of Francis Tregian the Younger', *Recusant History*, 28 (2007), 378–96.

<sup>257</sup> *An excelent Ditty, called The Shepheards woing faire Dulcina*. (publication details unknown, 1615; EBBA 36112), date from EEBA.

<sup>258</sup> See Christopher Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 320.

1671, when it was printed without music in *Westminster Drollery*.<sup>259</sup> By 1720 it was sung to a new tune, as evidenced in *Pills to Purge Melancholy*.<sup>260</sup>

In the meantime, the same tune was called for in a ballad attributed to Ben Jonson and entitled *The mad-merry pranks of Robbin Good-fellow*. The song was reprinted throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but since the earliest extant copies date from 1625, according to EBBA,<sup>261</sup> it is impossible to establish a definite connection between that ballad and early performances of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. Several printed broadsides transmit the ballad text with a surprisingly small degree of textual discrepancy. The four versions I have studied yield only twenty-seven variants in twelve stanzas, many of which are trivial (see appendix 4.1). Compare this, for instance, with The Willow Song (appendix 3.2), for which six sources yield sixty-five variants in eight stanzas, including such major changes as omission or disordering of stanzas. I conclude, therefore, that Ben Jonson's ballad had an unusually strong literary tradition alongside its oral circulation, leading to a relatively stable transmission of its text. The tune later came to be known as 'Robin Goodfellow' and was called for in two politically charged ballads of the later seventeenth century, 'A New Song' and 'The Downfall of Dancing'.<sup>262</sup>

It seems to me that the ballad tune is stylistically incompatible with the extant fairy music from Elvetham (see above), *The Maid's Metamorphosis* (discussed below and in 1.3.4 above) and Ben Jonson's masque *Oberon, the Faery Prince* (discussed below). Those musical works, all composed specifically for their respective entertainments, use coloration, proportion signs and word painting to depict particular and diverse aspects of

---

<sup>259</sup> *Westminster-drollery, or, A choice collection of the newest songs & poems both at court and theaters by a person of quality* (London: for H. Brome, 1671; Wing W1462), 59.

<sup>260</sup> *Wit and Mirth or Pills to Purge Melancholy; A Collection of the best Merry Ballads and Songs, Old and New*, 6 vols (London: W. Pearson, 1720), vol. 6, p. 206.

<sup>261</sup> *The mad-merry pranks of Robbin Good-fellow* (London: for H. G., 1625; EBBA 20274).

<sup>262</sup> *A new song* (London: for C. Tebroc, 1682; EBBA 32344, 34830 and 35599); *The Downfall of Dancing* (London: for J. Deacon, 1671–1702; EBBA 21201).



fairy. Despite the metrical shift already discussed, the tune in question is recognizable as a typical ballad tune on account of its length and simplicity, the melodic repetition in its final eight bars being a case in point.

To be sure, the present-day distinction between ‘popular’ and ‘classical’ music did not apply in early modern culture, and Shakespeare did not hesitate to use popular songs at poignant moments, *Othello*’s Willow Song being a case in point. It seems unlikely, however, that the fairies of Shakespeare’s play would sing their charm to a popular, generic tune when Bottom is distinguished as a rustic in the same play by his singing of a ballad (‘The ousel cock’, III.i.88–95).<sup>263</sup> Ballads are further associated with the rude mechanicals when Bottom awakes from his enchantment, declaring ‘I will get Peter Quince to write a ballad of this dream: it shall be called ‘Bottom’s Dream, because it has no bottom’ (IV.ii.203–05). Similar musical hierarchization is applied at the end of the play when the mechanicals conclude *Pyramus and Thisbe* with a folk-based Bergamasque (V.i.332), followed immediately by the dignified song and dance of the fairies (371–92).

Equally contentious is David Lindley’s insinuation that ‘You spotted snakes’ might have been sung to the tune ‘Robin Goodfellow’ without instrumental accompaniment.<sup>264</sup> As noted in 1.4 above, it is clear from the selection of musical instruments bequeathed by Augustine Phillips in his will that members of Shakespeare’s company were competent instrumentalists. Though the performers of the adult companies may not have been as musically adept as the boy company players, there is no reason to suppose that an inset musical number such as ‘You spotted snakes’ would have been performed unaccompanied. *F*’s stage direction at the end of Act III, ‘They sleepe all the Act’, moreover, is widely

---

<sup>263</sup> No trace of that ballad has yet been found, yet it is universally accepted to be stylistically representative of the ballad genre. Duffin conjecturally sets it to the popular tune ‘Whoop, do me no harm’ (*Shakespeare’s Songbook*, 477–8).

<sup>264</sup> David Lindley, *Shakespeare and Music* (London and New York: Bloomsbury, 2006), 185.

accepted as a direction for the lovers to sleep onstage while entr'acte music played.<sup>265</sup> If so, then it is all the more likely that the fairy songs were accompanied by instruments.

The same significant stage direction adds weight to the controversial argument that *A Midsummer Night's Dream* was composed for an aristocratic wedding celebration, and therefore first performed indoors rather than at a public theatre where the custom of entr'acte music did not, as a general rule, prevail.<sup>266</sup> That argument is based on the exceptionally high number of child roles in the play, and on what Stanley Wells has termed the 'epithalamic nature of its ending', where three newly married couples receive a fairy blessing.<sup>267</sup> It is supposed that the importance of the occasion allowed for the recruitment of boys enough to play the roles of the attendant fairies Peaseblossom, Cobweb, Moth and Mustardseed. Those fairies are small enough to wear coats made of bat wings (II.ii.4–5) and to make torches from the legs of bumble bees (III.i.131–3). Aside from those four characters, the play requires a minimum of four boys to play Hermia, Helena, Titania and Puck.<sup>268</sup> It is likely, then, that if the four attendant fairies were played by boys, they were drafted in from elsewhere. If they were recruited from the boy companies, a grammar school or a musical establishment, it is likely that they were musically accomplished—a further argument in favour of a non-extant, specially composed score for the play. Those boys would presumably have been smaller in stature than the experienced members of the

---

<sup>265</sup> W. W. Greg, *The Shakespeare First Folio* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), 243; Andrew Gurr, *The Shakespeare Company, 1594–1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 81; *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, ed. Brooks, pp. xxxii–xxxiii.

<sup>266</sup> See Chapter 1, section 1.5. For support of the view that *A Midsummer Night's Dream* was composed for a private wedding party, see Paul N. Siegel, 'A *Midsummer Night's Dream* and the Wedding Guests', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 4 (1953), 139–44 (*passim*.); *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, ed. Brooks, pp. liii–lvii; David Wiles, *Shakespeare's Almanac: 'A Midsummer Night's Dream', Marriage and the Elizabethan Calendar* (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 1993), 156–75. Sceptics of that argument include Stanley Wells and Bate/Rasmussen: *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, ed. Stanley Wells (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1967), 13; R, 368.

<sup>267</sup> Stanley Wells, 'A *Midsummer Night's Dream* Revisited', *Critical Survey*, 3 (1991), 14–29 (14). Wells disputes the wedding performance hypothesis.

<sup>268</sup> Stanley Wells, 'Boys Should be Girls: Shakespeare's Female Roles and the Boy Players', *New Theatre Quarterly*, 25 (2009), 172–7 (176).

Lord Chamberlain's Men who played Oberon and Titania, but the precedent of an adult Fairy Queen attended by children had been set during the entertainments at Woodstock and Norwich, not to mention the 'fayre babies' of St Paul's who starred as the singing fairies of *Endymion*.<sup>269</sup>

It was perhaps a similar group of boys who played the fairies in the masque-like conclusion to *The Merry Wives of Windsor* several years later. In this play, whose fairies are village boys in disguise, it is clear that 'the superstitious idle-headed eld' (IV.iv.32) who believed in spirits and fairies are being ridiculed along with Falstaff. Falstaff, indeed, proves himself to be one of those superstitious fools: 'They are fairies, he that speaks to them shall die. / I'll wink and couch: no man their works must eye' (V.v.36–7). Belief in the Fairy Queen is similarly ridiculed and exploited in *The Alchemist* (Ben Jonson, c. 1610) and *The Valiant Welshman* (attrib. Robert Armin, 1615). Both plays parody a topical chancery case of 1609–10 whereby Thomas Rogers of Hinton was promised marriage to the Fairy Queen in return for gold.<sup>270</sup>

In a scene which draws heavily on *Endymion*, Shakespeare's Windsorian boys are ushered into position by the adults ('Trib, trib, fairies. Come, and remember your parts', V.iv.1), then, singing and dancing, surround Falstaff and pinch him. It is also possible, but not certain, that Shakespeare had seen or read *The Maid's Metamorphosis* (1600) with its singing fairies before writing *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (see below, and 1.3 above). The text of Shakespeare's song, 'Fie on sinful fantasy' as printed in *F* is absent from *The Merry Wives of Windsor* Q1 (1602) and Q2 (1619). A further example of a fairy pinching song occurs with music in Thomas Ravenscroft's *Briefe Discourse*, entitled 'The Fayries

<sup>269</sup> Lyly, *Endimion, the man in the moone*, sig. Hr.

<sup>270</sup> See Ben Jonson, ed. C. H. Herford and P. E. Simpson, 11 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1925–52), vol. 10, pp. 47–8; C. J. Sisson, 'A Topical Reference in *The Alchemist*' in *Joseph Quincy Adams Memorial Studies*, ed. Giles E. Dawson and Edward E. Willoughby (Washington, DC: Folger Shakespeare Library, 1948), 739–41; Frances Timbers, *Magic and Masculinity: Ritual Magic and Gender in the Early Modern Era* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 2014), 139.

Daunce'.<sup>271</sup> Peter Seng concludes that Ravenscroft's song, Shakespeare's and the song text printed in Blount's edition of *Endymion* have similar metres except for the final two lines of Shakespeare's, and therefore may have had a common melody.<sup>272</sup> I disagree on the basis that all three texts exhibit variable line lengths and stress patterns which render them musically incompatible: while Shakespeare's song consists of eight lines of trochaic tetrameter catalectic followed by two lines of dactylic tetrameter catalectic, the other two songs interrupt the trochaic tetrameter with lines of alternative length—'Downe and sleepe, / Wake and weepe' in Ravenscroft, and 'Let him not lacke' in Blount—and neither makes the switch to dactylic at the end.<sup>273</sup>

The Ravenscroft setting exhibits a similar use of metrical variation to the Oriana madrigals and John Bennet's four part, Italianate 'Urchin's Dance' and 'Elves' Dance' thought to have been written for *The Maid's Metamorphosis* (see 1.3.3 above). The metre of Ravenscroft's setting notably shifts when the pinching begins at the line 'pinch him blacke and pinch him blew'. In that respect, Duffin's conjectural setting of both Shakespeare's and Lyly/Blount's pinching songs to the popular tune 'Packington's Pound' is musically incompatible with the extant fairy songs by Ravenscroft and Bennet, being unisonous where the others are part songs, confined to a triple metre throughout where the others shift mischievously between duple and triple, and having none of Bennet's playful *fuga*.<sup>274</sup>

William Percy's *Faery Pastoral or Forest of Elves* (1603) appears to be modelled on the Elizabethan allegory of the monarch as ruler of the fairy kingdom. While Oberon and his

---

<sup>271</sup> Ravenscroft, *A briefe discourse of the true (but neglected) vse of charact'ring the degrees, by their perfection, imperfection, and diminution in measurable musicke* (London: Edward Allde, 1614; STC 20756), song number 6.

<sup>272</sup> Seng, *The Vocal Songs in the Plays of Shakespeare*, 168–71.

<sup>273</sup> John Lyly, *Sixe court comedies* (London: Edward Blount, 1632; STC 17088), sig. E4r.

<sup>274</sup> Duffin, *Shakespeare's Songbook*, 143–4; Duffin, *Some Other Note*, 675.

queen (here named Chloris) are present in the play, Percy apparently prefigures the upcoming coronation of James I by building towards the coronation of Orion as ruler of the kingdom of Elvida in fairyland, the centrepiece of which is the song ‘With Sollume Oath and humble vowe’ (V.v.35–52).<sup>275</sup> Elements of Lyly’s *Maid’s Metamorphosis* and Shakespeare’s *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* have been detected in Percy’s play, illustrating the influence those playwrights exerted on the dramatic representation of fairies.<sup>276</sup> In a case of hierarchization, two of Percy’s seven songs are sung by characters of low stature and seem to call for popular melodies:<sup>277</sup> the fairy huntsman Picus is disguised as the harlot Sappho when he sings ‘Wee haue found a witch down the leye’, seemingly to the tune ‘Lusty Gallants’ judging by a comment in the preceding monologue (IV.iii.35–54), while ‘Right pepper is blacke’, which surely calls for the tune ‘Pepper is black’, is sung by Christophel the game keeper (IV.x.88–111).

In *The Honest Lawyer*, anonymously published in 1616, several characters impersonate fairies to exact vengeance on a usurer. Though there is no direction for music, the supposed fairies enter dancing and pinching. Like the fairies of *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, they speak in rhymed couplets, presumably to enhance the illusion.<sup>278</sup> An anonymous manuscript play entitled *The Fary Knight Or Oberon the Second* (US-Ws V.a.128) and dating from c. 1622–24<sup>279</sup> follows the same premise and contains two lengthy fairy songs as well as a pinching scene. The fairies of *The Fary Knight*, like their counterparts in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* and *The Honest Lawyer*, are mortals in disguise, and the joke is on

---

<sup>275</sup> Robert Denzell Fenn, ‘William Percy’s *Faery Pastorall*: An Old Spelling Edition’ (Ph. D. diss., University of British Columbia, 1997), 26, 34, 215–16. Line references hereafter refer to Fenn’s transcription.

<sup>276</sup> Fenn, ‘William Percy’s *Faery Pastorall*: An Old Spelling Edition’, 37–40.

<sup>277</sup> See Duffin, *Some Other Note: The Lost Songs of English Renaissance Comedy*, 583–94.

<sup>278</sup> S. S., *The Honest Lawyer* (London: George Purslowe, 1616; STC 21519a), sigs G2v–G3r.

<sup>279</sup> Date from *The Fary Knight or Oberon the Second*, ed. Fredson Thayer Bowers (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1942), p. xxxiii.

those who are gullible enough to believe in fairies and fairyland. The songs, ‘Come ye faries come a way’ (f. 21) and ‘Stand Phœbus stand in the enamld sky’ (f. 22) have no concordances to my knowledge. Both have two singers who take turns to sing, recalling the structure of ‘Ye spotted snakes’ in *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, and both appear to be strophic by their unchanging metres. Fairy pinching is chosen as the most fitting punishment for *The Fary Knight*’s greedy usurer Covet, more dreadful even than Loserello’s suggestion to ‘Cut a hole in one leg and put the other through it and make him dance Caranto through fary [sic] land’ (f. 35v). The pinching itself is a non-musical event in this instance, but the supposed elves who execute it repeat the song-like phrase ‘Ti ti ta ti’ each time. It has been proposed that the play was written by Thomas Randolph (bap. 1605, d. 1635) for a performance by the boys of Westminster School, though corroborating evidence for that hypothesis has yet to emerge.<sup>280</sup>

#### 4.1.4 Ben Jonson’s ‘Oberon, The Faery Prince: A Masque of Prince Henry’

Jonson’s masque, performed at Whitehall Palace in January 1611, illustrates how the boundaries between performers and their royal audience, so palpable in the Elizabethan royal entertainments, blurred with the rise of the Stuart masque. Prince Henry was not merely figured as Oberon, but actually performed the title role himself, according to one onlooker.<sup>281</sup> Extant musical numbers from the masque include songs by Alfonso Ferrabosco II (c. 1575–1628) and dances by Robert Johnson.<sup>282</sup> A typical masque began

<sup>280</sup> *The Fary Knight*, ed. Bowers, p. xxxiii.

<sup>281</sup> Anonymous eyewitness account, translated from the original Spanish in *Historical Manuscripts Commission: Report on the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Downshire*, 5 vols, ed. A. B. Hinds (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1938), vol. 3, pp. 1–2, and re-printed in Andrew Sabol, *Four Hundred Songs and Dances from the Stuart Masque* (Providence: Brown University Press, 1978), 543.

<sup>282</sup> On the ascription of *Oberon*’s music to Johnson, see John P. Cutts, ‘Jacobean Masque and Stage Music’, *Music & Letters*, 35 (1954), 185–200 (191); John P. Cutts, ‘Robert Johnson and the Court Masque’, *Music & Letters*, 41 (1960), 111–26; John P. Cutts, ‘Robert Johnson: King’s Musician in His Majesty’s Public Entertainment’, *Music & Letters*, 36 (1955), 110–25 (113–14).

with the antimasque, which constituted a grotesque obverse to the dignified masque. In Jonson's *Masque of Queens*, for example, the antimasquers are witches and were likely danced by experienced if not professional performers, while the characters of the masque proper were played by ladies and gentlemen of the court.<sup>283</sup>

In *Oberon*, while Oberon and his train of fairies are the principal characters of the masque proper, the antimasquers are satyrs—themselves supernatural beings long associated with fairies (see my section on *The Triumphs of Oriana* above). Though Jonson's Oberon shares many characteristics with Shakespeare's,<sup>284</sup> Jonson removes the Shakespearean juxtaposition of the fairy and mortal courts, presenting Henry as prince of dignified courtiers (fairies) and unrefined proletarians (satyrs) alike. R. Johnson's music for the satyrs' antimasque dance exhibits many of the defining features of antimasques: namely liberal utilization of sharps whereby cadences in E minor, E major, D major and A major unsettle the general G major; frequently shifting metre; and fermatas that enabled the dancers to strike grotesque poses.<sup>285</sup>

Johnson's more formal Prince's dances are typical of the almain-style terminal dances of masques.<sup>286</sup> A shift from duple to triple time towards the end of the third of the three Prince's dances is representative both of Johnson's personal style and of a wider convention pertaining to courtly dance.<sup>287</sup> Johnson used that same metrical device in all

---

<sup>283</sup> See Sabol, *Four Hundred Songs and Dances*, 12; Cutts, 'Robert Johnson and the Court Masque', 115; Murray Lefkowitz, 'Antimasque' in *Grove Music Online* (2018). Cutts suggests that the antimasquers were usually the actors of The King's Men.

<sup>284</sup> Kevin Pask, *The Fairy Way of Writing: Shakespeare to Tolkein* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 42–4.

<sup>285</sup> Sabol, *Four Hundred Songs and Dances*, 13 (for Sabol's editions of the music for the Satyrs' Masque, see pp. 209–10 and 336–8); Lefkowitz, 'Antimasque'.

<sup>286</sup> See Sabol, *Four Hundred Songs and Dances*, 10. It is generally accepted that Johnson's 'Satyrs' Masque was transferred to Shakespeare's *Winter's Tale* and performed in IV.iv at the line 'Heare a Dance of twelue Satyres' (*F*, *GB-Ob* (online), p. 294); for more information, see Cutts, 'Robert Johnson and the Court Masque', 118

<sup>287</sup> Sabol, *Four Hundred Songs and Dances*, 275–6.

three of his Queens' dances probably written for the *Masque of Queens*;<sup>288</sup> at the change of metre, the dancers would likely have changed from a pavane to a galliard, both popular dances at court. As Morley remarked, that was a common segue: 'After euery pauan we vsually set a galliard (that is, a kind of musicke made out of the other)'.<sup>289</sup> Francis Bacon (1561–1626), furthermore, confirmed that social dances of the seventeenth century regularly changed between the triple metre of the galliard and the duple metre of the measure (a dance form similar to the pavan): 'the Triplas and Changing of Times, have an Agreement with the Changes of Motions; as when Galliard Time and Measure Time are in the Medley of one Dance'.<sup>290</sup>

The music of the Prince's dances, then, are suitably stately for their royal dancers. Johnson's 'Fairy Masque', though, incorporates several changes from duple to triple metre, causing it to be lighthearted, pastoral and altogether less rigidly formal than the dances of the fairy king. In other words, this music is similar in style to the fairy music already discussed in this chapter. The masque contains nine songs, of which two have survived in settings by Alfonso Ferrabosco II, and one by Edmund Nelham (d. 1646). Nelham's catch, 'Buzz, Quoth the Bluefly', though not printed before its inclusion in a late print of John Hilton II's *Catch that Catch Can* (1667),<sup>291</sup> was likely the setting sung by the satyrs in *Oberon's* antimasque. Nelham was a bass singer in the choir of Westminster Abbey who was appointed a priest of the Chapel Royal in 1617. As a known composer of catches, it is possible that he was associated with the 1611 Whitehall performance.<sup>292</sup> Catches had long

---

<sup>288</sup> Sabol, *Four Hundred Songs and Dances*, 16.

<sup>289</sup> Thomas Morley, *A plaine and easy introduction to practicall musicke* (London: Peter Short, 1597; STC 18133), 181.

<sup>290</sup> Francis Bacon, *Sylua syluarum: or A naturall historie In ten centuries* (London: John Haviland and Augustine Mathewes, 1627; STC 1168), 39.

<sup>291</sup> John Hilton, *Catch that catch can* (London: W. Godbid, 1667; Wing H2039), p. 75.

<sup>292</sup> For information on Nelham, see Sabol, *Four Hundred Songs and Dances*, 552 (n. 14); *A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians, 1485–1714*, ed. Andrew Ashbee, David Lasocki, Peter Holman and Fiona Kisby, 2 vols (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), vol. 2, pp. 824–5.



been used by dramatists as a hierarchization device whereby characters are depicted as base or drunk: in *Twelfth Night* II.iii, for instance, the drunkards Sir Toby Belch and Sir Andrew Aguecheek perform the popular catch ‘Hold your peace’,<sup>293</sup> and in *The Tempest* III.ii, the inebriated Stephano, Trinculo and Caliban sing a non-extant catch called ‘Flout ‘em and scout ‘em’. Nelham's catch, then, sung in *Oberon's* antimasque sets those characters apart from their genteel counterparts of the masque proper, who sing Ferrabosco's more refined songs.

Ferrabosco's songs ‘Nay, nay, you must not stay’ and ‘Gentle knights, know some measure’ are performed by members of Oberon's train.<sup>294</sup> The former was likely performed by a boy, the anonymous eyewitness recounting that as the masquers passed into the hall, ‘ten musicians appeared each with a lute and two boys who sang very well some sonnets in praise of the prince and his father’.<sup>295</sup> Indeed, two of the masque's songs for which no music survives, including ‘The Song, by two Faies’, are marked for singers 1 and 2 in the text.<sup>296</sup> That two-voice structure is comparable with the printed text of ‘You spotted snakes’ from *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (II.ii.9–26) and ‘Come ye faries come a way’ in *The Fary Knight*.<sup>297</sup> The harmonic simplicity of ‘Nay, nay, you must not stay’, which cadences only once and in the dominant, perhaps further attests to its performance by young children.

‘Gentle knights, know some measure’ is performed by a Sylvan and covers a larger vocal range than ‘Nay, nay, you must not stay’, so was likely sung by a man rather than a child. It is much more harmonically varied than ‘Nay, nay, you must not stay’, fluctuating

---

<sup>293</sup> See appendix 2.1 for the song's sources.

<sup>294</sup> *The workes of Beniamin Ionson* (London: Will Stansby, 1616; STC 14751) pp. 982–3. For modern musical editions of both songs, see Sabol, *Four Hundred Songs and Dances*, 62–6.

<sup>295</sup> Sabol, *Four Hundred Songs and Dances*, 543.

<sup>296</sup> *The workes of Beniamin Ionson*, p. 982.

<sup>297</sup> *US-WS* v.a.128, f. 21r.

rapidly between the keys of G major, G minor, B flat major and D major. A flourish on the word ‘fairy’ begins in G minor and ends on a bright D major chord (ex. 4.6). Overall, the extant music for *Oberon* reflects the stylistic traditions of both masque and antimasque in preserving contrasts between the grotesque and the stately, but within that framework, R. Johnson and Ferrabosco incorporated those musical devices associated, as we have seen, with fairies.<sup>298</sup>

#### 4.1.5 Magic Songs and Shakespeare’s Ariel

Often designated Shakespeare’s most musical play, *The Tempest* owes much of its music to the magician Prospero and his musical servant Ariel. The play’s musical content is not simply performative, but also atmospheric: ‘This music crept by me upon the waters’ (I.ii.455); ‘Be not afeard. The isle is full of noises, / Sounds and sweet airs that give delight and hurt not’ (III.ii.118–19). Ariel is referred to in the course of the play as both ‘fairy’ and ‘spirit’. Though Ariel shares some characteristics with Puck—enslavement and mischief-making, for instance—he is, in my opinion, less likely sourced from Shakespeare’s own Puck than from several earlier plays in which magicians and their supernatural servants are prominent..

Though the only surviving musical settings of their songs derive from *The Tempest*, magicians attended by musical spirits were a theatrical topos. The Enchanter of the Paul’s boys play *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll*, for instance, is attended by fairies and spirits

---

<sup>298</sup> David Fuller speculated that a wind band accompanied the antimasque music of *Oberon*, in contrast with an orchestra of ‘lutes and violins’ which accompanied the fairies. Other than Jonson’s specification of lutes to accompany the boys’ songs, I can see no evidence to support that theory. See David Fuller, ‘The Jonsonian Masque and its Music’, *Music & Letters*, 54 (1973), 440–52 (445).



*Enter Ferdinand and Ariel, invisible, playing and singing...*

Fer: This music crept by me upon the waters,  
Allaying both their fury and my passion  
With its sweet air; thence I have followed it—  
Or it hath drawn me rather—but 'tis gone.  
No, it begins again.

*(The Tempest, I.ii.437, 454–8)*

Once there, Shrimp sings them to sleep.<sup>302</sup> John a Kent, moreover, uses music to summon four 'Antics' or spirits, who perform four songs. Each song has a different metre, necessitating four discrete musical settings, none of which have survived.<sup>303</sup> Those singing spirits call to mind the 'sweet sprites' (I.ii.443) who sing the burdens of 'Come unto these yellow sands', and 'Full fathom five'. Though not a fairy, the witch's canine familiar in *The Witch of Edmonton* (1621) plays a morris dance on a fiddle he has bewitched, and later enters dancing to lute music in the scene where his ploy to bring about Frank's downfall is accomplished.<sup>304</sup>

As mentioned above, the low-ranking mortals of *The Tempest* sing 'scurvy' tunes (II.ii.34, 46) and catches (III.ii.102–11). Ariel's songs, though, are of a more cultivated nature, and two survive in settings by R. Johnson: 'Full fathom five' and 'Where the bee sucks'.<sup>305</sup> While 'Full Fathom Five' is an enchantment designed to create the illusion that Ferdinand's father has drowned, 'Where the bee sucks' is performed by Ariel as himself. I contend that the contrasting musical styles of Johnson's settings reflect that difference, 'Where the Bee Sucks' being more characteristic of fairy music by its changing meter and lively, playful rhythms. The synoptic analysis to which Johnson's Ariel settings have lately

---

<sup>302</sup> Anthony Munday, *John a Kent and John a Cumber*, ed. J. Payne Collier (London: The Shakespeare Society, 1851), 42–4.

<sup>303</sup> *John a Kent and John a Cumber*, ed. Payne Collier, 31–3.

<sup>304</sup> William Rowley, Thomas Dekker and John Ford, *The Witch of Edmonton* (London: J. Cottrel, 1658; Wing R2097), 37, 48.

<sup>305</sup> See appendix 2.1 for sources of both songs, and chapter 3 and appendix 3.6 for a case study of the circulation of 'Where the bee sucks'.

been subject fails to recognise the music on its own terms.<sup>306</sup> Claims that the songs are ‘marginal’ in the play and that Johnson’s music fails to identify with the text overlook the contextual development of the song lyric within Jacobean play texts;<sup>307</sup> though the songs of *The Tempest* clearly demand individual musical settings, the concept of song lyrics as integral to play texts—inspired by the rising popularity of the court masque—was still in its infancy, as was Johnson’s career as a composer of play songs. John P. Cutts has identified a steady development in Johnson’s style whereby he came to rely less on dance patterns and more on the verbal rhythm of the words, concluding that

new forms and patterns were continually being created and experimented with in the continuous development in the lyric from Shakespeare to Herrick. This growth was helped along by musicians who admirably set the words, and gave them their best expression according to the mood of the time.<sup>308</sup>

‘Full fathom five’ may be the only extant musical example of a charm song, and should be prized as such. Three musical devices stand out as conducive to the casting of enchantments: (a) preternatural cadences in first the sub-dominant and then the dominant at the line ‘But doth suffer a sea change / Into something rich and strange’; (b) an unchanging metre which perhaps evokes incantation; (c) the use of playful *fuga* in the ‘ding dong bell’ refrain, particularly apparent in John Wilson’s three-voice setting, reinforces the mischievous nature of the singers.<sup>309</sup> Shakespeare’s direction for extra voices to sing the burden, though not confined to songs performed by supernatural beings,<sup>310</sup> is a

---

<sup>306</sup> One such example is J. Fox-Good, ‘Other Voices: The Sweet, Dangerous Air(s) of Shakespeare’s *Tempest*’, *Shakespeare Studies*, 24 (1996), 241–74.

<sup>307</sup> Fox-Good, ‘Other Voices’. 254.

<sup>308</sup> Cutts, ‘Robert Johnson: King’s Musician’, 125.

<sup>309</sup> John Wilson, *Cheerfull ayres or ballads first composed for one single voice and since set for three voices* (London: W. Hall, 1659; Wing W2908), Cantus Primus pp. 6–7, Cantus Secundus p. 5, Cantus Bassus p. 5.

<sup>310</sup> See for instance ‘What shall he have that killed the deer?’ in *As You Like It* (IV.ii.8–17).

common feature of *The Tempest*'s magic songs 'Come unto these yellow sands' and 'Full fathom five'.

Ariel's only song performed as himself rather than as a magic spell is 'Where the bee sucks'. The song embodies the concept of miniature fairies explored by Shakespeare in *Romeo and Juliet* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. Ariel explains that he lies in the heads of flowers and flies on a bat's back. When he describes his plans for his newly acquired freedom—'Merrily, merrily shall I live now, / Under the blossom that hangs on the bough'—Johnson's music switches into ternary rhythm, recalling the shifting metres of those fairy songs already discussed. Less harmonically adventurous than the 'rich and strange' charm song 'Full fathom five', 'Where the bee sucks' cadences only in the tonic and dominant. Its studious avoidance of melodic repetition nonetheless marks it out as a composed song as opposed to an orally transmitted ballad tune.

#### 4.2 'Witches'

That witchcraft held such a fascination for the playgoing public of early modern London is borne out by the fact that every one of Shakespeare's plays contains some allusion to it,<sup>311</sup> although, as we shall see, the allusion in *Macbeth* is by no means as explicit as has long been assumed. In contrast to fairies, witches nonetheless posed a real problem for playwrights at the start of the seventeenth century. Between 1560 and 1706, approximately 2000 people were tried and 300 executed for witchcraft in England, while the much less populous Scotland's numbers were higher.<sup>312</sup> Details of witch trials circulated orally and in print, and although some sixteenth-century writers had begun to voice doubts that witches

---

<sup>311</sup> Gary Wills, *Witches and Jesuits: Shakespeare's 'Macbeth'* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 35; Diane Purkiss, *The Witch in History: Early Modern and Twentieth-Century Representations* (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 1996), 189.

<sup>312</sup> Edwards, 'Witchcraft in Tudor England and Scotland', 32.

truly performed magic or communed with the devil,<sup>313</sup> their presence in society as opposed to mythology meant that they lacked the venerable dramatic and musical heritage of fairies.

While fairy ballads of the seventeenth century can sometimes be linked to fairy plays, ballads involving witchcraft were usually related to real life events. ‘The more witches were represented on stage’, Diane Purkiss has observed, ‘the more sceptical the London populace grew.’<sup>314</sup> Seen another way, as regular witchcraft prosecutions declined under the Stuarts,<sup>315</sup> witches sat more and more comfortably in drama. And as English musical tastes evolved, those stage witches began to be invested with their own spectacular elements. As was the case with fairies, decline in belief and increase in scepticism opened the gates for the dramatic representation of witches. The study of music in witchcraft plays, however, remains hampered by the incomplete nature of the repertory. No fewer than eleven plays pertaining to the categories of ‘witch’ or ‘witchcraft’ between the years 1595 and 1634 are known to have been lost.<sup>316</sup> Since it is impossible to know what their musical content might have been, it is difficult to establish a true picture of the musical representation of witches based on the handful of works which have survived. Much of the extant music, furthermore, cannot be securely attributed to specific composers, plays or masques, and affiliations are therefore often speculative.

James I’s own treatise *Dæmonologie* (1597) outlines the witch problem as it stood, in his mind, in the latter years of Elizabeth’s reign:

---

<sup>313</sup> See Eubanks Winkler, *O Let Us Howle Some Heavy Note*, 3–4.

<sup>314</sup> Purkiss, *The Witch in History*, 181.

<sup>315</sup> See C. L’Estrange Ewen, *Witch Hunting and Witch Trials* (London: Keegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1929), 110. According to Ewen’s findings, witchcraft prosecutions peaked in the 1580s.

<sup>316</sup> Roslyn L. Knutson, David McInnis and Matthew Steggle, *Lost Plays Database*([lostplays.folger.edu](http://lostplays.folger.edu)), 2009; accessed 1 November 2018).

The fearefull aboundinge at this time in this countrie, of these detestable slaves of the Devil, the Witches or enchaunters, hath moved me (beloved reader) to dispatch in post, this following treatise of mine....to resolve the doubting....both that such assaults of Satan are most certainly practised, and that the instrument thereof merits most severely to be punished.<sup>317</sup>

It has been argued that the fear of witchcraft voiced by James might account for the general dearth of witches on the stage during the period, since while it was doubtless complimentary to present Elizabeth as the Fairy Queen, any implied association between the monarch and a witch would not have been worth the risk for any dramatist.<sup>318</sup> The relatively new *Lost Plays Database*, however, goes some way towards challenging that theory, since of the eleven lost witchcraft plays already mentioned, five date from the late Elizabethan era.<sup>319</sup> Recent scholarship, moreover, has suggested intentional parallels between Elizabeth and witches in the plays of John Lyly and Robert Greene (bap. 1558, d. 1592).<sup>320</sup>

An exchange in Lyly's *Mother Bombie* sums up the increasing difficulty of categorization in the late Elizabethan era:

Silena:           They saie you are a witch.  
Bombie:        They lie, I am a cunning woman.<sup>321</sup>

*Macbeth*, with its 'witches', 'weird sisters', 'wayward sisters' and 'hags' arguably illustrates an ongoing uncertainty concerning the labelling of witches shortly after James I's succession. In Shakespeare's Elizabethan source for *Macbeth*, Holinshed's *Chronicles*,

---

<sup>317</sup> James VI of Scotland, *Dæmonologie*, sig. 2.

<sup>318</sup> Purkiss, *The Witch in History*, 186.

<sup>319</sup> Knutson et al, *Lost Plays Database*, 'witch'. The five Elizabethan plays revealed in the search are *Saul and David* (1588), *Chinon of England* (1595/6), *Mother Redcap* (c. 1597), *The Witch of Islington* (c. 1597), and *Black Joan* (c. 1598).

<sup>320</sup> On parallels between Elizabeth and Lyly's witches in *Endimion* and *Mother Bombie*, see Purkiss, *The Witch in History*, 188–9 and Philippa Berry, *Of Chastity and Power: Elizabethan Literature and the Unmarried Queen* (London and New York: Routledge, 1989), 126–33. On parallels between Elizabeth and Greene's Melissa in *Orlando Furioso*, see Matthieu Chapman, 'An Argument for Slavery in Robert Greene's Adaptation of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*', *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England*, 29 (2016), 175–90 (187–8).

<sup>321</sup> John Lyly, *Mother Bombie* (London: Thomas Scarlet, 1594; STC 17084), sig. D2r.



the three women are never called witches, but rather ‘weird sisters’, ‘feiries’, ‘nymphs’, ‘goddesses of destiny’ and ‘women in strange apparell’.<sup>322</sup> Crucially, though, a ‘witch’ in Holinshed’s tale delivers the later prophecy which foretells Macbeth’s death.<sup>323</sup> Holinshed’s three sisters are therefore supernatural prophetesses, as distinct from witches. In *Macbeth*, though labelled ‘witches’ in all of *F*’s stage directions, the three women are never referred to as such by other characters: in Acts I and II, Banquo and Macbeth call them ‘weyward sisters’, at III.1.2 Banquo calls them ‘weyard women’, and afterwards they are always ‘weyard sisters’, except in a scene likely to have been penned, at least in part, by Thomas Middleton (see below), where they are addressed by Macbeth as ‘hags’ (IV.i.47.124). It seems likely, then, that *F*’s stage directions, like the Hecate scenes and the witches’ songs, are a product of Middleton’s later influence on the play and an indication of the emerging seventeenth-century enthusiasm for staging witches.

The Porter’s reiteration of the term ‘equivocate’ in *Macbeth* II.iii refers to standard methods of evasion used during the early years of James’s reign both by Jesuits under interrogation over the Gunpowder Plot, and by those accused of witchcraft.<sup>324</sup> Significantly, however, characters in Shakespeare’s other plays, both Elizabethan and Jacobean, make liberal use of the term ‘witch’. It is even used in *Antony and Cleopatra*, thought to have been written around the same time as *Macbeth* (c. 1606).<sup>325</sup> Perhaps, then, Shakespeare’s own equivocation in *Macbeth* regarding the identification of witches, though demonstrably borrowed from Hollinshed, would have resonated with his audience as a lampooning of the methods of evasion used in Jacobean witch trials. The play certainly

---

<sup>322</sup> Raphaell Hollinshead, *The description of Scotland...Wherevpon is inferred the historie of Scotland* (London, 1585), sigs P2r–P4v.

<sup>323</sup> Hollinshead, *The description of Scotland*, sig. P3v.

<sup>324</sup> See James Shapiro, *1606: Shakespeare and the Year of Lear* (London: Faber & Faber, 2015), 182–3, 195.

<sup>325</sup> Shapiro, *1606: Shakespeare and the Year of Lear*, 361.

invites the audience to partake in the ‘interpretative fray’<sup>326</sup> around the question of the witches’ identity and ultimate culpability.

Stage witches usually have a relationship with music, though the nature of that association can be antithetical: while those of *Macbeth* and Middleton’s *The Witch* (c. 1615) use it to attain their ends, the Hags of Ben Jonson’s *Masque of Queens* (1609) are set apart from the masque’s noble characters by their generation of noise as opposed to music, and musicians in Thomas Heywood’s *Late Lancashire Witches* (1634) find themselves unable to play their instruments in the presence of witches.<sup>327</sup> The symbiosis of witches and music seems to have stemmed from the demonological literature. Citing Nicholas Rémy’s *Dæmonalatreiæ* (1595), Ben Jonson said of witches ‘Nor do they want musick, and in strange manner given them by the Devil, if we credit their Confessions in Remig. Dæm.’<sup>328</sup> A pamphlet recounting events at the North Berwick witch trials, furthermore, recounts that James VI, on hearing that a group of witches had danced into a church led by a ‘trump’, summoned the musician before him and demanded to see the dance performed.<sup>329</sup>

The following subsections examine the incantations, songs and dances of stage witches, positing Shakespeare/Middleton’s *Macbeth* and Ben Jonson’s *Masque of Queens* as highly influential in the musical representation of witches. Though the plays are here examined in chronological order according to their dates of inception, it must be acknowledged that the version of *Macbeth* which survives is a re-working of Shakespeare’s original, and likely

---

<sup>326</sup> Purkiss, *The Witch in History*, 211.

<sup>327</sup> Eubanks Winkler, *O Let Us Howle Some Heavy Note*, 26; Sarah F. Williams, *Damnably Practices: Witches, Dangerous Women, and Music in Seventeenth-Century English Broadside Ballads* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2015), 5.

<sup>328</sup> Ben Jonson, *The masque of queenes* (London: N. Okes, 1609; STC 14778), sig. Dv.

<sup>329</sup> James Carmichael, *Newes from Scotland, declaring the damnable life and death of Doctor Fian a notable sorcerer* (London: E. Allde, 1592; STC 10841a), sig. A3r–v.

post-dates and was influenced by Jonson's masque. Attempts to glean Shakespeare's influence on Jonson's witches are therefore speculative.

#### 4.2.1 Pre-Shakespearean Musical Enchantresses

The early modern stage witch seems to have emerged out of a conglomerate of fairies, conjurers, prophetesses and classical sorceresses. At a time when demonologists sought to define witchcraft, the blurred lines which existed between characters in the pool of supernatural beings are preserved in the play texts of Robert Greene and John Lyly. Greene's Medea in his *Alphonsus* (c. 1587–8),<sup>330</sup> for instance, on the one hand retains her traditional identity as a mythological sorceress and priestess of Hecate by making reference to Pluto and the Destinies, and on the other is addressed by Calchas as 'Thou wretched witch'.<sup>331</sup> In a further taxonomical puzzle, she enchants and lulls Amurack to sleep with instrumental music as per the magicians' servants already mentioned.<sup>332</sup> Even the good sorceress Melissa of Ariosto's epic poem *Orlando Furioso* is referred to as 'some old witch' in Greene's stage version.<sup>333</sup> In a similar manner to Medea, Greene's Melissa 'strieth with her wand, and the Satyres enter with musicke', after which she invokes various mythological creatures such as fauns and sylphs to assist her magic.<sup>334</sup>

The musical hybrid fairy/hags of Lyly's *Endimion* have already been discussed, but his 'notable witch',<sup>335</sup> Dipsas, is set apart from those mischievous characters by her lack of any musical association. Lyly's Mother Bombie is a similarly unmusical character, but it

---

<sup>330</sup> Date from *Writing Robert Greene: Essays on England's First Notorious Professional Writer*, ed. Kirk Melnikoff and Edward Gieskes (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 7.

<sup>331</sup> Robert Greene, *The comicall historie of Alphonsus, King of Aragon* (London: Thomas Creede, 1599; STC 12233), sig. Ev.

<sup>332</sup> Greene, *The comicall historie of Alphonsus, King of Aragon*, sigs Er–E2r.

<sup>333</sup> Robert Greene, *The historie of Orlando Furioso, one of the twelue pieres of France* (London: John Danter, 1594; STC 12265), sig. Gr.

<sup>334</sup> Greene, *The historie of Orlando Furioso*, sig. Gr.

<sup>335</sup> Lyly, *Endimion*, sig. Ir.

could be argued that her lilting, rhyming prose when interpreting dreams foreshadowed the distinctive speech patterns of *Macbeth's* weird sisters:

...they that in the morning sleep dream of eating, are in danger of sicknesse, or of beating, or shall heare of a wedding fresh a beating.

Thy spoone is not stolne but mislaide, thou art an ill huswife though a good maid, looke for thy spoon where thou hadst like to be no maide.<sup>336</sup>

#### 4.2.2 *Macbeth*

Though characters in some of Shakespeare's earlier plays are presented as witches (Joan la Pucelle and Margaret Jordan, for instance, in *Henry VI* Parts 1 and 2), the characteristic chanting of *Macbeth's* weird sisters arguably paved the way for a new, musical breed of stage witch. The peculiar sound world which they occupy outside of their musical scenes through the rhythmic patterns of their chant-like speech sets them apart from and yet infects the speech of the play's human characters.

*Macbeth's* exceptionally short opening scene (thirteen lines) is dominated by the eerie, oscillating speech rhythm of the weird sisters, which has been likened to a macabre nursery rhyme:<sup>337</sup>

First Witch:	When shall we three meet again? In thunder, lightning, or in rain?
Second Witch:	When the hurly-burly's done, When the battle's lost, and won.
Third Witch:	That will be ere the set of sun.
First Witch:	Where the place?
Second Witch:	Upon the heath.
Third Witch:	There to meet with Macbeth.
First Witch:	I come, Grey Malkin.
Second Witch:	Paddock calls.
Third Witch:	Anon.
All:	Fair is foul, and foul is fair,

<sup>336</sup> Lyly, *Mother Bombie*, sigs E6v–Fr.

<sup>337</sup> David L. Krantz, 'The Sounds of Supernatural Soliciting in *Macbeth*', *Studies in Philology*, 100 (2003), 346–83 (351).



the murders of Banquo's son and Macduff's children—the macabre nursery rhyme style becomes a leitmotif:

All: The weyard sisters, hand in hand,  
Posters of the sea and land,  
Thus do go about, about,  
Thrice to thine and thrice to mine  
And thrice again to make up nine.  
Peace, the charm's wound up.<sup>339</sup>  
(I.iii.33–8)

Though Lady Macbeth never meets the witches, she wishes to invoke them from the moment she hears about them ('Come you spirits / That tend on mortal thoughts' (I.v.38–9)), and their nursery rhyme style somehow permeates her somnambulant ravings: 'The Thane of Fife had a wife: where is she now?' (V.1.31).<sup>340</sup>

It must be objected, however, that Krantz's equation of the witches' charms with nursery rhymes is anachronistic. The earliest collection of English nursery rhymes was printed in the mid-eighteenth century; indications, therefore, of their earlier existence and circulation are confined to fragmented quotations in seventeenth-century plays. While certain Shakespearean passages are thought to reference such extant nursery rhymes as 'Little boy blue' (*King Lear* Q1) and 'Sing a song of sixpence' (*Twelfth Night* II.iii.21), there is no substantial evidence to support claims that Shakespeare knew those, or any other nursery rhymes.<sup>341</sup> Though the 'Book of Riddles' mentioned in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (I.i.143) may be the same children's miscellany of which a 1617 reprint is extant, the rhymes and riddles contained therein do not favour tetrameter, or any particular meter.<sup>342</sup>

---

<sup>339</sup> Though the witches' metre in I.iii is specific neither to them nor to nursery rhymes, in *Macbeth* the theme of dead children lends those incantations their macabre nursery-rhyme quality.

<sup>340</sup> Krantz, 'The Sounds of Supernatural Soliciting', 361.

<sup>341</sup> *M. William Shakspeare: his true chronicle historie of the life and death of King Lear and his three daughters* (London: Nicholas Okes, 1608; STC 22292), sig. G4r; *The Oxford Dictionary of Nursery Rhymes*, ed. Iona and Peter Opie (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), 7–8.

<sup>342</sup> *The booke o merrie riddles Together with proper questions, and witty prouerbs, to make pleasant pastime. No lesse vsefull then behooeufull, for any young man or childe, to knowe whether he be quick-witted or no* (London: for Roger Jackson, 1617; STC 3322.5).

Although *King Lear*'s Edgar (in his disguise as Tom o' Bedlam) seems, like the witches and Lady Macbeth, to speak in childish rhyme which could be construed as nursery rhyme fragments—'Pillicock sat on Pillicock hill' (III.iv.68), for instance, or 'fie, foh and fum, / I smell the blood of a British man' (III.vi.161–2)—the dearth of evidence for the structure of early modern nursery rhymes casts doubt on Krantz's metaphor.

It is often suggested that the three sisters represent the three mythological Fates or *Parcae* who control mortal destinies.<sup>343</sup> Indeed, that distinction is suggested in Hollinshed, and triple repetition is certainly a characteristic of their language in *Macbeth*:

First Witch:	All hail, Macbeth: hail to thee, Thane of Glamis!
Second Witch:	All hail, Macbeth: hail to thee, Thane of Cawdor!
Third Witch:	All hail, Macbeth, that shalt be king hereafter!

(I.iii.50–52)

Lady Macbeth echoes the language of that prophesy: 'Glamis thou art, and Cawdor, and shalt be / What thou art promised' (I.v.10–11), and 'Great Glamis, worthy Cawdor, / Greater than both by the all-hail hereafter!' (I.v.53–4). Triple repetition also creeps into the Macbeths' language, as demonstrated in Lady Macbeth's 'To bed, to bed, to bed' (V.i.50), and Macbeth's 'Tomorrow, and tomorrow, and tomorrow' (V.v.19). The repetition becomes a kind of ritual in which the damned participate. Shakespeare had previously employed a similar device in both *Othello* and *Measure for Measure*. In *Othello*, the play's protagonist and antagonist mirror each other's lines, blurring the boundaries between good and evil:

Iago:	Will you think so?
Othello:	Think so, Iago?
Iago:	What, to kiss in private?
Othello:	An unauthorized kiss!
Iago:	Or to be naked with her friend in bed An hour or more, not meaning any harm?
Othello:	Naked in bed, Iago, and not mean harm?

(IV.i.1–7)

---

<sup>343</sup> *The Tragedy of Macbeth*, ed. Brooke, 95; Daniel Albright, *Musicking Shakespeare: A Conflict of Theatres* (New York: University of Rochester Press, 2007), 143.

Likewise in *Measure for Measure*, the virtuous Isabella picks up on the villainous Angelo's word 'strange'—by which he wishes to imply that she is insane—and combines it with her own 'truth' motif to fortify her case against him:

Angelo: And she will speak most bitterly and strange.  
 Isabella: Most strange, but yet most truly will I speak.  
           That Angelo's forsworn, is it not strange?  
           That Angelo's a murderer, is't not strange?  
           That Angelo is an adulterous thief,  
           An hypocrite, a virgin-violator,  
           Is it not strange and strange?  
 Duke: Nay, it is ten times strange.  
 Isabella: It is not truer he is Angelo  
           Than this is all as true as it is strange;  
           Nay, it is ten times true, for truth is truth  
           To th'end of reckoning.

(V.i.39–50)

*Macbeth* ends with a glimmer of hope for the future, but the prosody of the witches remains present: Malcolm is hailed three times as king of Scotland, recalling the witches' earlier hailings of Macbeth and Banquo, and to modern ears there may be the harbinger of a nursery rhyme in the play's final couplet, 'So thanks to all at once and to each one / Whom we invite to see us crowned at Scone',<sup>344</sup>

The scenes involving Hecate and two witch songs were likely inserted into Shakespeare's play by Thomas Middleton after Shakespeare had removed himself from London permanently (see 3.2.4 above). In musicking Shakespeare's witches, Middleton was perhaps influenced by John Marston's *Sophonisba* (1606) and Ben Jonson's *Masque of Queens* (to be further discussed below). In *Sophonisba*, the enchantress Erictho enters to 'Infernall Musicke' (IV.i), before summoning spirits whose singing accompanies the spell whereby Erictho disguises herself as Sophonisba. In contrast with the oscillating duple metre of Shakespeare's witches, Middleton's Hecate—being a deity rather than a common

---

<sup>344</sup> See Krantz, 'The Sounds of Supernatural Soliciting', 363–4. The effect is somewhat weakened by the absence of a rhyme between 'one' and 'Scone' (pronounced Scoon) in modern pronunciation. The same is true in I.i.6–8 between 'heath' and 'Macbeth'.



hag—speaks in pure iambic tetrameter with a regular syllable-count. She maintains, nonetheless, the witches' formula of rhyming couplets occasionally interrupted by triplets:

O, well done: I commend your pains,  
 And everyone shall share i'th' gains.  
 And now about the cauldron sing  
 Like elves and fairies in a ring,  
 Enchanting all that you put in.  
*Music and a song: 'Black spirits', etc.*  
 (IV.i.39–43)

The song 'Come away, Hecate' is a dialogue between various witches and Hecate, and the distribution of lines varies greatly from source to source. R. Johnson's musical setting is accordingly disjointed at the start as various characters summon and greet each other. While the lack of a coherent melody serves to establish musical disorder, a consistent tactus conserves the coven's jocund disposition. Some arresting harmonic progressions, furthermore, at 'I will but 'noint, and then I mount' (see ex. 4.7) contribute to the disorder. Johnson set the final four lines of the song in ternary rhythm, a trait, as we have seen, already associated with representations of the supernatural, albeit by no means exclusively so; while it is true that the use of ternary rhythm was a standard compositional device, of Johnson's five extant Shakespeare songs,<sup>345</sup> only 'Where the bee sucks' and 'Come away, Hecate' make use of it, both of which are sung by supernatural beings who are describing their magical activities. 'Come away, Hecate' is a prime example of the rise to popularity of seventeenth-century secular dialogue songs, a form which remained popular in England until the death of Henry Purcell (1695).<sup>346</sup>

---

<sup>345</sup> 'Full fathom five', 'Where the bee sucks', 'Hark, hark the lark', 'Get you hence', 'Come away, Hecate'; see *La musique de scène de la troupe de Shakespeare: The King's Men sous le règne de Jacques I<sup>er</sup>*, ed. John P. Cutts (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1959).

<sup>346</sup> John Whenham, 'Dialogue: Secular: Seventeenth Century', *Grove Music Online* (2001).

The original musical setting of 'Black Spirits and White' has not survived, John Eccles's setting (1694–6) being the earliest extant version.<sup>347</sup> Middleton's source for the song appears to have been Reginald Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1584), whose source in turn was the pamphlet *A true and iust recorde, of the information, examination and confession of all the witches, taken at S. Ofes in the countie of Essex* (1582).<sup>348</sup>

It has been noted that the relevant passage in the *Discoverie* could not be authorial owing to its verse-like nature, and was likely influenced by a now lost ballad:

he spirits and shee spirits, Tittie and Tiffin, Suckin and Pidgin, Liard and Robin, &c.: his white spirits and blacke spirits, graie spirits and red spirits, divell tode and divell lambe, divels cat and divels dam...<sup>349</sup>

Scot's passage certainly suggests that the characters of Middleton's song and play existed in folk culture prior to their appearance on the stage, and could well have been the subjects of songs and ballads. That theory would support Eubanks Winkler's explanation for the dearth of musical notation for 'Black spirits and white': 'the tune for this song may have been widely known, eliminating the need to write it down'.<sup>350</sup> Nicholas Brooke has likened the corresponding passage in the 1582 pamphlet to a child's singing game.<sup>351</sup> His supporting quotation, however, is misleading since he fails to acknowledge that his selection of text is piecemeal. The full quotation is given below, with Brooke's 'singing game' passages marked in bold:

The sayd Ursley Kemp had foure spyrites viz. their names **Tetty a hee like a gray Cat, Iack a hee like a black Cat: Pygin a she, like a black Toad, & Tyffyn a she, like a white Lambe.** The hees were to plague to death, &

---

<sup>347</sup> *Music for 'Macbeth'*, ed. Amanda Eubanks Winkler (Middleton, Wisconsin: A-R Editions, Inc., 2004), p. viii.

<sup>348</sup> *The Tragedy of Macbeth*, ed. Brooke, 229–30; Pierre Kapitaniak, 'Reginald Scot and the Circles of Power: Witchcraft, Anti-Catholicism and Faction Politics' in *Supernatural and Secular Power in Early Modern England*, ed. Marcus Harms and Victoria Bladen (2nd edn, London and New York: Routledge, 2016), 41–66 (49).

<sup>349</sup> *The Discovery of Witchcraft by Reginald Scot*, ed. Brinsley Nicholson (London: Elliot Stock, 1886), 455, 545.

<sup>350</sup> *Music for 'Macbeth'* ed. Eubanks Winkler, p. viii.

<sup>351</sup> *The Tragedy of Macbeth*, ed. Brooke, 229–30.

the shees to punish with bodily harme, & to destroy [?] Tyffyn Ursleys white spirit did tell her alwayes (when she asked) what the other witches had done: And by her the most part were appelled, which spirit telled her alwayes true. As is well approued by the other Witches confession.

The sayd Ales Newman had the said Ursley Kemps spirites to vse at her pleasure.

Elyzabeth Bennet had two spirits, viz. their names **Suckyn, a hee like a blacke Doge And Lyard red like a lion or hare.**

Ales Hunt had two spirits lyke Coltes, the one blacke, the other white.

11· Margery Sammon had **two spirits like Toads, their names Tom and Robyn.**

Cyssy Celles had two spirits by seuerall names viz. Sotheans Herculus, Iack of Mercury.

Ales Manfield and Margaret Greuell had in common by agreement **iiii spirits, viz. their names Robin, Iack, will, Puppet [?] wherof two were hees, and two shees, lyke vnto black Cats.**<sup>352</sup>

Examined in this context, Brooke's case collapses since the passage reads as prose rather than verse.

The traditional view is that Hecate and her songs detract from *Macbeth*'s sinister undercurrent, and consequently the two scenes in question have been labelled 'intrusive', and 'pitifully tinny'.<sup>353</sup> Some argue that, on the contrary, the witches are all the more powerful for their use of music, particularly their dance at IV.i:<sup>354</sup>

Hecate: I'll charm the air to give a sound,  
While you perform your antic round:  
That this great King may kindly say,  
Our duties did his welcome pay.  
*Music. The Witches dance and vanish.*  
(IV.i.138–41)

The vocal ranges of the singers playing the roles of the witches would surely have had an impact on the reception of the songs. If they were played by boys or by men singing in falsetto, the scenes might have had a comic effect. Conversely, if the songs were sung in

<sup>352</sup> W.W., *A true and iust recorde, of the information, examination and confession of all the witches, taken at S. Ofes in the countie of Essex* (London: Thomas Dawson, 1582; STC 24922), inserted sheet at the end of the pamphlet.

<sup>353</sup> J. M. Nosworthy, 'The Hecate Scenes in *Macbeth*', *The Review of English Studies*, 24 (1948), 138–9 (138); Roger E. Moore, 'The Music to *Macbeth*', *Musical Quarterly*, 47 (1961), 22–40 (22).

<sup>354</sup> Eubanks Winkler, *O Let Us Howle Some Heavy Note*, 34.

the baritone range, they would have catered to the common perception of witches as post-menopausal women, or even men if Banquo's comment is to be taken seriously: 'You should be women / And yet your beards do forbid me to interpret / That you are so' (I.iii.46–8).<sup>355</sup> Richard Leveridge, a baritone whose 1702 score for William Davenant's *Macbeth* was performed into the nineteenth century, is known to have sung the role of Hecate in Restoration productions.<sup>356</sup> It might be argued, furthermore, that the range of R. Johnson's 'Come away Hecate' (B<sup>b</sup>3–F5) is better suited—an octave lower, of course—to a baritone than a boy treble, and is too consistently high for the average falsettist (see appendix 2.1 for the song's sources).

The 'antic round' called for by Hecate echoes two instances in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* when the fairies apparently dance rounds at Titania's request: 'If you will patiently dance in our round / And see our moonlight revels, go with us' (II.i.142–3); 'Come, now a roundel and a fairy song' (II.ii.1). John P. Cutts has postulated the use of a dance from Ben Jonson's *Masque of Queens* at this point in *Macbeth*. The music in question occurs in several early sources and has been attributed by Cutts to R. Johnson; if Cutts is correct, then a detailed description in the *Masque of Queens* paints a vivid picture of the spectacle:<sup>357</sup>

At which, with a strange & sodayne Musique they fell into a *Magical Daunce*, full of præposterous change, and gesticulation,... dauncing back to back, and hip to hip, their hands ioin'd, and making their circles backward, to the left hand, with strange *phantastique* motions of their heads, and bodyes.<sup>358</sup>

---

<sup>355</sup> Eubanks Winkler, *O Let Us Howle Some Heavy Note*, 21.

<sup>356</sup> Albright, *Musicking Shakespeare*, 143–4.

<sup>357</sup> Cutts, 'Robert Johnson and the Court Masque', 114. For a full list of sources for the dance, see Julia Craig McFeely, 'English Lute Manuscripts and Scribes 1530–1630' (D. Phil. diss., University of Oxford, 1993), Appendix 1.

<sup>358</sup> Jonson, *The masque of queenes*, sigs Dv–D2r.

Witch dances, it seems, being the antimasque to the regular round dance, were performed in an anti clockwise direction; if round dances were in harmony with the music of the spheres, witch dances were their antithesis. If the musical content of *The Witch* and *Macbeth* can be interpreted as a response to Jonson's masque, the growing trend for singing and dancing witches need not be viewed merely as 'Middleton's reliance on ditty to flavour a scene',<sup>359</sup> but rather as a signifier of the increasing importance of spectacle in Jacobean and Caroline drama, a phenomenon to which supernatural beings lent themselves superbly.

#### 4.2.3 Ben Jonson's 'Masque of Queens'

It was in his preface to the *Masque of Queens* that Jonson formalized the concept of antimasque:

...her Maiestie (best knowing, that a principall part of life, in these Spectacles, lay in their variety) had co[m]manded me to think on some Dance or shew, that might præcede hers, & haue the place of a foile or false Masque...I..therefore now, deuis'd that twelue Women, in the habit of Hags, or Witches, sustaining the persons of Ignorance, Suspition, Credulity. &c. the opposits to good Fame, should fill that part; not as a Masque, but a Spectacle of strangeness, producing multiplicitie of gesture...<sup>360</sup>

With a direction which recalls the entrance of Erictho in *Sophonisba* (1606), Jonson's witches enter to 'a kind of hollow and infernall Musick', shaking rattles and other percussion instruments to create 'a confused noise'.<sup>361</sup> Two witch dances commonly attributed to R. Johnson survive and are usually linked to the *Masque of Queens*.<sup>362</sup> I disagree with Cutts's proposal that Jonson's witches accompanied their first dance

<sup>359</sup> Tiffany Stern, 'Middleton's Collaborators in Music and Song' in *The Oxford Handbook of Thomas Middleton*, ed. Gary Taylor and Trish Thomas Henley (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 64–80 (75).

<sup>360</sup> Jonson, *The masque of queenes*, sig. A4r.

<sup>361</sup> Jonson, *The masque of queenes*, sig. A4v.

<sup>362</sup> For details of the manuscript sources and a modern edition of each, see Sabol, *Four Hundred Songs and Dances*, 186–8, 332–5, 568 (nn. 76–7), 599 (nn. 246–8). On the attribution to Johnson, see Cutts, 'Robert Johnson and the Court Masque', 112–16;

themselves on their percussion instruments, meaning that only one of the extant witch dances belongs to Jonson's masque, and the other to *Macbeth*.<sup>363</sup> In my opinion, Jonson's description suggests instrumental music at the entrance of the witches in addition to the 'confused noise' of their rattles. Both witch dances are characterized by held notes, some with fermatas; though it is impossible to say how musicians and actors might have performed those passages, they would have been appropriate moments for the gestures recommended in Jonson's preface.<sup>364</sup> Both also pass into what feels like modern compound duple time towards the end, though notated as 6<sub>1</sub> in one source and 3<sub>1</sub> in another.<sup>365</sup> 6<sub>1</sub> is an unusual time signature amongst Johnson's own extant music, and therefore perhaps specific to the portrayal of witches.

Ben Jonson's witches, like Shakespeare's, chant in rhymed couplets, which lends their scene a similarly musical quality. Importantly, though, the masque proper also proceeds in rhymed couplets, a fact which is sometimes overlooked by scholars. Rhymed couplets were, in fact, a standard and fashionable poetic device used in a wide variety of dramatic situations, but also closely associated with witches.<sup>366</sup> Though much of Shakespeare's and Jonson's language for their witches' incantations is influenced by common sources, a particularly striking resemblance between the two works is apparent when the witches recount their recent activities:

*Macbeth* I.ii.1–7

First witch: Where hast thou been, sister?  
Second witch: Killing swine.

*Masque of Queens*, Hags

1. I have been, all Day, looking after  
A Raven, feeding upon a quarter;

<sup>363</sup> See Cutts, 'Robert Johnson and the Court Masque', 114–16, and 'Jacobean Masque and Stage Music', 191–3.

<sup>364</sup> Sabol suggests that this was likely the case (*Four Hundred Songs and Dances*, 13).

<sup>365</sup> Sabol, *Four Hundred Songs and Dances*,. 187–8 and 335.

<sup>366</sup> See Purkiss, *The Witch in History*, 210; 'rhyming couplets with very short lines were one of the hallmarks of the representation of witches on the Jacobean stage...the octosyllabic couplet became a simplistic convention which divides evil from good'.

Third witch: Sister, where thou?	And, soon, as she turn'd her Beak to the South,
First witch: A sailor's wife had chestnuts in her lap.	I snatch'd this Morsel out of her Mouth
And munched, and munched, and munched.	2. I have been gathering wolves Hairs,
Give me', quoth I.	The mad Dogs foam, and the Adders Ears;
Aroint thee, witch!' the rump-fed runnion cries...	The spurgings of a dead-man's Eyes,
	And all the since the Evening Star did rise....

Though Jonson only acknowledges much earlier sources in his marginal glosses, it is possible that he was influenced by Shakespeare's play. Middleton's debt to the court masque has long been acknowledged,<sup>367</sup> and the premise of his song 'Come away, Hecate' was surely influenced by Jonson's hags. Jonson's line 'And the Charm we use to say; / That she quickly anoint, and come away', for instance, embodies both the first line of Middleton's song, and Hecate's line 'I will but 'noint, and then I mount'. It also perhaps recalls Dipsas's line in *Endimion*, 'I will turne thy haire to Adders, and all thy teeth in thy heade to tongues, come away, come away'.<sup>368</sup> Middleton's lines which recount the witches' flight, furthermore, are redolent of Jonson's 1st Charm:

Masque of Queens, 1. Charm	Come away, Hecate
From the Lakes, and from the Fens,	Over woods, high rocks and mountains,
From the Rocks and from the Dens,	Over seas, our mistress' fountains,
From the Woods, and from the Caves,	Over steeples, towers and turrets,
From the Church-yards, from the Graves,	We fly by night 'mongst troops of spirits.
From the Dungeon, from the Tree	
That they die on, here are we.	

<sup>367</sup> See Caroline Baird, 'From Court to Playhouse and Back: Middleton's Appropriation of the Masque', *Early Theatre*, 18 (2015), 57–85 (58); Gary Taylor and Andrew Sabol, 'Middleton, Music and Dance' in *Thomas Middleton and Early Modern Textual Culture*, ed. Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 119–81 (130).

<sup>368</sup> John Lyly, *Endimion*, sig. D3v.

Jonson's Dame, like Middleton's Hecate, furthermore, speaks in rhymed iambic pentameter in contrast with the Hags' tetrameter. The influence of Jonson's masque on Middleton's *The Witch* and his *Macbeth* material, is further evidence of the penchant for musical witches which was gripping London's audiences.

Three dances for 'The Queen's Masque' which are transmitted in *GB-Lbl* add. MS 10444 (ff. 10v–13r) and may have been composed by R. Johnson for the masque proper employ the standard alternation between duple and triple metre already discussed in 4.1 above in relation to the choreography of terminal dances.<sup>369</sup> After the first two dances, Alfonso Ferrabosco II's song, 'If all the ages of the earth' was performed by 'that most excellent Tenor voice, and exact Singer (her Majesties Servant, Master Jo. Allin)'.<sup>370</sup> Eubanks Winkler has observed that Jonson reserved singing for the noble masquers,<sup>371</sup> and it certainly seems that with his description of the singer's capabilities he was at pains to point out the contrast between the disordered noise of witches and the civilized music of queens. The song, which remains in a stately binary metre throughout and is harmonically unsurprising, is in keeping with the music of the terminal dances and therefore represents order and formality, a reversal of the antimasque.

#### 4.2.4 Witches in later Jacobean stage plays

In writing their *Late Lancashire Witches*, Thomas Heywood and Richard Brome (c. 1590–1652) were clearly influenced by *Macbeth* and *The Witch*. In their first scene (II.i), the four

---

<sup>369</sup> While Sabol believes that those dances were 'probably' written by Johnson for the *Masque of Queens*, Cutts is of the opinion that there were too many Queens' Masques to risk conjecture (Sabol, *Four Hundred Songs and Dances*, 564 (nn. 52–4); Cutts, 'Jacobean Masque and Stage Music', 190).

<sup>370</sup> Jonson, *The masque of queenes*, sig. Fr; the song's title there is 'When all the ages of the earth'. The music is reprinted in Sabol, *Four Hundred Songs and Dances*, 60–61.

<sup>371</sup> Eubanks Winkler, *O Let Us Howle Some Heavy Note*, 26.



witches speak in the same trochaic tetrameter as *Macbeth*'s weird sisters, using similar language:

Meg: Now upon the Churles ground  
On which we're met, lets dance a round <sup>372</sup>

Indeed, before the witches are seen, the mortals mention 'the Scottish wayward sisters', a clear reference to *Macbeth*, or perhaps Hollinshed. As in the revised *Macbeth*, Heywood and Brome's witches dance and sing: it is clear from Meg's speech above that they dance at their first meeting in Act II, and in Act III they perform the song 'Come Mawsey, come Puckling', the lyrics of which are printed at the end of the playbook.<sup>373</sup> Both verses of the song end with the lines 'Then suck our blouds freely, and with it be jolly, / While merrily we sing, hey Trolly Lolly'. 'Hey trolly lolly lo' seems to have been a common refrain from at least the sixteenth century, though the text of Heywood and Brome's setting does not match any of the three musical settings transmitted in the so-called 'Henry VIII Manuscript'.<sup>374</sup> It is therefore impossible to say whether the song was sung to a popular tune or a specially composed setting. As in some of the other supernatural plays discussed in section 4.1, the mortals of *The Late Lancashire Witches* apparently sing a popular ballad: owing to its 'O Langtidowne dilly' refrain, the song 'There was a deft Lad and Lasse fell in love' must surely have been sung to the tune *Sir Eglamore*, which has the same refrain. The tune and words for *Sir Eglamore* were printed by John Playford in 1686.<sup>375</sup> Ex. 4.8 illustrates that Heywood and Brome's words fit well to the tune, though their repetitive refrain makes those musical phrases more dense than Playford's version.

---

<sup>372</sup> Thomas Heywood and Richard Broome, *The late Lancashire witches* (London: Thomas Harper, 1634; STC 13373), sig. C4r.

<sup>373</sup> The song occurs on sig. G2v, and the lyrics are printed on sig. L4r.

<sup>374</sup> *GB-Lbl Add. MS 31922*, ff. 43v–44r, 80r, 124v–128r

<sup>375</sup> John Playford, *The second book of the Pleasant musical companion being a new collection of select catches, songs and glees : for two and three voices* (London: for John Playford, 1686; Wing P2499aA), no. 20.

The incantations of the fake witches of *The Fary Knight* (described in the play's character list as 'persons asumed by Craft and his companians to perfect their cheat') seem to embody all of the devices associated with stage witches. Like the early sorceresses, they invoke an assortment of supernatural and mythological creatures, including spirits, fairies, furies, fauns and sylvans. Charms 1 and 2 mostly favour the same meter dubbed trochaic tetrameter catalectic above, and are structured in rhymed couplets:

Charm 2.

Wich	Come ye gobblings that do creepe Throught daries when the maids are aslepe, Bring the entrails of the rat With the mewing of the cat. Ye nimble Fawnes and siluans all Be not absent at our call <sup>376</sup>
------	--

The scene in general, including the use of couplets, is very clearly intended as a reproduction of Jonson's masque. Four more 'hags' join the first witch, recounting their activities in the same way as Jonson's:

Enter the 3 Wich

Wich 1	Wher were you? I charge you tell Why yo[u] did delay my spell?
Wich 3	I heard you charme and I went to call The snaks bread vnder younder wall. I spoake a spel and out they came And here is ther bloud with ^the^ toads braine. <sup>377</sup>

When not chanting, the first 'witch' is in fact the only character in the play who speaks in verse rather than prose:

Wich 1	So so my hags thes rites are wel p[er]formed For all our simples are to serpents turned Rise then and dance a maieck round About me whilst I bury in the ground Our mixed poysons which shall infuse a spirit In to this lad shall make him sone inherit
--------	---

---

<sup>376</sup> *US-WS* V.a. 128, f. 14r.

<sup>377</sup> *US-WS* V.a. 128, f. 16r.

The fary region and cast downe  
Giants whos wait will shake the ground.<sup>378</sup>

Like the *Masque of Queens* and *Macbeth*, the scene incorporates ‘an anticke Dance of wiches’. The provision of music for the dance appears to have been an afterthought, since the following exchange is written as a perpendicular marginal gloss on the previous page, with a direction to insert it before the appearance of the second witch:

[1st Witch]	But first backe to the stygian shades repaire And fech for Craf the maiecke lute left there By Orphious when for his Eridite [he] He was a suppliant to great Hecate
Los: arch fidlar	harke Craft thy preferment is coming to the thou must be to the diuil.
Craf:	peace peace. the diuil brings the lute. <sup>379</sup>

#### 4.3 Conclusion

Fairies and witches, whose cultural heritage was traditionally in poetry, stories, ballads and pamphlets, emerged during the early modern period—albeit at different times—as fashionable stage attractions. And as those theatrical topoi evolved, so did the musical languages associated with them. Fairies and witches occupied distinct sound worlds, both in speech and music, and those sonic distinctions served as elaborate hierarchization devices, separating them from mortals and each other. The fairy music of the late Elizabethan era—E. Johnson’s ‘Eliza is the fairest queen’ and the madrigals of *The Triumphs of Oriana*—favoured playful metrical shifts, light textures and sometimes the key of G minor. Charm songs like Ariel’s ‘Full fathom five’ were harmonically daring and yet metrically consistent, like incantations. Witches occupied a less orderly sound world, judging by the ‘infernall Musick’ of Jonson’s *Masque of Queens* and the anarchic opening to R. Johnson’s dialogue, ‘Come away, Hecate’. The influence of masques such as *Oberon*

---

<sup>378</sup> *US-WS* V.a. 128, f. 16v.

<sup>379</sup> *US-WS* V.a. 128, f. 16r.

and *The Masque of Queens* on the musical representation of the supernatural characters of early-seventeenth-century drama acted as a driving force for musical change, and established those types of character as ideal vehicles for musical experimentation in seventeenth-century England.

## CHAPTER 5

## ‘WHAT CEREMONY ELSE?’: MUSICAL REPRESENTATIONS OF DEATH

Widespread religious change, together with an unprecedented volume of deadly pestilential outbreaks, sparked a crisis of mortality in early modern England which altered the cultural landscape and challenged traditional perceptions of grief, remembrance and the afterlife. The extirpation of the doctrine of Purgatory, and consequently of the need to pray for the dead, led to a fear of nothingness or oblivion which, as we shall see, was much explicated in the literary output of the period. ‘The undiscovered country, from whose bourn / No traveller returns’ (*Hamlet*, III.i.85–6) became a terrifying enigma which playwrights examined from all angles. It is contended below that the church’s circumscription of funeral rites led to a partial secularization of death, particularly where the use of music was concerned. Secular dirges and elegies became commonplace both on and off the stage, and while music may have been somewhat curtailed in the liturgy, I demonstrate that the auditory experience of death remained largely intact for theatre goers.

Art, in all its forms, was a medium for ordering the chaos and addressing social grievances. While it is difficult to glean from amongst conflicting reports the reality of early modern funerary custom, drama presents an ideal model which may or may not have prevailed away from the stage. On-stage burial rituals typically embody musical elements, and certain sounds—the tolling of a bell, for example, or the beat of a muffled drum—were bound up with death. This chapter examines both dramatic and non-dramatic literature on the subjects of knells, dead march, and the use of music in burial services, concluding that music was an important component of the outward trappings of death. In this chapter’s final section, though, I observe that music is notably absent from some of Shakespeare’s death scenes, and conclude that those silences are the more powerful for the expectation of hearing music.

## 5.1. Knells

### 5.1.1 *To Toll Or Not To Toll: Reformation of Ringing Practices*

The ritual of the tolling of the passing bell seems to have survived the Reformation unscathed. Shakespeare and his contemporaries would have heard the bell when a sick person approached his or her end, at burials and on the anniversary of deaths. Signifying more than a formal mark of respect, the bell would have prompted the community to offer both prayers and practical help.<sup>1</sup> As clergyman Thomas Adams (1583–1652) observed in his printed sermon ‘The Sinner’s Passing Bell’, ‘The Bell, like a speedie Messenger, runnes from house to house, from eare to eare, on thy soules errand, and begges the assistance of their Prayers’. According to Adams, the bell also brought comfort to the dying, aiding preparation for the afterlife: ‘It puts into the sicke man a sense of mortalitie’.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, bells rung in memory of the deceased served as a comfort to the living,<sup>3</sup> strengthening their abiding connection with the community of the dead.

It seems to me that the conservative inference that bells aided the passage of a soul to Purgatory and thence to heaven spilled over into the Reformation, with much ecclesiastical energy expended in struggles to banish that belief: the evidence from parochial records and bishops’ visitation articles laid out below reveals regional variation in bell ringing practices and a widespread effort by senior clergy to limit the use of the passing bell at burial services. The church of St Michael, Cornhill in London offered a comprehensive price list for tolling in 1521: available options included knells at dirges and masses, and to accompany corpses to church. The length of tolling could be one hour, six hours or once

---

<sup>1</sup> David Cressy, *Birth, Marriage and Death: Ritual, Religion, and the Life-Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 390–91 and 421.

<sup>2</sup> *The Works of Tho. Adams* (London: 1629; STC 104), 248–9. Robert N. Watson has identified intriguing linguistic parallels between Adams’s sermons and concepts of mortality explored in *Hamlet* (*The Rest Is Silence: Death as Annihilation in the English Renaissance* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994), 86 and 346).

<sup>3</sup> Cressy, *Birth, Marriage and Death*, 424.

every hour during the day or night, the costs being relative to the size and quantity of bells requested.<sup>4</sup> By 1566, however, critics of the death knell had found their voice. In a letter to the influential Swiss reformer Heinrich Bullinger (1504–1575), Percival Wiburn (1533/4–1606) described the shortcomings of the English church in terms of its retention of choirs, organs and bells:

Many festivals are retained there...as formerly; perambulations on rogation-days; singing in parts in the churches, and with organs; the tolling of bells at funerals and on the vigils of saints; and especially on that of the feast of All Saints, when it continues during the whole night.<sup>5</sup>

In the decades following the Elizabethan settlement, it became clear that the church's aim was not to undo the association of death and bells, but rather to quash what were termed 'superstitious' connotations; that is, the notion that bell ringing in any way benefitted the dead. The evidence suggests that the church's position was in favour of tolling for the dying but against tolling for the dead. Preaching in 1577, Richard Barnes, Bishop of Durham, recommended that '[no] anniversaries or months minds be used for the dead, nor any superfluous ringing at burials, nor any superfluous ringings on All Saints day at night or the day following, of old superstitiously called All Souls Day'.<sup>6</sup> In the same year, Archbishop Grindal made it clear that there should be only one short peal before the burial and another afterwards, any more than this being 'superfluous or superstitious'.<sup>7</sup> Tolling for a sick person on the point of death was, however, recommended by critics of

---

<sup>4</sup> *The Accounts of the Churchwardens of the Parish of St. Michael, Cornhill, in the City of London, from 1456 to 1608*, ed. W. H. Overall (London: 1871), 223–4.

<sup>5</sup> Percival Wiburn, 'The State of the Church of England' in *The Zurich Letters*, ed. Rev. Hastings Robinson (Cambridge: The Parker Society, 1855), 271.

<sup>6</sup> *The Injunctions and Other Ecclesiastical Proceedings of Richard Barnes, Bishop of Durham, From 1575 to 1587*, ed. James Raine (Durham: Surtees Society, 1850), 16.

<sup>7</sup> *Articles to be enquired of, within the prouince of Canterburie, in the metropolitall visitation of the Moste Reuerende Father in God, Edmonde, Archbishop of Canterburie ... in the xvij yeare of the reygne of our most gracious souereygne Ladie Elizabeth* (London: Willyam Seres, 1577; STC 10155.3), Article 9.

stubbornly traditional funeral practices in Lancashire in 1590, who noted that the bell was rung too much for the dead and not enough for the dying:

All the day and night after the Buriall they vse to have excessive ringinge for y<sup>e</sup> dead as also at the twelve monthes after... But while the partie liethe sicke they will never require to have the Belle knowled, no, not at the pointe of deathe.<sup>8</sup>

The campaign to regulate ringing at burials continued into the seventeenth century with Bishop William Chaderton voicing the same concern in 1607 when he enquired in his articles for the diocese of Lincoln

Whether doth your Clarke or sexton, when any is passing out of this life, neglect to tole a bell having notice thereof: or the partie being dead; doth he suffer any more ringing than one short peale, and before his burial one, and after the same another?<sup>9</sup>

Bishop Chaderton's concern about neglect of the death knell perhaps reveals a seventeenth-century decline in ringing for the dying—at least in Lincoln—which evidently was not the church's intention; Chaderton's clear purport is that the tolling of the bell for the dying ought not to be neglected, and only at the burial should ringing be restricted. At least six other injunctions of the seventeenth century enquire into the neglect of tolling a bell for the dying; at best this can be interpreted as local variation in ringing practices, at worst it exposes widespread confusion concerning post-Reformation death ritual.<sup>10</sup> It is clear, nonetheless, that the sound of bells retained its cultural importance where death was concerned.

---

<sup>8</sup> *A Description of the State, Civil and Ecclesiastical, of the County of Lancaster about the year 1590* ed. F. R. Raines (Manchester: Chetham Society, 1875), 6–7.

<sup>9</sup> *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Early Stuart Church*, ed. Kenneth Fincham, 2 vols (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1994), vol. 1, p. 76.

<sup>10</sup> For details of other diocesan enquiries into the neglect of ringing for the dying, see Richard Adam Hill, 'The Reformation of the Bells in Early Modern England' (Ph. D. diss., Simon Fraser University, 2012), 157.



### 5.1.2 Funeral Bells in Early Modern Literature

An examination of the dramatic output of Shakespeare's milieu does little to clarify the confused picture, since the ringing of knells, both figurative and actual, was a prime trope in theatrical representations of death. In *As You Like It*, a play characterized by a court/country dichotomy, bells are used as a metaphor for civilization. Having insulted the once genteel forest dwellers whom he had taken for savages, Orlando appeals anaphorically for forgiveness:

If ever you have looked on better days,  
If ever been where bells have knolled to church.  
If ever sat at any good man's feast.  
If ever from your eye lids wiped a tear,  
And know what 'tis to pity and be pitied,  
Let gentleness my strong enforcement be,  
In the which hope I blush and hide my sword.  
(II.vii.114–20)

That the use of knells should be symbolic of better times attests to the social and religious importance of that ritual, and surely discloses a societal nostalgia for those 'better days'.

The cognitive association of bells and death for Shakespeare's audience is borne out by his frequent use of bell imagery to presage death, even when a bell is not audibly present. In *2 Henry IV*, Northumberland knows instinctively that Morton has come to break the news of his son's death; having reassured Morton that 'the tongue offends not that reports his death', Northumberland muses upon Morton's reluctance to deliver his message:

Yet the first bringer of unwelcome news  
Hath but a losing office, and his tongue  
Sounds ever after as a sullen bell,  
Rememb' red tolling a departed friend.  
(I.i.111–14)

In an extension of the Greek tradition of slaying the bearer of bad news, Northumberland suggests that the sound of a voice which has delivered news of a death will carry those doleful reverberations ever after in the ears of the bereaved. In *3 Henry VI*, a father who

has killed his son professes ‘My sighing breast shall be thy funeral bell’ (II.v.117), and Lady Capulet imagines she hears her own death knell as she looks on the corpses of Romeo and Juliet: ‘O me! this sight of death is as a bell, / That warns my old age to a sepulchre’ (V.iii.215–16).

The ringing of a bell for any reason can easily symbolize death to those who ‘tend on mortal thoughts’ (*Macbeth*, I.v.39). Macbeth, for instance, takes a bell rung by his wife as his cue to murder Duncan, prefiguring the same bell as Duncan’s death knell: ‘I go, and it is done: the bell invites me. / Hear it not, Duncan, for it is a knell / That summons thee to heaven or to hell’ (II.i.69–71). In *Othello*, suppressing a duel between Cassio and Rodorigo, Othello’s vexed tirade encapsulates the thematic association of death and bells. Having threatened death to whomever deals the next blow, he commands ‘silence that dreadful bell’, and appeals for information from ‘honest Iago, that looks dead with grieving’ (II.iii.157–9). The town bell is being rung as an alarm to the brawl, but Othello’s language, rich in deathly imagery, anticipates the fatal events of the play which Iago has newly set in motion. On the battlefield in *I Henry VI*, the drum of the approaching enemy (called for in a stage direction) is reconfigured as a warning bell, the music of the spheres and also a death knell in the ears of the French General:

Hark, hark, the dauphin’s drum, a warning bell,  
Sings heavy music to thy timorous soul,  
And mine shall ring thy dire departure out.  
(IV.ii.37–9)

The equivalence of ringing at both weddings and funerals, together with the traditional danse macabre conceit of ‘Death as usurping bridegroom’, gave rise to the theatrical trope of the symbiosis of marriage and death.<sup>11</sup> Justifying the ‘maimed’ burial rites afforded

---

<sup>11</sup> Michael Neill, *Issues of Death: Mortality and Identity in English Renaissance Tragedy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 58; Guy Marchant, *La danse macabre des femmes* (Paris, 1491), ‘L’espouse’ and ‘La femme mignotte’. Images at < [gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k3143810/f17.image](http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k3143810/f17.image)>, accessed 15 May 2017.

Ophelia, the Priest protests ‘Yet here she is allow’d her virgin rites, / Her maiden strewments, and the bringing home / Of bell and burial’ (*Hamlet*, V.1.180–82); ‘bringing home’ grotesquely implies the return of a bride from church and recalls Hamlet’s stinging observation of his mother’s hasty remarriage, ‘the funeral baked meats / Did coldly furnish forth the marriage tables’ (I.ii.180–81). In a comparable image, Cardinal Monticelso in John Webster’s *The White Devil* (1612) describes promiscuous women as ‘those flattering bells [which] have all one tune, / At weddings, and at funerals’ (III.ii).<sup>12</sup>

### 5.1.3 Ringing Custom in Times of Plague

The sound of the passing bell evidently continued as an essential component of the soundscape of early modern England, despite the variable nature of its specific associations. During plague outbreaks, the ringing of bells must have dominated London’s acoustic sphere. It has been estimated that during each of the severe epidemics of 1563, 1603, 1625 and 1665, one fifth of London’s population died within the space of a few months.<sup>13</sup> In the year 1606, London was a city of no fewer than 114 churches, each of which may have been tolling a bell for a least one hour per corpse.<sup>14</sup>

Contemporary plague literature, though, paints the somewhat different picture of mass graves and the breakdown of funeral ritual, including ringing:

No bells (the dead mans Consort) playing,  
Nor any holy Churchman saying  
A Funerall Dirge: But swift th’are gon,  
As from some noysome carion.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> John Webster, *The white diuel* (London: N. O., 1612; STC 25178), sig. E3v.

<sup>13</sup> N. Cummins, M. Kelly and C. O’ Gráda, ‘Living Standards and Plague in London 1560–1665’, *UCD Centre for Economic Research Working Paper Series* (July 2013), 3–34 (5).

<sup>14</sup> James Shapiro, *1606: Shakespeare and the Year of Lear* (London: Faber & Faber, 2015), 320–21.

<sup>15</sup> Thomas Dekker, *Newes from Graues-end sent to Nobody* (London: T.C., 1604; STC 12199), sig. E2v.

The satirist and playwright Thomas Dekker was one of England's most prolific plague pamphleteers. In *The Wonderfull Yeare* he described the anguish of a father burying, without bells, a child taken by plague:

vpon thine owne shouldrs must thou beare part of him, thy amazed seruant the other; with thine owne hands must thou dig his graue (not in the Church, or common place of buriall,)...but in thine Orcharde, or in the proude walkes of thy Garden, wringing thy palsie-shaking hands in stead of belles (most miserable father) must thou search him out a sepulcher.<sup>16</sup>

As is so often the case in theatre history, arguments to the contrary can easily be found since literary accounts habitually contradict one another. In Ben Jonson's *Epicoene*, for instance, Dauphine Eugenie is driven mad by incessant ringing due to plague: 'by reason of the sickness, the perpetuity of ringing has made him devise a room with double walls and treble ceilings, the windows close shut and caulked'.<sup>17</sup> A rational overview of such discrepancies would seem to be that in a society overwhelmed by plague deaths, it is likely that a disintegration of funerary custom meant a lack of bells for many victims. On the stage, however, to go to one's grave without that most fundamental of funeral rites was a fate not to be wished for. Ophelia, held to have committed the sin of suicide, is lucky to receive the privilege of 'bell and burial' (*Hamlet*, V.i.182), while in *Titus Andronicus*, Lucius' final punishment for Tamora is that she receive 'No funeral rite, nor man in mourning weed, / No mournful bell shall ring her funeral' (V.iii.196–7).

In 1603, J. Balmford wrote of 'open graves where sundry are buried together', and Dekker described the practice of mass burial: 'an hundred graues stand gaping, and euery one of them (as at a breakfast) hath swallowed downe ten or eleven liuelesse carcasses'.<sup>18</sup>

---

<sup>16</sup> Thomas Dekker, *The Wonderfull Yeare, 1603, Wherein is shewed the picture of London, lying sicke of the plague* (London: Thomas Crede, 1603; STC 6535.5), sig. C4v.

<sup>17</sup> Ben Jonson, *Epicoene, or the silent woman* (London: William Stansby, 1620; STC 14763), sigs B3v–B3r.

<sup>18</sup> J. Balmford, *A Short Dialogue Concerning the Plagues Infection* (London: for Richard Boyle, 1603; STC 1338), 32; Dekker, *The Wonderfull Yeare*, sig. C4v

The records for St Bride's Church, Fleet Street, furthermore, show evidence of organized collection of corpses and digging of communal graves during August, 1665. That particular outbreak lasted from June until September, August being the only month when individual funerals at St Bride's seemed to be impossible.<sup>19</sup> In this light, it seems likely that the passing bells were heard persistently during plague periods, but that they could not toll for every death at the peaks of outbreaks.

#### 5.1.4 *Shakespeare and Plague*

During Shakespeare's career, the public theatres suffered three major closures due to plague outbreaks: 1592–4, 1603 and throughout most of the period 1608–10. It has been contended that those closures directly shaped Shakespeare's career, since during the first he wrote the best-selling poem *Venus and Adonis*, and during the third he appears to have retired from acting and relocated from London to Stratford.<sup>20</sup> It is worth noting that during the first closure he also wrote his first batch of sonnets, including number seventy-one which begins:

No longer mourn for me when I am dead  
Then you shall hear the surly sullen bell  
Give warning to the world that I am fled  
From this vile world, with vilest worms to dwell.<sup>21</sup>

Shakespeare's landlady, Marie Mountjoy, died in 1606 and his younger brother, Edmund, in 1607, both presumably from plague, and he undoubtedly lost further relatives and acquaintances.<sup>22</sup> Someone paid 20s for the tolling of the great bell for Edmund

---

<sup>19</sup> Vanessa Harding, 'Burial of the Plague Dead in Early Modern London', *Epidemic Disease in London: Centre for Metropolitan History Working Papers Series*, 1 (1993), 53–64 (57–8).

<sup>20</sup> Jonathan Bate, *Soul of the Age: The Life, Mind and World of William Shakespeare* (London: Viking, 2008), 11.

<sup>21</sup> *R*, p. 2447.

<sup>22</sup> Shapiro, *1606: Shakespeare and the Year of Lear*, 331.

Shakespeare, who was buried near the Globe at St Saviour's, Southwark, and it is generally assumed that the cost was met by William.<sup>23</sup>

A search of *Open Source Shakespeare*—a text-searchable database of Shakespeare's work based on the mid-nineteenth-century *Globe Shakespeare* text—reveals that Shakespeare used the word 'plague' on 109 occasions, 'bell' in the context of death on sixteen occasions, and 'knell' on twelve occasions.<sup>24</sup> Figure 5.1's graphs show striking correlation between plague outbreaks and Shakespeare's usage of those terms. The largest peak in all three graphs occurs during the period 1605–6, with four plays yielding those results: *Timon of Athens*, *All's Well That Ends Well*, *King Lear* and *Macbeth*.<sup>25</sup> Table 5.1 shows the distribution of our three keywords across those four plays. Crucially, while three of those plays are tragedies, even the comedy *All's Well That Ends Well* did not escape the influence of the plague epidemic of 1603.

Despite the often gruesome and graphic nature of death on the early modern stage (the rape, mutilation, murders and enforced cannibalism in *Titus Andronicus*, for instance), direct allusions to the bubonic plague were rare, and plague victims were never depicted on stage. To do so would have been in poor taste and, presumably, a turn-off for audiences who visited the theatre to escape the difficulties of real life. This fact surely made comments such as Ross's to Macduff all the more potent: 'The dead man's knell / Is there scarce asked for who, and good men's lives / Expire before the flowers in their caps, / Dying or ere they sicken' (*Macbeth*, IV.iii.19–93).<sup>26</sup> Ross is undoubtedly alluding to the

---

<sup>23</sup> Rosalyn Lander Knutson, *Playing Companies and Commerce in Shakespeare's Time* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 30; William Thompson, *Southwark Cathedral: The History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of St Saviour (St Marie Overie)*, (London: Elliot Stock, 1907), 152; Bate, *Soul of the Age: The Life, Mind and World of William Shakespeare*, 49.

<sup>24</sup> Eric M. Johnson, *Open Source Shakespeare* (<[opensourceshakespeare.org](http://opensourceshakespeare.org)>, 2003–; accessed 29 February 2020).

<sup>25</sup> Dating of the works is according to *R*.

<sup>26</sup> Shapiro, *1606: Shakespeare and the Year of Lear*, 323.

inevitable question asked within communities at the sounding of the bell, a question which is most familiar to the modern reader through John Donne's memorable maxim, 'neuer send to know for whom the bell tolls; It tolls for thee'.<sup>27</sup> The process by which parishioners would enquire for whom the bell tolled is set out in Middleton's *Meeting of Gallants*:

these women gaue it out that he was dead, sent to the Sexton of the Church  
in all hast to haue the Bell rung out for him, which was suddainly heard,  
and many comming to enquire of the Sexton, his name was spread ouer all  
the parish.<sup>28</sup>

The evidence, then, would suggest that around plague periods, the link between death and the sound of bells was heightened in Shakespeare's mind.

#### 5.1.5 Knells in Shakespeare's Songs

Shakespeare used the word knell in two songs: 'Tell me where is fancy bred' in *The Merchant of Venice* (1596–8) and 'Full fathom five' in *The Tempest* (1611). In *The Merchant of Venice*, a servant sings a mock dirge that ends with a knell. In a bid to steer Bassanio to choose the unadorned lead casket, a knell is rung for fancy. 'Fancy' had multiple meanings at the turn of the seventeenth century,<sup>29</sup> and in this instance it seems to mean amorous inclination. While it has been suggested that 'fancy' in the context of the *Merchant of Venice* song refers to the physical attributes of the gold and silver caskets which have attracted Portia's previous suitors,<sup>30</sup> I have found no evidence of the word's being used in that way during Shakespeare's lifetime. Bassanio's response to the song, nonetheless, is evocative of the Tudor reformers' intention to banish ostentatious artifice

---

<sup>27</sup> John Donne, *Devotions vpon emergent occasions and seuerall steps in my sicknes* (London: for Thomas Iones, 1624; STC 7033a), 416.

<sup>28</sup> Thomas Middleton, *The meeting of gallants at an ordinarie: or The walkes in Powles* (London: T. C., 1604; STC 17781), sig. C2v.

<sup>29</sup> See 'fancy' in *Oxford English Dictionary Online* (2020).

<sup>30</sup> Peter J. Seng, *The Vocal Songs in the Plays of Shakespeare* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967), 40.

from worship: 'So may the outward shows be least themselves, / The world is still deceived with ornament' (III.ii.75–6). There are, however, other clues in the song which point towards lead: the first three line endings of the song rhyme with 'lead', while the last lines reiterate the sound 'ell' or 'L'. At this point in the play, the audience know which casket is the correct one by process of elimination.

*A Song the whilst Bassanio comments on the Caskets to himself.*  
*Tell me where is fancie bred,*  
*Or in the heart, or in the head:*  
*How begot, how nourished.*                      *Replie, replie.*  
*It is engendred in the eyes,*  
*With gazing fed, and Fancie dies,*  
*In the cradle where it lies:*  
*Let vs all ring Fancies knell.*  
*Ile begin it.*  
*Ding dong, bell.*  
*All. Ding, dong, bell.*<sup>31</sup>  
 (III.ii.)

In the absence of any surviving early musical notation, scholars have speculated about the intended structure of the song, since *F*'s typography does not differentiate between song text and stage directions at this point. By way of explaining the problematical 'replie, replie', it has been suggested that this is an 'echo song', whereby the end of the word 'nourish-ED' is repeated in dying echoes underneath the proceeding lines of the song. According to this theory, the same arrangement applies to the word 'b-ELL' at the end of the second half, after which the two stanzas are sung simultaneously, culminating in dying echoes of the intermingled 'ELL' and 'ED' sounds; the auditory effect of that commixture would produce the syllable 'led' or 'lead'.<sup>32</sup> A simpler solution is that the *tutti* line 'Ding, dong, bell' be treated as an under-song or 'continuous counterpoint chorus' for the duration of the song, ultimately producing a similar effect.<sup>33</sup> The term 'replie' certainly had

<sup>31</sup> *F* (GB-Ob online), 174.

<sup>32</sup> Austin K. Gray, 'The Song in the Merchant of Venice', *Modern Language Notes*, 42 (1927), 458–9.

<sup>33</sup> Seng, *The Vocal Songs in the Plays of Shakespeare*, 43.



associations with sixteenth- and seventeenth-century double or invertible counterpoint. Morley used the term exclusively to describe the inversion of the second or lower part, an interpretation which was upheld by Charles Butler in a treatise of 1636: ‘which 2 Partes thus inverted ar called the Replie’.<sup>34</sup> I propose that one possibility, therefore, is that the *tutti* line ‘Ding dong bell’ may have been performed as a two-part under song, the inversion of the parts occurring after the third line of the printed song text. Admittedly, though, if another song based on that model exists, I am unaware of it. Another possibility is that the song performed to this text was a catch for three voices; its nine-line structure would certainly lend itself to that type of musical treatment, and the introduction of voice two at line four would begin to produce the effect imagined by Gray and Seng. Ex. 5.1 was commissioned for this dissertation as a proof-of-concept illustration of something not easily described in words—i.e. a special characteristic of catches that might be termed the ‘composite homophone’ (annotated at three points in the score).

Shakespeare revisited the mock dirge model in *The Tempest* with Ariel's song 'Full Fathom Five'. Ariel, wishing Ferdinand to believe his father drowned, concludes the song with a knell:

*Sea-Nymphs hourly ring his knell.*  
Burthen: ding dong.  
*Harke now I heare them, ding-dong bell.*<sup>35</sup>  
(I.ii)

In *F*, the line ‘Burthen: ding dong’ is the only line not given in italics, and was therefore probably intended as a stage direction. As we have seen (3.1), multiple definitions of the word ‘burden’ can be found in seventeenth-century sources, all of which have a bearing on the meaning of Ariel’s song: ‘burden’ could describe a heavy load, the refrain of a song, or

<sup>34</sup> Thomas Morley, *A plaine and easie introduction to practicall musicke* (London: Peter Short, 1597; STC 18133), 105–7; Charles Butler, *The Principles of Musik, in Singing and Setting* (London: J. Haviland, 1636), 78.

<sup>35</sup> *F* (GB-Ob online), 5.

the bass line of a choral work.<sup>36</sup> John Wilson's three-part setting of Robert Johnson's melody utilises a polyphonic effect from the line 'Ding-dong bell,' lending credence to the view that the desired effect here was that of neighbouring churches ringing a cacophonous knell.<sup>37</sup> It is perhaps an insight into the seventeenth-century psyche that in order to convince Ferdinand that his father has died, Ariel creates the appropriate sound world using a dirge and a knell.

After the song ends, Ferdinand declares 'the ditty does remember my drown'd father'. Neill has identified three possible meanings for 'ditty': the burden, the theme, or the words of a song.<sup>38</sup> There was, however, another meaning which relates to the song's 'ding-dong' burden: in Huloet's dictionary of 1552, the definition of a 'ditty synger' is 'he that beareth ye fote of the songe'.<sup>39</sup> In William Wager's interlude *The Longer Thou Livest, the More Fool Thou Art* (c. 1569), moreover, Moros enters 'synging the foot of many Songes, as fooles were wont'.<sup>40</sup> As Chappell stated, 'The burden of a song, in the old acceptation of the word, was the base, foot, or under-song. It was sung throughout, and not merely at the end of the verse'.<sup>41</sup> If the foot of a song is the ditty, which is defined as the burden, then the part of Ariel's song which remembers Ferdinand's father is the knell. Chappell's definition,

---

<sup>36</sup> Michael Neill, "'Noises, / Sounds, and Sweet Aires": The Burden of Shakespeare's *Tempest*', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 59 (2008), 36–59 (42–3); Graham Strahle, *An Early Music Dictionary: Musical Terms from British Sources, 1500–1740* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 39; *The Story of England by Robert Manning of Brunne, A.D. 1338. Edited from MSS at Lambeth Palace and the Inner Temple*, ed. Frederick J. Furnivall (London: Longman & Co., 1887), 393; Ross W. Duffin, 'Catching the Burthen: A New Round of Shakespearean Musical Hunting', *Studies in Music*, 19–20 (2000–2001), 1–15 (9).

<sup>37</sup> John Wilson, *Cheerfull ayres or ballads* (London: W. Hall, 1659; Wing W2908), cantus primus pp. 6–7, cantus secundus p. 5, cantus bassus p. 5.

<sup>38</sup> Neill, "'Noises, / Sounds, and Sweet Aires", 43.

<sup>39</sup> Richard Huloet, *Abcedarium anglico latinum, pro tyrunculis* (London: for Gulielmi Riddel, 1552; STC 13940), sig. J3v.

<sup>40</sup> W. Wager, *A very mery and pythie commedie, called the longer thou liuest, the more foole thou art* (London: Wyllyam How, 1569; STC 24935), sig. A2r.

<sup>41</sup> William Chappell, *Popular Music of the Olden Time*, 2 vols (London: Cramer, Beale & Chappell, 1855–59), vol. 1, p. 222.



## 5.2. Dead March

*I Henry VI* opens with the funeral procession of Henry V, and the first line of the play is the stage direction ‘Dead March’. The term’s popularity among early modern playwrights poses several fundamental questions as to the dead march’s nature and provenance. Recent studies have addressed its place in early modern funeral ritual and pageantry, but not the problem of what the dead march actually was, or how it might have sounded.<sup>45</sup> It has lately been claimed, moreover, that the dead march was merely a theatrical topos which played no role in wider society, and that the stage directions calling for dead march in *F* may be compositorial rather than authorial.<sup>46</sup> While it is difficult to uncover a definitive history of the dead march, examination of the term’s wider use in both plays and non-dramatic works of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries reveals notable patterns in its usage.

An early stage direction for the theatrical dead march can be found in *The Tragedie of Tancred and Gismund*, compiled by the Gentlemen of the Inner Temple in the 1560s but not published until 1591: ‘Before this Act was a dead march.’<sup>47</sup> Some earlier references to the spectacle exist without the label ‘dead march’, in Christopher Marlowe’s *Tamburlaine* (c. 1587–88), for instance: ‘four bearing the hearse of Zenocrate; and the drums sounding a doleful march; the town burning’.<sup>48</sup> Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century stage directions typically point to a sort of funeral procession with a corpse being carried on or offstage, usually followed by mourners and accompanied by the sound of drums and/or trumpets.

Most of the earliest stage directions that prescribe instrumentation refer solely to drums; for instance ‘a Drum sounding a dead march’ (Gascoigne’s *A Larum for London*), or ‘Enter

---

<sup>45</sup> Michael Neill, “‘Exeunt with a Dead March’: Funeral Pageantry on the Shakespearean Stage’ in *Pageantry in the Shakespearean Theater*, ed. David M. Bergen (Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1981), 153–94; Brian Cummings, “‘Dead March’: Liturgy and Mimesis in Shakespeare’s Funerals’, *Shakespeare*, 8:4 (2012), 368–85.

<sup>46</sup> Cummings, “‘Dead March’: Liturgy and Mimesis in Shakespeare’s Funerals’, pp. 369 and 376.

<sup>47</sup> *The Tragedie of Tancred and Gismund* (London: Thomas Scarlet, 1591; STC 25764), Introductio in Actum quintum.

<sup>48</sup> Christopher Marlowe, *Tamburlaine the Great* (London: Richard Ihones, 1590; STC 17425), III.ii.

Talbot, Bedford, Burgundy, and Forces, with scaling ladders, their drums beating a dead march' (*I Henry VI*, II.i.8).<sup>49</sup> In *Coriolanus*, Aufidius paints a richer soundscape of a noble Roman's funeral procession:

Beat thou the drum, that it speak mournfully.  
Trail your steel pikes. Though in this city he  
Hath widowed and unchilded many a one,  
Which to this hour bewail the injury,  
Yet he shall have a noble memory. Assist.  
*Exeunt bearing the body of Martius. A dead march sounded.*  
(V.vi.175–9)

John Webster's *Devil's Law Case* (1623), furthermore, describes 'the dead lazy march in the funeral' (II.i), confirming that the dead march typically adopted a slow or stately tempo.<sup>50</sup>

Thomas Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy* (1592) contains a rare pre-Restoration mention of trumpets in connection with the dead march: 'The trumpets sound a dead march'.<sup>51</sup> That stage direction, though, is incomplete and therefore possibly corrupt, since there are more bodies to be removed than those specified. William Chamberlayne's heroic poem *Pharonnida* (1659) describes a dead march played on drums and trumpets, accompanied by the passing bell:

a solemn passing bell  
In every Church was toull'd, whose dolefull sound  
Mixt with the drum & trumpets dead march.<sup>52</sup>

Thereafter, dead marches played by trumpets, or by drums and trumpets together, were called for regularly in Restoration drama, notably in Nathaniel Lee's *Lucius Junius Brutus*, Charles Hopkins's *Neglected virtue or The Unhappy Conqueror* and John Banks's *Cyrus*

---

<sup>49</sup> George Gascoigne, *A larum for London, or The siede of Antwerpe* (London: for William Ferbrand, 1602; STC 16754), sig. Bv.

<sup>50</sup> John Webster, *The deuils law-case. Or, When vvomen goe to law, the Deuill is full of businesse* (London: A. M., 1623; STC 25173), sig. Er.

<sup>51</sup> Thomas Kyd, *The Spanish tragedie* (London: Edward Allde, 1592; STC 15086), sig. L2r. A search of EEBO does not reveal an earlier source that mentions trumpet in this context.

<sup>52</sup> William Chamberlayne, *Pahronnida a heroick poem* (London: for Robert Clavell, 1659; Wing 1866), 106.

*the Great*.<sup>53</sup> While the Shakespearean dead march has been described as an untexted instrumental dirge,<sup>54</sup> the apparent acceleration of the use of trumpets in theatrical dead marches during the second half of the seventeenth century would suggest that, during Shakespeare's era, it typically took a purely percussive form, acquiring melody later.

Since marches, drums and trumpets were readily associable with Renaissance military manoeuvres, two striking instances of the theatrical dead march occurring in isolation from funerary actions shed light on possible musical connections between dead march and military calls. The first is the stage direction from *I Henry VI*, II.i (quoted above); considered within Shakespeare's canon, that stage direction could be supposed erroneous since the scene is one of military ambush, containing neither death nor funeral. There is, however, a similar call for a dead march in an English translation of *The History of Appian of Alexandria* (1679): 'About the third watch the Trumpets sounded a dead march and all the Army advanced towards *Asdrubal's* Camp without making the least noise'.<sup>55</sup> In neither case is the stage direction calling for the aesthetic elements of dead march (a funeral procession following a corpse), so perhaps the call in these instances is for a distinct rhythmic or melodic pattern. During the sixteenth century the rhythms of the English and French marches used in military manoeuvres were well documented and easily recognisable.<sup>56</sup> Since both of those marches are also specified for use in *I Henry VI* (III.iii.28), the possibility of error in II.i is all the more unlikely. A suggestion that the dead

---

<sup>53</sup> Nathaniel Lee, *Lucius Junius Brutus, father of his country* (London: for Richard and Jacob Tonson, 1681; Wing L852), 18; Charles Hopkins, *Neglected virtue, or, The Unhappy conqueror* (London: for Henry Rhodes, Richard Parker and Sam Briscoe, 1696; Wing H2725), 42; John Banks, *Cyrus the Great, or, The tragedy of love* (London: for Richard Bentley, 1696; Wing B656), 57.

<sup>54</sup> Christopher R. Wilson, *Shakespeare's Musical Imagery* (London and New York: Continuum, 2011), 44.

<sup>55</sup> *The history of Appian of Alexandria in two parts*, trans. J. D. (London: for John Amery, 1679; Wing A3579), 10.

<sup>56</sup> See Maurice Byrne, 'The English March and Early Drum Notation', *The Galpin Society Journal*, 50 (1997), 43–80.

march was an appropriate accompaniment for covert military advances seems an apt explanation for its use in *1 Henry VI* and *Appian of Alexandria*.<sup>57</sup>

In his *Orchesographie* of 1589, Thoinot Arbeau set out the rhythmic requirements of a march: ‘the drum rhythm should be such that the beats on which one places down the left and the right feet should be clearly distinguished, so that everybody marches in step.’<sup>58</sup> Since no recorded notation has survived for the dead march, it can be safely assumed that its rhythm was either the same as the English march,<sup>59</sup> or else uncomplicated enough to render notation unnecessary. During the Renaissance, uses for trumpets occurred at court and on the battlefield, and those associations are reflected in Shakespeare’s plays. Courtly trumpet consorts typically consisted of five instruments playing in harmony. The music was transmitted aurally before gradually making its way into print at the turn of the seventeenth century. Court trumpeters were also expected to play ceremonial fanfares and flourishes, which are thought to have been played in harmony rather than unison from around 1485.<sup>60</sup> If the fanfare-like opening bars of Monteverdi’s *L’Orfeo* (1607) can be taken as an indication of the structure of sixteenth-century trumpet consort music, two bass parts usually provided a drone, the music being more rhythmically complex in the second and third parts with the highest part playing arpeggiated and scalar figures in the clarino register. The harmony, furthermore, is likely to have been quite static, alternating between 5/3 chords a fourth or a fifth apart.<sup>61</sup>

---

<sup>57</sup> Paul A. Jorgensen, *Shakespeare’s Military World* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1956), 29.

<sup>58</sup> Translated in Byrne, ‘The English March’, 63.

<sup>59</sup> See Byrne, ‘The English March’, 44.

<sup>60</sup> See Crispian Steele-Perkins, *Trumpet* (London: Kahn & Averill, 2001), 15, and Edward Tarr, *The Trumpet* (London: B. T. Batsford Ltd., 1988), 76–8.

<sup>61</sup> Steele-Perkins, *Trumpet*, 15–18; Robert Donington, *The Rise of Opera* (New York: C. Scribner’s Sons, 1981), 147.

Field trumpeters, in contrast, played specific calls either solo or in unison and in a relatively low register. Some notated continental trumpet calls were transmitted in two early seventeenth-century sources, and musical discrepancies between the two are interpreted as evidence that trumpeters improvised and elaborated on those motifs.<sup>62</sup> The calls are melodically similar to Monteverdi's fanfare and to imitations of trumpet figures in Clément Janequin's *La Bataille* (c. 1515) and William Byrd's *The Battle* (c. 1591).<sup>63</sup> A contemporary illustration of Sir Phillip Sidney's funeral procession (1586) bears the inscription 'Inflatores tibianum et Tympanistae/ Ffyffs and drommes playing softly' over a group of two drummers and two fife players.<sup>64</sup> Sidney died in battle, and the presence of fife players suggests that his was a military funeral, owing to the fife's well-documented presence on the Renaissance battlefield.<sup>65</sup> Byrne has identified an eighteenth-century fife tune which fits to the drum rhythm of the English March, concluding that this or a similar tune was in general use from a much earlier date.<sup>66</sup> If it can be assumed that the march being played by those musicians in Sidney's funeral procession was one appropriate to funerals, it seems that the dead march certainly had an accompanying melody, the presence of two fifes in this instance enabling harmony; that melody was perhaps heard in theatres when stage directions called for a dead march to be played on trumpets. Bruce Wood,

---

<sup>62</sup> Magnus Thomsen's notebook, c. 1596–c. 1612 (DK-Kk Gl.kg1.Saml.1875a); Cesare Bendinelli's *Tutta l'Arte della Trombetta*, 1614 (I-VEaf Mus. 238). See Michael Gale, 'Remnants of Some Late Sixteenth-Century Trumpet Ensemble Music', *Historic Brass Society Journal*, 14 (2002), 115–31 (115).

<sup>63</sup> 'battaglia' in Elisa Koehler, *A Dictionary for the Modern Trumpet Player* (London and New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015), 17–18.

<sup>64</sup> Thomas Lant, *Sequitur celebritas & pompa funeris ... Here followeth the manner of the whole proceeding of his ffunerall which was celebrated in St Paules the 16 of ffebr. 1586* (London: S.N., 1588; STC 15224).

<sup>65</sup> Jorgensen, *Shakespeare's Military World*, 21; Jennifer Woodward, *The Theatre of Death: The Ritual Management of Royal Funerals in Renaissance England, 1570–1625* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997), 18. For primary evidence of the use of fife in combat, see Francis Markham, *Fiue decades of epistles of warre* (London: Augustine Matthewes, 1622; STC 17332), 57–8 and Thoinot Arbeau, *Orchesography*, trans. Mary Stewart Evans (Mineola and New York, Dover Publications, Inc., 2011), 39.

<sup>66</sup> Byrne, 'The English March and Early Drum Notation', 71.



furthermore, suggests that Purcell's *Funeral March for Queen Mary* was performed in her funeral procession in 1695 on drums and four trumpets, to the rhythm of the English march.<sup>67</sup>

Shakespeare called for dead marches in *Coriolanus*, *1 Henry VI* and *King Lear*; *Coriolanus* and *1 Henry VI* were first printed in *F*, while *King Lear* was published in quarto in 1608 and 1619. Cummings's suggestion that the use of the term 'dead march' in *F* was compositorial rather than authorial is based on the fact that neither of the *Lear* quartos includes the *Lear Folio*'s concluding stage direction 'Exeunt with a dead march'.<sup>68</sup> That argument, however, surely cannot stand in the face of the widely held view that the *Lear* quarto and folio versions should be considered 'discrete entities' owing to their hundreds of textual and structural discrepancies.<sup>69</sup> Further speculation regarding Shakespearean authenticity when it comes to the dead march is difficult in the absence of early publications of *Coriolanus* or *1 Henry VI*, but the use of the term in pre-Shakespearean plays such as Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy* (see above) supports the argument for the authority of *F*'s stage directions and demonstrates that if the dead march were a wider societal phenomenon which was assimilated by playwrights, it had already been assimilated before Shakespeare's time.

Cummings's conception of the dead march as a theatrical topos is problematic and warrants further discussion.<sup>70</sup> Arguments against that view are numerous, and the drawing of musicians playing a march in Sir Philip Sidney's funeral procession is a good starting point since that funeral occurred before the term 'dead march' made its way into print in

---

<sup>67</sup> Bruce Wood, 'The First Performance of Purcell's Funeral Music for Queen Mary' in *Performing the Music of Henry Purcell*, ed. Michael Burden (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 61–81 (61–72).

<sup>68</sup> Cummings, "'Dead March': Liturgy and Mimesis in Shakespeare's Funerals', 376.

<sup>69</sup> *R*, p. 2008. See also Gary Taylor, 'King Lear: The Date and Authorship of the Folio Version' in *The Division of the Kingdoms: Shakespeare's Two Versions of 'King Lear'*, ed. Gary Taylor and Michael Warren (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 351–470.

<sup>70</sup> Cummings, "'Dead March': Liturgy and Mimesis in Shakespeare's Funerals', 369.

*Tancred and Gismund*.<sup>71</sup> The accounts of the Lord Chamberlain's payments for Elizabeth I's funeral procession in 1603, furthermore, included three kettle drummers, the drum major and four further drummers.<sup>72</sup> Early modern royal and aristocratic funerals have been likened to a type of public theatre,<sup>73</sup> and it is clear that their processions relied heavily on drummers. The drum also played a role in military funeral processions: 'when any dies, the Drumme with a sad solemnitie must bring him to his grave, for it is the only mourner for the lost, and the greatest honor of Funerals'.<sup>74</sup>

Other early modern theatrical topoi—the diplomatic truce for example, or the notion that true grief can only be expressed silently (see 5.6 below)—have been recognized as cultural realities owing to references in non-theatrical literature.<sup>75</sup> From 1603, printed references to the dead march began to occur in such non-theatrical works as novels, pamphlets and published sermons. It might be argued that the authors of those types of discourse would be unlikely to present a topos as commonplace, but for the fact that the authors of the pamphlets in question—Thomas Dekker and Thomas Nashe—were also playwrights.<sup>76</sup> The dead march was also referenced, though, in seventeenth-century published sermons: Richard Allestree's *Eighteen Sermons*, for instance, and George Newton's *Sermon preached at the funeral of Mr Joseph Aleine*. Allestree's allusion

---

<sup>71</sup> I am unaware of any earlier publications which transmit the term 'dead march'.

<sup>72</sup> Matthias Range, *British Royal and State Funerals: Music and Ceremonial Since Elizabeth I* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2016), 92–3.

<sup>73</sup> Neill, *Issues of Death*, 267.

<sup>74</sup> Markham, *Fiue decades of epistles of warre*, 59.

<sup>75</sup> Tobias Döring, *Performances of Mourning in Shakespearean Theatre and Early Modern Culture* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 140–48; Timothy Hampton, 'The Slumber of War: Diplomacy, Tragedy and the Aesthetics of the Truce in Early Modern Europe' in *Early Modern Diplomacy, Theatre and Soft Power: The Making of Peace*, ed. Nathalie Rivère de Carles (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 27–45.

<sup>76</sup> Thomas Dekker, *Lanthorne and candle-light. Or, The bell-mans second nights-walke*. (London: for Iohn Busby, 1609: STC 6486), sig. K3v; Thomas Nashe, *Christs teares ouer Ierusalem Whereunto is annexed a comparatiue admonition to London* (London: for Thomas Thorpe, 1613; STC 18368), 54.

seemingly supports Cummings's theory by setting the term 'dead march' within a theatrical metaphor:

But why stand I thus to enumerate particulars? All such come not to the Redemption of the Day, but onely to the Scene: Amidst other like Entertainments of this Holy severe Time which the Theater affords, they come also to see the Tragedy of Jesus, to behold the dead march to Golgotha.<sup>77</sup>

Newton's reference is more quotidian:

And hence it was that such a heap of people followed Christ, on whom the eyes of the whole Nation of the Jews were fixed though with different affections; Some to secure him from a rescue, some to mock him and deride him, some to gaze upon the Prisoner, and to observe his carriage in his dead March, & some to see the Execution.<sup>78</sup>

In light of the inconsistent evidence, it seems impossible to determine whether the dead march came to be adopted in early modern burial culture as a result of its use in the theatre, or vice versa. On the one hand it is clear that marches were part of English funeral processions before the term 'dead march' caught on in print, and that the tradition was strong-rooted enough to warrant inclusion by such later composers as Handel ('March', *Saul*), Chopin ('Marche funèbre', Piano Sonata No. 2), and Wagner ('Seigfried's Funeral March', *Götterdämmerung*). On the other hand, if drama borrowed the dead march from wider society, the best indications of the nature of this mysterious ritual are found in the dramatic output of the period.

### 5.3 Funeral Liturgy and Song

The centrepiece of sixteenth-century liturgical reformation was the ever-ambiguous Book of Common Prayer (hereafter *BCP*), first issued in 1549 and revised in 1552, 1559 and

---

<sup>77</sup> Richard Allestree, *Eighteen Sermons where of fifteen preached the king, the rest upon publick occasions* (London: Tho. Roycroft, 1669; Wing A1113), 119.

<sup>78</sup> *A sermon preached at the funeral of Mr. Joseph Aleine by George Newton* (London: Neil Simmons, 1672; Wing N1047), 4–5.

1604. It is true that the *BCP* has a complicated textual history and that over a million copies were in circulation between 1549 and the 1730s;<sup>79</sup> revisions, however, though their implications may have been far-reaching, were usually minimal. While it has been observed that the *BCP*'s 'fluidity is the sign of its cultural centrality',<sup>80</sup> I contend that its fluidity in fact owes more to its generality than to actual change. The Order for the Burial of the Dead seemingly allowed for little music-making, but the *BCP* as a whole embodies conflicting attitudes and beliefs where music is concerned.<sup>81</sup> Renaissance drama was polyvocal on issues of religion, making it almost impossible to ascertain a playwright's own religious stance. By placing attitudes to religious reform as represented in plays under the microscope, not only the colliding beliefs of various elements of society, but also the cultural convergence of literature and liturgy became apparent.<sup>82</sup>

### 5.3.1 Liturgical Reformation

Issued at the height of the English Reformation, the Protestant *Book of Homilies* was designed to help congregations come to terms with liturgical changes. John Jewel painted a vivid picture of the popular reaction to the suppression of music, before reassuring his readers that God was pleased by the eradication of what he deemed filthy defilements:

Alas, gossip, what shall we do now at church, since all the saints are taken away, since all the goodly sights we were wont to have are gone, since we cannot hear the like piping, singing, chanting, and playing upon the organs, that we could before?<sup>83</sup>

---

<sup>79</sup> Brian Cummings, *The Book of Common Prayer: The Texts of 1549, 1559 and 1562* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. x and xiii.

<sup>80</sup> Daniel Swift, *Shakespeare's Common Prayers: The Book of Common Prayer and the Elizabethan Age* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 23.

<sup>81</sup> Cummings, *The Book of Common Prayer*, p. lxvi.

<sup>82</sup> Brian Walsh, *Unsettled Toleration: Religious Difference on the Shakespearean Stage* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 5.

<sup>83</sup> John Jewel, *The second tome of homilees of such matters as were promised, and intituled in the former part of homilees. Set out by the auctoritie of the Queenes Maiestie: and to be read in euery parishe church agreeably* (London: Richard Jugge and John Cawood, 1571; STC 13669), 271–2.

For members of a society who lived in close proximity with death and the dying, who had long used music to express grief and enable a soul's passage to heaven, the changes to funeral rites effected by the reformers must have been disquieting, not to say traumatic.

If reiterated sermons against the use of superfluous music can be interpreted as evidence of resistance to religious change, it seems that unreformed musical practices persisted throughout the country until at least the 1580s. In Bangor in 1570, for instance, it was heard that two curates, three clerks and three singing boys had sung psalms over a dead body in the parish of Beaumaris; Bishop Nicholas Robinson of Bangor forced the offenders to do public penance for what he termed 'fond superstition'.<sup>84</sup> Bishop James Pilkington of Durham, furthermore, wrote in his rules for funerals (published posthumously in 1585) that 'no superstition should be committed in them, wherein the papists infinitely offend; as in masses, dirges, trentals, singing, ringing, holy water, &c...'.<sup>85</sup>

Some of the Elizabethan *BCP*'s more explicit references to singing were located in the burial service, where three possible instances of singing were allowed. Various sentences of scripture were directed to be said by the priest or else sung by the priests and clerks at the opening of the service, at the graveside and after interment: for instance, 'The priest metying the corps at the church stile shall saye, or els the priestes and clerkes shall syng, and so goe eyther vnto the Churche, or towards the graue.'<sup>86</sup> Similar stipulations are

---

<sup>84</sup> Cressy, *Birth, Marriage and Death*, 400. Cressy mistakenly names the Bishop of Bangor as Richard Barnes, who was in fact Bishop of Durham. Katherine K. Olson correctly names Bishop Nicholas Robinson in "'Slow and Cold in the True Service of God": Popular Beliefs and Practices, Conformity and Reformation in Wales c. 1530–1600' in *Christianities in the Early Modern Celtic World*, ed T. Ó hAnnráchain and R. Armstrong (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 101.

<sup>85</sup> James Pilkington, *A godlie exposition vpon certeine chapters of Nehemiah* (Cambridge: Robert Some, 1585; STC 19929), 15.

<sup>86</sup> *The booke of common praier, and administration of the Sacramentes, and other rites and ceremonies in the Churche of Englande* (Londini: In officina Richardi Iugge, & Iohannis Cawode, 1559; STC 16292), f. 121r.

present in the Litany and the marriage service. It might be argued that the words, ‘say’ and ‘sing’ both allow for varying degrees of musical expression, the word ‘said’ not excluding the use of a monotone or intonation formula, and the word ‘sung’ offering wide scope for melodic and possibly harmonic treatment.

Royal and aristocratic funerals, moreover, seem to have made ample use of music. An eyewitness drawing of Sir Philip Sidney’s funeral procession (1586) contains three discrete bands of drum and fife players, one group going before the coffin and two following.<sup>87</sup> Musicians who were granted livery for Elizabeth I’s funeral included twenty-six gentlemen and twelve children of the Chapel Royal choir, fifteen gentlemen and ten children of Westminster Abbey choir, seven violinists, four recorder players, seven flautists, six hautboy and sackbut players, six lutenists, twenty-two trumpeters and four drum and fife players.<sup>88</sup> While it is true that they may not all have participated musically, the singers of the Chapel Royal depicted in one contemporary painting of Elizabeth’s funeral procession are not singing but are clearly carrying music, presumably with the intention of performing it at the funeral.<sup>89</sup>

### 5.3.2 *Theatrical Death Songs, Elegies and Dirges*

It has been suggested that post-Reformation theatre substituted mimesis for ritual, and it is true that the following minutes of a 1589 Star Chamber meeting of the Privy Council might be interpreted as evidence of a ban preventing the representation of sacramental rites on the stage:<sup>90</sup>

---

<sup>87</sup> Lant, *Sequitur celebritas & pompa funeris*, pp. 3, 24 and 28.

<sup>88</sup> Matthias Range, *British Royal and State Funerals*, 43.

<sup>89</sup> *GB-Lbl Add. MS 35324*, f. 31v.

<sup>90</sup> Stephen Greenblatt, *Shakespearean Negotiations: The Circulation of Social Energy in Renaissance England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 26, 109. For criticism of this view see Walsh, *Unsettled Toleration*, 6.

...there hathe growne some inconvenience by comon playes... in [that] the players take upon themselves to handle in their plaies certen matters of Divinitye...unfitt to be suffred, for redresse whereof their Lordships have thought good to appointe some persones of judgement and understanding to viewe and examine their playes before they be permitted to present them publickly.<sup>91</sup>

Notwithstanding the Privy Council's reservations, pagan and secular versions of hymn singing and chanting at gravesides can be found in *Much Ado About Nothing* V.iii and *Cymbeline* IV.ii. In *Much Ado*, the song 'Pardon, goddess of the night', sung by Balthasar at Hero's supposed tomb, is preceded by the line 'now, music, sound, and sing your solemn hymn' (V.iii.11). In *Cymbeline*, Guiderius and Aviragus perform the dirge-like 'Fear no more the heat o'th'sun' over the apparently dead body of Fidele. In both cases, the absence of an actual corpse effectively transforms ritual to mimesis.

Although dirges seemingly survived the Reformation unscathed, as a genre they were ultimately associated with popery and the 'dirige'. 'Dirge' is a contraction of 'dirige', the first word of the first antiphon in the first nocturn at Matins in the Latin Office for the Dead, an office once well known in England from its inclusion in the immensely popular primers printed during the reign of Henry VIII. William Marshall omitted the dirige and other prayers for the dead from his primer of 1534, but the outcry was such that he reprinted it, reluctantly restoring the missing elements.<sup>92</sup> The dirige was seemingly printed for the last time in a primer issued shortly after Elizabeth I's accession.<sup>93</sup> Shakespeare used the word 'dirge' more than once: in *The Rape of Lucretia* ('And now this pale swan in her wat'ry nest / Begins the sad dirge of her certain ending', 1,612), in *Romeo and Juliet*

<sup>91</sup> E. K. Chambers *The Elizabethan Stage*, 4 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923), vol. 4, p. 306.

<sup>92</sup> *A prymer in Englyshe with certeyn prayers [et] godly meditations, very necessary for all people that vnderstande not the Latyne tongue* (London: Johan Byddell, 1534; STC 15986); *A goodly prymer in englyshe, newly corrected and printed with certeyne godly meditations and prayers added to the same, very necessarie [and] profitable for all them that ryghte assuredly vnderstande not ye latine [and] greke tongues* (London: John Byddell, 1535; STC 15988), see preface for Marshall's reluctance. See Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992), 382.

<sup>93</sup> *The primer set furth at large, with many godly and deuoute prayers* (London: William Seres, 1559; STC 16087).

(‘our solemn hymns to sullen dirges change’, IV.iv.122), and in a striking hypallage from Hamlet (‘with mirth in funeral and with dirge in marriage’, I.ii.12). The word, in fact, remained a staple in the vocabulary of other Elizabethan playwrights and poets.

Though there is some evidence that the singing of dirges was proscribed, at least during the 1580s,<sup>94</sup> Elizabethan composers such as Robert Parsons (c. 1535–1572), Alfonso Feraboso (i) (1543–1588) and William Byrd nonetheless turned to setting the texts of the Office of the Dead, a movement which served to prolong the old funeral remembrances in public memory and arguably advanced the union of text and music in England.<sup>95</sup> While Elizabethan reformers labelled the dirge a ‘supersticious and vaine ceremonie’ which was contrary to the teachings of the scriptures,<sup>96</sup> musicians, poets and playwrights continued to refer to it in ways which suggest its prevailing value in early modern death culture. As Smith notes, the term could be used both generally and specifically to describe a song on the subject of death or a particular rite of the Office of the Dead.<sup>97</sup>

The dialogue preceding ‘Fear no more the heat o’th’sun’ (quoted in 1.3.2 above) reveals that that song, a commemoration of the apparently dead Fidele, was spoken. Comparable scenes in Thomas Kyd’s *Spanish Tragedy* and John Marston’s *Antonio’s Revenge* reveal theatrical precedents for the spoken dirge and seem to indicate that grief was considered more sincere if portrayed through speech rather than song, particularly when musical aptitude was wanting. Kyd’s Hieronimo chooses to speak the dirge because ‘singing fits

---

<sup>94</sup> See Jeremy L. Smith, “‘Unlawful song’: Byrd, the Babington Plot and the Paget Choir’, *Early Music*, 38 (2010), 497–508 (500).

<sup>95</sup> See Kerry McCarthy, *Byrd* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 69–71; Joseph Kerman, ‘The Elizabethan Motet: A Study of Texts for Music’, *Studies in the Renaissance*, 9 (1962), 273–308 (285, 290–91).

<sup>96</sup> *The pageant of popes contayninge the lyues of all the bishops of Rome, from the beginninge of them to the yeare of Grace 1555* (London: Thomas Marshe, 1574; STC 1304), f. 57r; Thomas Becon, *The reliques of Rome contayning all such matters of religion, as haue in times past bene brought into the Church by the Pope and his adherentes* (London: John Day, 1563; STC 1755), f. 108v.

<sup>97</sup> “‘Unlawful song’: Byrd, the Babington Plot and the Paget Choir’, 500.



not this case', while Marston's Pandolpho refrains from singing on the grounds that 'twill be vile out of tune'.<sup>98</sup>

Recent scholarship has put forward new arguments as to why Shakespeare's song was spoken, but the question of similitude with the burial service has not entered that discourse. While Warren suggests that the words are more affecting if spoken, Butler's view, propounded by Lindley, is that the dialogue concerning voice change draws attention to the adolescent state of the characters and their transition to manhood during the course of the play.<sup>99</sup> Stern has implied that the recitation of songs was common theatrical practice, giving 'Deare, do not your faire beauty wrong' in Thomas May's *The Old Couple*—a love song which is read out as a sonnet—and 'Goe happy heart' in Fletcher's *Mad Lover*—an epitaph spoken at a fake funeral—as examples.<sup>100</sup> Both songs exist in musical settings by Robert Johnson and John Wilson respectively, though it is possible that those settings were composed for later revivals of the plays or for concert performance. Stern's proposal that a lack of musical ability within the company might explain the situation in *Cymbeline* is hampered by the presence of the song 'Hark, hark the lark' earlier in the play; that song was unquestionably sung, according to the stage direction *Enter Musicians* (II.iii.9).

The confusion over whether the actors will sing, speak or chant the song calls to mind the following rubric from the *BCP*: 'When they come to the graue, while the Corps is made

---

<sup>98</sup> Thomas Kyd, *The Spanish tragedie* (London: Edward Allde, 1592; STC 15086), sig. D3v; John Marston, *Antonios reuenge* (London: for Thomas Fisher, 1602; STC 17474), sig. Iv. See G. K. Hunter, 'The Spoken Dirge in Kyd, Marston and Shakespeare: A Background to *Cymbeline*', *Notes & Queries*, 2 (1964), 146–7; Peggy Muñoz Simonds, *Myth, Emblem and Music in Shakespeare's 'Cymbeline': An Iconographic Reconstruction* (Newark, London and Toronto: University of Delaware Press and Associated University Presses, 1992), 358.

<sup>99</sup> *Cymbeline*, ed. Roger Warren (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 274; *Cymbeline*, ed. Martin Butler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 249; David Lindley, *Shakespeare and Music* (London and New York: Bloomsbury, 2006), 183.

<sup>100</sup> Tiffany Stern, *Documents of Performance in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 146–7; Thomas May, *The old couple* (London: J. Cottrel, 1658; Wing M1412), sig. D2r; *Fifty comedies and tragedies written by Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, Gentlemen* (London: J. Macock, 1679; Wing B1582), 245.

ready to bee laid into the earth, the Priest shall say, or the Priest, and Clerkes all sing.’<sup>101</sup> That juxtaposition of speaking and singing perhaps had its roots in the ancient Greek *encomia*; initially choral songs in praise of victorious athletes, the term was later extended to include eulogies.<sup>102</sup> Implying that they were usually sung, George Puttenham described them in 1589 as ‘ballades of praise called Encomia’, and in Beaumont and Fletcher’s *The Honest Man’s Fortune* (1612–13), Madame Lamira marvels that Madame le Orleans, such a failure where marriage is concerned, ‘Should sing Encomions o’t’.<sup>103</sup> William Cowper, however, observed in the eighteenth century that ‘Enconium in old time was poet’s work’.<sup>104</sup> The Roman *nenia* likewise seem to have been chanted dirges performed at gravesides, though no example has survived.<sup>105</sup> In this light, Shakespeare’s meta-theatrical representation of the familiar ritual of burial is not only paganized in line with the Star Chamber proceedings of 1589 (see 5.3.2 above), but perhaps also mirrored the perplexing state of a half-reformed church and its bewildered congregation. The *Cymbeline* passage certainly reflects the juxtaposition of the words ‘said’ and ‘sung’ in the burial service. In both *Much Ado* and *Cymbeline* the audience know that the decedent is not really dead, and since ritual requires a unified audience, they become part of the mimesis.

The outwardly pagan message of ‘Fear no more the heat o’th’sun’ speaks to the many contradictory aspects of Renaissance burial culture. While the singer/speaker addresses the deceased directly and prays for his soul in a way that was discouraged by the church, the

---

<sup>101</sup> *The booke of common praier*, 1559, sig. 121r.

<sup>102</sup> Chris Baldick, ‘encomium’ in *The Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms* (online edn: Oxford University Press, 2015). See Gordon McMullan, *Shakespeare and the Idea of Late Writing: Authorship in the Proximity of Death* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 213.

<sup>103</sup> George Puttenham, *The arte of English poesie* (London: Richard Field, 1589; STC 20519.5), p. 35; Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, *Comedies and tragedies* (London: for Humphrey Robinson and Humphrey Moseley, 1647; Wing B1581), p. 159.

<sup>104</sup> William Cowper, *The task, a poem, in six books* (London: for J. Johnson, 1785; ESTC T014896), vol. 1, p. 267.

<sup>105</sup> Charles Favez, Gordon Willis Williams and John Scheid, ‘nenia’ in *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (online edn: Oxford University Press, 2012).

lines ‘Golden lads and girls all must, / As chimney-sweepers, come to dust’ echo the prayer book’s ‘earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust’.<sup>106</sup> A final incantation against evil breaks away from the tetrameter of the body of the song and into a trimetric formula for four lines, before resuming the original metre for a valedictory benediction:

Guiderius: No exorcizer harm thee,  
 Aviragus: Nor no witchcraft charm thee.  
 Guiderius: Ghost unlaid forbear thee.  
 Aviragus: Nothing ill come near thee.  
 Both: Quiet consummation have,  
 And renownèd be thy grave.  
 (IV.ii.341–6)

Perhaps Shakespeare sought to convey a sense of otherness by switching the meter at this crucial point in the song; he had used meter this way some nine years earlier to set the infernal witches apart from the mortals in *Macbeth* (see 4.2.2 above). ‘Quiet consummation have’ exposes the collective fear of ‘what dreams may come’, and perhaps references the elimination of the notion of Purgatory; with heaven and hell as the only options, peace was devoutly to be wished for, rather than the alternative. The brothers’ final hope that Fidele’s grave be ‘renownèd’ alludes to the increasingly elaborate design of seventeenth-century funeral monuments, and stresses the perceived importance of the retention of identity and reputation after death.<sup>107</sup>

Another dimension to the *Cymbeline* dirge performance is the use of music as a humorous device in instances where the audience know a death to be faked. In *Cymbeline* IV.ii, the ‘mannish crack’ functions as the passage’s comic element. Likewise in *Romeo and Juliet* IV.iv, a whimsical scene involving musicians and abounding with musical quips

<sup>106</sup> For the restriction of prayers for the dead, see the Thirty-Nine Articles: *Articles. wherevpon it was agreed by the archbysshops and bisshops of both the prouinces, and the whole clergy, in the conuocation holden at London in the yere of our Lord God M.D.lxii accordyng to the computation of the Churche of England* (London: Richarde Jugge and John Cawood, 1563; STC 10038.3), 12–15, 18.

<sup>107</sup> See Nigel Llewellyn, *The Art of Death: Visual Culture in the English Death Ritual c.1500–c.1800* (London: Reaktion Books in association with the Victoria and Albert Museum, 2013), 104–6.

follows the ostentatious response of Juliet's family to the spurious announcement of her death. The song 'With griping grief' which is referenced in the musicians' scene, moreover, is not a funeral song, but rather extols the comfort music can bring.<sup>108</sup> This contrasts starkly with the muted onstage response to the real tragedy at the play's close, in which music plays no role.

The abrogation of sung funeral anthems and masses for the dead prompted the emergence of secular mourning songs, including the theatrical 'death song' which became a tradition within choirboy acting companies in the second half of the sixteenth century. Richard Edwards's 'Awake ye woeful wights' from *Damon and Pithias* is an early example. The play text specifies accompaniment on the regals,<sup>109</sup> while the simple, stepwise melody of the lute song arrangement which has survived in *GB-Lbl* Add. MS 15117 f. 3r, has all the hallmarks of a consort song.<sup>110</sup> The song must have been popular, given that Shakespeare parodied it in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* V.i.311–13:<sup>111</sup>

Edwards

You sisters three with cruel hand  
With Speed come stop my breath!

Shakespeare

O Sisters Three  
Come, come to me,  
With hands as pale as milk

Death songs were usually written for solo voice and viols, 'Ah, Alas you salt sea gods' (attrib. Richard Farrant and possibly performed in the anonymous *Wars of Cyrus*),

<sup>108</sup> Jeremy L. Smith convincingly argues for the performance of a lament by William Byrd at the scene's close: 'What Do Shakespearean Musicians Think? Complementary Rhetorical Devices in *Romeo and Juliet* and Byrd's *O that most rare breast*', *Journal of Musicological Research*, 36 (2017), 336–63.

<sup>109</sup> Richard Edwards, *The excellent comedie of two the moste faithfullest freendes, Damon and Pithias* (London: Richard Iohnes, 1571; STC 7514), sig. D1v.

<sup>110</sup> See Katherine Butler, *Music in Elizabethan Court Politics* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2015), 98; Jane Flynn, 'The Education of Choristers in England During the Sixteenth Century' in *English Choral Practice, 1400–1650*, ed. John Morehen (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 180–99 (192).

<sup>111</sup> The parody seems to have been first noted by Edmond Malone and subsequently transmitted by numerous nineteenth-century editors: *The plays and poems of William Shakspeare*, ed. E. Malone. 10 vols. (London: H. Baldwin, 1790), vol. 10, p. 580.

being a case in point; the viol parts survive in two sources: *GB-Och* MSS Mus. 984-88 and *GB-Lbl* MSS 17786-91.<sup>112</sup> This song is also transmitted in the altus partbook *GB-Ob* MS Tenbury 389 and its companion discantus partbook, the privately owned McGhie manuscript (*GB-Lmcghie*). The emergence of secular mourning songs reflected the new doctrinal view on the function of music in relation to death; no longer needed to speed a soul's passage, music was now a mourning aid to the living.

By the time Shakespeare wrote *A Midsummer Night's Dream* in 1595/6, the popularity of the death song was waning, making way for the elegy. Musical funeral elegies first emerged during the 1580s and quickly became popular. They often took the forms most favoured by composers of English secular song: consort songs, lute songs and madrigals.<sup>113</sup> Composers' adoption of accessible forms made elegies readily performable by the general musical populace, both amateur and professional, securing them a place in domestic recreation and on the stage.<sup>114</sup> Thomas Campion and Giovanni Coprario's *Songs of Mourning. Bewailing the untimely Death of Prince Henry* are a case in point, lending themselves as they do to domestic performance with lute or viol accompaniment.<sup>115</sup> Some examples of elegies and their variegated musical forms include:

- Francis Pilkington's 'Elegie in remembrance of his Worshipfull friend Thomas Leighton Esquier' in *The first booke of songs or ayres of 4. parts*

---

<sup>112</sup> For arguments on the song's provenance, see W. J. Lawrence, 'The Earliest Private-Theatre Play', *Times Literary Supplement* (11 August 1921), 514; *The Wars of Cyrus* ed. James Paul Brawner (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1942), 142; G. K. Hunter, 'The Wars of Cyrus and Tamburlaine', *Notes & Queries*, 8 (1961), 395-96; Martin Wiggins, 'When Did Marlowe Write *Dido, Queen of Carthage*?', *Review of English Studies*, 59 (2008), 521-41 (535-6); Katherine Butler, 'Death Songs and Elegies: Singing About Death in Elizabethan England', *Early Music*, 43 (2015), 269-80; Ross W. Duffin, 'Music and the Stage in the Time of Shakespeare' in *The Oxford Handbook of the Age of Shakespeare*, ed. R. Malcolm Smuts (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 748-64 (756).

<sup>113</sup> K. Dawn Grapes, *With Mornefull Musique: Funeral Elegies in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2018), 9-11.

<sup>114</sup> Butler, 'Death Songs and Elegies: Singing About Death in Elizabethan England', 272.

<sup>115</sup> *Songs of mourning bewailing the vntimely death of Prince Henry. Worded by Tho. Campion. And set forth to bee sung with one voyce to the lute, or violl: by Iohn Coprario* (London: Thomas Snodham, 1613; STC 4546).

*with tableture for the lute or orpherian, with the violl de gamba* (London: T. Este, 1605; STC 19922), sigs M3v–M4r.

- Thomas Weelkes's 'Elegie in remembrance of the Hon. the Lord Borough' in *Balletts and madrigals to fve voyces with one to 6. voyces* (London: Thomas Este, 1598; STC 25203), sig. D4v.
- William Byrd's 'Funerall songs of that honorable gent. Syr Philip Sidney, Knight' in *Psalmes, sonets, & songs of sadnes and pietie, made into musicke of fve parts... for the recreation of all such as delight in musick* (London: Thomas East, 1588; STC 4253.7), sigs G1v–G2r.

The diegetic performance of the song 'Come away, death' in *Twelfth Night* is almost certainly an example of a theatrical elegy, there being no evidence that the song circulated independently of the play (see appendix 2.1 for the song's circulation). In this case the singer envisages his own death, caused by a 'fair cruel maid', and how that mourning process might be played out. The song makes reference to certain tangible elements of the burial ritual, such as the 'black coffin' and the 'shroud of white stuck all with yew', but is entirely secular in that the real subject matter is courtly love. Those references to *ars moriendi* or the art of dying are characteristic of funeral elegies;<sup>116</sup> in this case, though, the singer shuns the typical obsequies associated with a good death, such as friends strewing one's coffin and mourning at one's grave, since a broken heart has rendered those crucial practices meaningless for the singer. It may not be a coincidence that the singing of this song, as is also the case of the *Cymbeline* dirge, is steeped in confusion. In the preceding dialogue there appears uncertainty as to who should sing the song, Viola or Feste, while Orsino's description of the silly love song which he heard the previous evening hardly seems pertinent to this poignant elegy:

O, fellow, come, the song we had last night.-  
 Mark it, Cesario, it is old and plain;  
 The spinsters and the knitters in the sun  
 And the free maids that weave their thread with bones

---

<sup>116</sup> On the typical characteristics of musical funeral elegies, see Grapes, *With Mornefull Musique: Funeral Elegies in Early Modern England*, 10–13.

Do use to chant it. It is silly sooth,  
 And dallies with the innocence of love,  
 Like the old age.

(II.iv.44–50)

Though it has been suggested more than once that the original singer was changed and the original song lost,<sup>117</sup> it cannot be disputed that this elegy perfectly embodies the two emotions dominating Viola's psyche: love and grief.

### 5.3.3 'The Rest is Silence': Liturgy and Song in *Hamlet*

In a play which uses song chiefly to unnerve its audience, Ophelia's singing is treated as symptomatic of madness. The themes of her songs reveal the causes of her insanity—her love for Hamlet and the death of her father—and shed light on contemporary apprehensions concerning death and burial:

How should I your true love know  
 From another one?  
 By his cockle hat and staff,  
 And his sandal shoon.

He is dead and gone, lady,  
 He is dead and gone.  
 At his head a grass green turf,  
 At his heels a stone.

(IV.iv.24–31)

The first stanza above is derived from the opening of the immensely popular ballad 'Walsingham', first printed in Thomas Deloney's *Garland of Good Will* (first printed c. 1592, though the earliest surviving print dates from 1628):

As ye came from the holy Land  
 of Walsingham,  
 Met you not with my true loue,  
 by the way as you came?  
 How should I know your true loue,  
 that haue met many a one,

---

<sup>117</sup> E. A. J. Honigman, *The Texts of 'Othello' and Shakespearean Revision* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), 40; Stern, *Documents of Performance*, 148.

As I came from the holy Land,  
that haue come, that haue gone.<sup>118</sup>

The first ten entries for ‘Walsingham’ in Appendix 2.1 record sources for its text and music which certainly pre-date *Hamlet*. Five of the ten are solo instrumental anthologies, and one early source alone (*GB-Ob* Rawl. poet. 85) transmits the text, which may have been penned by Sir Walter Raleigh.<sup>119</sup> The ballad expresses an old man’s bitter memories of a past love and is not on the whole cheerful, but nor is it concerned with death; to hear the sentiment of a familiar song displaced by images of death must have had an unsettling effect for *Hamlet*’s auditors.

Shakespeare’s inclusion of ‘Walsingham’ is not without religious connotations, since the shrine at Walsingham was medieval England’s foremost place of pilgrimage until 1538.<sup>120</sup> The anonymous *Lament for Our Lady’s Shrine at Walsingham* bemoans the shrine’s decline in language reminiscent of Shakespeare’s ‘Bare ruin’d choirs where late the sweet birds sang’ (Sonnet 73):

Owls do scrike where the sweetest hymns  
Lately were sung,  
Toads and serpents hold their dens  
Where the palmers did throng.<sup>121</sup>

Since Appendix 2.1 proves that the original Walsingham ballad was extremely popular around 1600, it is perhaps unwise to place too much emphasis here on its Catholic implications. At the end of another song, nonetheless, Ophelia seemingly offers what might have been termed a ‘popish’ prayer for the dead: ‘Gramercy on his soul! / And of all Christian souls, I pray God. God buy ye.’ (IV.iv.199–200).

---

<sup>118</sup> Thomas Deloney, *The garland of good will* (London: for E. B. and Robert Bird, 1628; STC 6553.5), sig. G5v.

<sup>119</sup> See Philip Edwards, *Pilgrimage and Literary Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 31–9.

<sup>120</sup> *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, ed. F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone (2nd edn, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974), p. 1,458.

<sup>121</sup> *GB-Ob* MS Rawlinson Poetry 219, f. 16v (early seventeenth century—date from CELM).



Given Ophelia's propensity for singing about death, it is no surprise to learn in *F* that she died chanting 'snatches of old tunes, / As one incapable of her own distress' (IV.vi.160–61). In Q1 *Hamlet* (1603), Ophelia died 'chaunting olde sundry tunes',<sup>122</sup> but according to Q2 (1604), she 'chaunted snatches of old laudes'.<sup>123</sup> Lauds, one of the monastic eight canonical hours, was a service consisting of a chanted versicle and response formula.<sup>124</sup> When *Hamlet* was written, lauds would indeed have been considered 'old', since that office was habitually excluded from primers printed after the accession of Edward VI. It is not clear at what time of day Ophelia drowned, but if her singing of lauds can be taken as a clue, monastic rule places that activity during the early morning.<sup>125</sup> Sixteenth-century literature further confirms the practice:

Some tyme mattyns were sayde by themselfe in the nyghte. and laudes by them selfe at morow tyde.

In response to an accusation that the new church neglected the established ritual of night time prayer, William Fulke argued that

neither was it at midnight that the nunnes of Berking sang their Lawdes & Hymnes...for it was after Marutines, which could not be but in the morning, although early & before day.<sup>126</sup>

Fulke's evidence suggests that a sunrise service was the norm, following pre-dawn Matins. Of course, Ophelia is mad, and a mad person might sing lauds at any time they wish. Nonetheless, Q2's textual anomaly and the questions it raises deepen the mystery

---

<sup>122</sup> Shakespeare, *The tragicall historie of Hamlet Prince of Denmarke* (London: for N. L. and John Trundle, 1603; STC 22275), sig. H3v

<sup>123</sup> Shakespeare, *The tragicall historie of Hamlet, Prince of Denmarke* (London: I. R., 1604; STC 22276), sig. Mr.

<sup>124</sup> Ruth Steiner, rev. Keith Falconer, 'Lauds' in *Grove Music Online* (2001).

<sup>125</sup> Fernand Cabrol, 'Lauds' in *Catholic Encyclopedia*, ed. Charles G. Herbermann *et al*, 17 vols (New York: Appleton, 1913), vol. 9, pp. 38–9.

<sup>126</sup> Thomas Gascoigne, *Here after folowith the boke callyd the myrroure of Oure Lady very necessary for all relygyous persones* (London: Richard Fawkes, 1530; STC 17542), sig. lxvi; William Fulke, *T. Stapleton and Martiall (two popish heretikes) confuted, and of their particular heresies detected. Done and directed to all those that loue the truth, and hate superstitious vanities* (London: Henrie Middleton, 1580; STC 17542), 117–18.

surrounding the circumstances of Ophelia's drowning, the 'self-conscious artificiality' of Gertrude's account (IV.vi.149–66) and the 'jagged disruption of the play's narrative technique' which it presents.<sup>127</sup>

Flowers feature prominently in Ophelia's ravings and are occasionally referenced in her morbid verses, 'White his shroud as the mountain snow / Larded with sweet flowers' (IV.iv.34–5) being a case in point. That imagery can be linked to the murder of Hamlet's father in the orchard and the 'bank of flowers' in the 'Murder of Gonzago' (the meta-theatrical performance fashioned by Hamlet to expose his uncle as the murderer); gardens, furthermore, have been posited as being synonymous with graveyards in Renaissance literature.<sup>128</sup> Gertrude's account of Ophelia's drowning is a romanticized tale of flowers and song, but Ophelia's descent 'from her melodious lay / To muddy death' cannot be dressed up (IV.vi.165). The stark contrast contained in Gertrude's description is mirrored in the juxtaposition of that speech and the indecorous graveyard scene which follows.<sup>129</sup>

The singing gravedigger's anti-funereal performance at Ophelia's graveside furthers the trope of 'mirth in funeral' and paves the way for the 'maimed rites' (V.1.167) about to be witnessed at Ophelia's burial. This eldritch character began digging graves on the day Hamlet was born, making him not only a physical manifestation of death, but specifically the figure of Hamlet's death. The idea of death as a doppelgänger or second self who travels through life with us was amplified in medieval Arthurian poems such as Heinrich von dem Türlin's *Diu Crône* (c. 1220) and Thomas Malory's version of *Le Morte d'Arthur* (c. 1569).<sup>130</sup> A puzzling conversation between Claudius and Laertes, furthermore, reveals

---

<sup>127</sup> Neill, *Issues of Death*, 233.

<sup>128</sup> Neill, *Issues of Death*, 249; Watson, *The Rest is Silence*, 82.

<sup>129</sup> Neill, *Issues of Death*, 233.

<sup>130</sup> See Jane Bliss, *Naming and Namelessness in Medieval Romance* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2008), 46.

that the mysterious apocalyptic horseman Lamond—or perhaps La Mort—seems similarly to have shadowed Laertes :<sup>131</sup>

Claudius:     Some two months since,  
                   Here was a gentleman of Normandy.  
                   I've seen myself, and serv'd against, the French,  
                   And they can well on horseback; but this gallant  
                   Had witchcraft in't: he grew unto his seat,  
                   And to such wondrous doing brought his horse  
                   As had he been incorpsed and demi-natured  
                   With the brave beast: so far he passed my thought,  
                   That I in forgery of shapes and tricks  
                   Come short of what he did.

Laertes:       A Norman was't?

Claudius:      A Norman.

Laertes:       Upon my life, Lamond.

Claudius:      The very same.

Laertes:       I know him well.

(IV.vi.69–83)

Macabre, singing gravediggers were not unheard of in early modern culture; an eyewitness account of Piero di Cosimo's *Triumph of Death*—enacted in a 1507 Florentine carnival—tells of figures in black singing at the edges of graves. Later in the song it transpires that the singers are themselves dead.<sup>132</sup> In the sixteenth-century anatomical masterpiece *De Humanis Corporis Fabrica*, furthermore, an image of a skeleton sexton leaning on a spade reinforces the superstitious fear attached to gravediggers as bringers of death.<sup>133</sup> The gravedigger's song 'In youth when I did love', closely based on stanzas one, three and eight of the poem 'I loath that I did love' by Thomas, Lord Vaux (1509–56), first published in 1557,<sup>134</sup> is the centrepiece of a scene which resonates with the songs of the

<sup>131</sup> See Neill, *Issues of Death*, 237, and Catherine Belsey, 'Shakespeare's Sad Tale for Winter: *Hamlet* and the Tradition of Fireside Ghost Stories', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 61 (2010), 1–27 (25).

<sup>132</sup> Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptures and Architects*, trans. Jonathan Foster (London: Bell & Daldy, 1871), 416–19.

<sup>133</sup> Andreas Vesalius, *De Humani Corporis* (Basel: 1543), 163. Edn digitized <[e-rara.ch/bau\\_1/content/pageview/6339659](http://e-rara.ch/bau_1/content/pageview/6339659)>, accessed 15 May 2017.

<sup>134</sup> *Songes and sonettes, written by the right honorable Lorde Henry Haward late Earle of Surrey, and other* (London: Tottel, 1557; STC 13861), sig. 72r.

dead. The sentiment of ‘In youth when I did love’ is similar to that of ‘Walsingham’, the word ‘love’ reinforcing its link with Ophelia’s version of ‘Walsingham’, ‘How should I your true love know from another one?’.

The gravedigger is throwing up skulls as he sings, ‘ventriloquizing’ them, according to Neill.<sup>135</sup> Hamlet’s reaction to the fellow’s lack of ‘feeling of his business’ (V.i.50) is to imbue the skulls with identity, and his line ‘That skull had a tongue in it and could sing once’ (V.i.143–5) cannot help but remind the audience of Ophelia’s songs, which Hamlet himself never heard. The only singing heard in *Hamlet* comes from Ophelia and the gravedigger, but when another skull is briefly bestowed with the identity of Yorick, we experience the ghostly reverberation of other songs: ‘Here hung those lips that I have kissed I know not how oft.— Where be your gibes now, your gambols, your songs...?’ (V.1.143). Hamlet’s language, invoking images of a skull with a living tongue and fleshy lips, is a wilful reincarnation of the organs of speech and song, which perhaps underlines the early modern fear of death as an extinguisher of identity, or Hamlet’s unwillingness to believe that ‘the rest is silence’.

Occurring in more than ten manuscript and printed sources (see appendix 2.1), and with two tunes extant (see 2.2 above), *I Loath That I Did Love* was clearly popular. A tune identified with the same verbal incipit, and perhaps one of the two extant ones, is called for in a macabre ballad entitled ‘The Lover Complaineth of His Lady’s Unconstancy’, which begins ‘You graves of grisly ghosts / Your charge from coffins send.’<sup>136</sup> In *Hamlet*, then, the familiar song was used in exactly the context Shakespeare’s audience might have expected, but the darkly comic scene, played at the graveside of the loveable Ophelia to

---

<sup>135</sup> Neill, *Issues of Death*, 85.

<sup>136</sup> Thomas Proctor, *A gorgeous gallery, of gallant inuentions* (London: W. How, 1578; STC 20402), sig. C2r.

whom the audience would inevitably have formed an attachment, pushes the experience of the song beyond the comfort of familiarity and into uneasy territory.

Laertes' anguished cry, 'What ceremony else?' (V.i.173) at Ophelia's burial echoes Ophelia's former distress at a corpse (possibly her father) being borne 'bare-faced on the bier', and serves as a reminder of the importance of due ceremony in early modern burial culture. While the priest in the enigmatic first quarto of *Hamlet* reveals that Ophelia has 'had a Dirge sung for her maiden soule', the editors of Q2 and *F* saw fit to omit that observance.<sup>137</sup> *A booke of the forme of common prayers*, published on the continent for exiled English Presbyterian congregations, directs that 'the corps is reverntlie to be brought to the graue, accompanied with the neighbours in comely manner, without any further Ceremonie';<sup>138</sup> Ophelia's rites are complete according to this radical liturgy.<sup>139</sup> Is it, then, a lingering conservatism that causes Laertes and Hamlet to feel otherwise? Laertes' 'What ceremony else?' has been interpreted by Maurice J. Quinlan as a reaction against silence at Ophelia's graveside where the 'In Paradisum' would traditionally have been sung: the priest has decreed that since Ophelia was a victim of suicide, 'we should profane the service of the dead / To sing sage requiem and such rest to her / As to peace-parted souls' (V.i.185–7), and Quinlan maintains that the silence would have registered with Shakespeare's audience.<sup>140</sup> Rather than music commemorating death, music, like Ophelia's songs, has been silenced by suicide (see 5.6 below for more exploration of death and silence in Shakespeare's plays).

---

<sup>137</sup> Shakespeare, *The tragicall historie of Hamlet Prince of Denmarke*, 1603, I.v.

<sup>138</sup> *A booke of the forme of common prayers, administration of the Sacraments, &c. agreeable to Gods Worde, and the vse of the reformed Churches* (Middleburgh: Richard Schilders, 1587), sig. E2r.

<sup>139</sup> Swift, *Shakespeare's Common Prayers*, 156.

<sup>140</sup> 'Shakespeare and the Catholic Burial Services', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 5 (1954), 303–6 (304).

*Hamlet*, more so than any other play in Shakespeare's canon, is riddled with religious paradoxes. On the one hand Hamlet longs to return to Wittenburg, Martin Luther's university and the seat of progressive Protestantism, while on the other his father's ghost returns from Purgatory—a Medieval doctrine which the reformers tried to banish:

I am thy father's spirit,  
Doomed for a certain term to walk the night,  
And for the day confined to fast in fires,  
Till the foul crimes done in my days of nature  
Are burnt and purged away.

(I.iv.13–17)

Hamlet attempts to categorise the ghost according to Protestant beliefs: 'Be thou a spirit of health or goblin damned / Bring with thee airs from heaven or blasts from hell' (I.iv.21–2), but must concede that his father's ghost falls somewhere between those paradigms: 'thou comest in such questionable shape' (I.iv.24). His invocation of Saint Patrick—the keeper of Purgatory<sup>141</sup>—in his post-visitation conversation with Horatio (I.v.150), and his famous observation 'There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio, / Than are dreamt of in our philosophy' (I.v.184–5) might be interpreted as a concession that reformist ideologies such as Lutheranism can by no means provide credal certainty where the afterlife is concerned. The play's religious ambiguity continues: Hamlet's later unease respecting 'what dreams may come' after death/suicide (III.i.72) gives way to the atheistic conviction that 'the rest is silence' (V.ii.307) at the moment of his actual death (see 5.6 below), while Horatio's prayer that flights of angels sing him to his rest seemingly invokes the 'In Paradisum' and 'Chorus angelorum' of the then out of use Sarum rite:<sup>142</sup>

In paradisum deducant te Angeli; in tuo adventu suscipiant te martyres, et perducant te in civitatem sanctam Ierusalem...Chorus angelorum te suscipiat, et cum Lazaro quondam paupere æternam habeas requiem.

---

<sup>141</sup> *R*, p. 1,941, n. 150.

<sup>142</sup> Quinlan, 'Shakespeare and the Catholic Burial Services', 303.

May the angels lead you into paradise; may the martyrs receive you at your arrival and lead you to the holy city Jerusalem. May choirs of angels receive you and with Lazarus, once [a] poor [man], may you have eternal rest.<sup>143</sup>

Hamlet, in fact, does not receive a requiem mass, his last rites as ordered by Fortinbras being ‘the soldiers’ music and the rites of war’ (V.ii.353). Fortinbras’s order has been described as a ‘crowning glory’ after the incomplete funerals of Polonius and Ophelia.<sup>144</sup> The soldiers’ music, however, is surely an unfitting end for Hamlet who was a scholar rather than a soldier.

Despite palpable differences between conservative and radical ideologies concerning its use, music remained a requisite element in the staging of death. Shakespeare’s reference in Sonnet 73 to ‘Bare ruin’d choirs, where late the sweet birds sang’ embodies a sense of loss at the removal of music from worship, and perhaps indicates the prepotency of the puritanical view set out by William Prynne in *Histriomastix*: ‘we must sing to God with the heart, not with the voice.’<sup>145</sup> I conclude, therefore, that the methodical use of music on the early modern stage holds the mirror up to a society perhaps more resistant to the musical aspects of reform than is generally believed.

#### 5.4 ‘Doomed for a Certain Term to Walk the Night’:

##### The Ghostly Soundscape of the Stage

A major cultural consequence of the Reformation was a displacement of the familiar bond between the communities of the living and the dead. The Ten Articles of 1536 eliminated the medieval doctrine of Purgatory, meaning that it was no longer considered appropriate

---

<sup>143</sup> *The Sarum Missal: Edited from Three Early Manuscripts*, ed. J. Wickham Legg (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1916), 429, 447; my translation.

<sup>144</sup> Neill, *Issues of Death*, 302.

<sup>145</sup> William Prynne, *Histrion-mastix The players scourge, or, actors tragaedie, ... Wherein it is largely evidenced, by divers arguments ... That popular stage-playes ... are sinfull, heathenish, lewde, ungodly spectacles, and most pernicious corruptions* (London: E. A., Augustine Mathewes, Thomas Cotes and W. I., 1633; STC 20464), 276.

to pray for the dead.<sup>146</sup> While the 1549 version of the *BCP* allowed the priest to speak directly to the deceased: 'I commend thy soul to God the father almighty, and thy body to the ground', a 1552 revision of the book altered that direct communication to 'we therefore commit his body to the ground.' On the stage, nonetheless, the living and the dead continued to communicate directly by way of ghostly visitations that variously revealed the guilt of the living, incited mortals to revenge, or foretold the future.

The theatrical sound world of ghosts is subtle, mysterious and often obscure. Ghosts do not sing or dance like witches, their primary function being the delivery of important messages to the living. It has been claimed (by Walter Herbert) that Shakespeare and his contemporaries seldom depicted ghosts without the associated elements of a cold night, a downcast human interlocutor, and an abrupt slowing of dramatic pace.<sup>147</sup> Surely, though, soundscape is a critical component of ambience, and one with which Shakespeare was inclined to experiment. Barnado and Marcellus inform us that the ghost of Hamlet's father persistently appears on the stroke of 1a.m.: 'The bell then beating one' (I.i.45) and 'Thus twice before, and just at this dead hour, / With martial stalk hath he gone by our watch' (I.i.74). Shortly before the ghost appears to Hamlet in Gertrude's chamber, he remarks "'Tis now the very witching time of night, / When churchyards yawn and hell itself breathes out / Contagion to this world' (III.ii.301), and an implied stage direction for a bell to mark 1a.m. has been posited at that point.<sup>148</sup>

The ghost's exits are cued by the crowing of a cock, which Horatio likens to a trumpet announcing the dawn:

Barnado:       It was about to speak when the cock crew.  
Horatio:       And then it started like a guilty thing

---

<sup>146</sup> See Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 383–400.

<sup>147</sup> T. Walter Herbert, 'Shakespeare Announces a Ghost', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 4 (1950), 247–54 (249).

<sup>148</sup> Neill, *Issues of Death*, 220–21.



Upon a fearful summons. I have heard  
 The cock, that is the trumpet to the day,  
 Doth with his lofty and shrill sounding throat  
 Awake the god of day...

(I.i.140–45)

Few among Shakespeare's audiences could have heard the phrase 'trumpet to the day' without recollecting the biblical prophecy of the last trumpet which will deliver the dead to everlasting life. Marcellus sets forth further theories of the cock's crow as a banisher of darkness:

It faded on the crowing of the cock.  
 Some say that ever against that season comes  
 Wherein our saviour's birth is celebrated,  
 The bird of dawning singeth all night long,  
 and then, they say, no spirit can walk abroad:

(I.i.150–54)

So the appearances of old Hamlet's ghost are bookended by the sound of bells and cock crow—the one associated with death and burial, the other with dawn and rebirth.

Ghosts in *Julius Caesar* occupy a more extrovert sound-world than that of old Hamlet. On the eve of Caesar's assassination, we are told 'graves have yawned, and yielded up their dead; /...Horses do neigh, and dying men did groan, / And ghosts did shriek and squeal about the streets' (II.ii.18, 23–4). Caesar's ghost, the harbinger of Brutus' imminent death, is introduced by way of a carefully constructed atmosphere of torpidity and vagueness which owes much to Lucius' sleepy rendition of a lullaby. Brutus entreats his watchmen to lie down and sleep, while continually reminding the audience of Lucius' drowsiness: 'What, thou speak'st drowsily?' (IV.ii.329) and 'Canst thou hold up thy heavy eyes awhile / And touch thy instrument a strain or two?' (IV.ii.345–6). The song text is unspecified, which has led to speculation that a lute tune rather than a song was Shakespeare's intention; while it is true that it is less plausible for Lucius to fall asleep at

his instrument if he is singing, *F*'s stage direction 'Musicke, and a Song' surely implies vocalization with instrumental accompaniment.<sup>149</sup>

The performance of a song at this moment serves to slow the pace of the scene and potentially induces a sleepiness in the audience that further validates the appearance of a ghost. In a final languorous monologue, Brutus perpetuates the soporific music of the scene:

This is a sleepy tune:—O murderous slumber!  
Lay'st thou thy leaden mace upon my boy,  
That plays thee music?—Gentle knave, goodnight.  
I will not do thee so much wrong to wake thee:  
If thou dost nod, thou break'st thy instrument.  
I'll take it from thee. And, good boy, goodnight.  
Let me see, let me see: is not the leaf turned down  
Where I left reading? Here it is, I think.  
*Enter the Ghost of Caesar*

(IV.ii.357–64)

The vagueness surrounding Brutus' unnamed book—first he has lost it and then he has lost his page—coupled with the lack of song text serves to further amplify the mystery of the scene, particularly for a reader of the play who has no clue as to the nature of the song.

In complete contrast to Caesar's ghost, Banquo's ghost first appears to Macbeth without preparation, slowing of pace or any audible cue. The ghost enters mid-banquet and sits in Macbeth's seat, unnoticed by him for some sixteen lines (III.iv.40–56). None of the other guests can see the ghost, who proceeds to pass in and out of the busy scene. More so than the play's witches, who are seen by Banquo as well as Macbeth (I.iii), Banquo's ghost operates outside the parameters of the plot; one explanation which would justify Shakespeare's decision not to prepare the audience according to his usual formula is that the ghost is a product of Macbeth's disordered and guilty psyche. The next time the ghost

---

<sup>149</sup> John H. Long, *Shakespeare's Use of Music: The Histories and Tragedies* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1971), 102–4.

of Banquo appears, however, is during the Show of Eight Kings, which is preceded by the stage direction 'Hautboys' (IV.iv.115).

The hautboy (a forerunner of the modern oboe) was employed from as early as 1561 in theatrical representations of death, hell and the supernatural. In Norton and Sackville's *Goborduc* of that year, the dumb-show preceding the fourth act bears the stage direction:

First, the Musick of Howeboies began to plaie, duringe whiche there came forth from vnder the Stage, as though out of Hell three Furies...Hereby was signified the unnaturall Murders to followe...<sup>150</sup>

Compare this with Shakespeare's use of hautboy in *Antony and Cleopatra* around forty-five years later:

*Music of the hautboys is under the stage*  
 Second Soldier: Peace! What noise?...  
 First Soldier: Music i'th'air.  
 Third Soldier: Under the earth.  
 Fourth Soldier: It signs well, does it not?  
 Third Soldier: No.

(IV.iii.12–16)

Whereas in *Goborduc* hautboys had merely accompanied the representation of hell which was located beneath the stage, Shakespeare specifically positioned the hautboys within hell itself. Hautboys are also called for to introduce the dumb-show that recounts the murder of Gonzago in *Hamlet* (III.ii.112).

For the masque-like entrance of the ghosts of Posthumus' family in *Cymbeline*, Shakespeare resorted again to a gradual slowing of pace (Posthumus is left alone by his jailers to deliver a soliloquy), and to music:

*Solemne Musicke. Enter (as in an Apparition) Sicilius Leonatus, Father to Posthumus, and old man, attyred like a warriour, leading in his hand an ancient Matron (his wife, & Mother to Posthumus) with Musicke before them. Then, after other Musicke, followes the two young Leonati (Brothers to Posthumus) with wounds as they died in the warrs. They circle*

---

<sup>150</sup> Thomas Norton, *The tragedie of Gorboduc* (London: William Griffith, 1565; STC 18684), sig. .Cvr.

*Posthumus round as he lies sleeping.*<sup>151</sup>

(V.iii)

The direction 'Musicke before them' suggests that the instrumentalists were onstage. The word 'Musicke' certainly appears to have been used interchangeably during the seventeenth century to describe audible music or the theatre consort. The term 'Solemn Musicke' is controversial and its meaning has been much debated, but it possibly signified the use of organ.<sup>152</sup> Elsewhere in *Cymbeline*, the direction 'Solemne Musicke' is attached to a passage in which Belarius mentions an 'ingenius instrument'; if by this an off stage organ was signified, then the same organ might well have been played also in V.iii while the band preceded the ghosts onto the stage. The use of organ certainly had precedent in the children's repertory, judging by stage directions in Marston's *Sophonisba* (1606) and Middleton's *A Mad World, My Masters* (1608).<sup>153</sup>

A Shakespearean theatre consort is generally accepted to have comprised lute, bandora, cittern, transverse flute, and bass and treble viols.<sup>154</sup> If such a consort played in *Cymbeline*, it would be physically difficult for viol players to participate in a procession; it is therefore likely that the bass line was played offstage. The present chapter demonstrates, though, that theatrical death music calls the traditional perception of the theatre consort into question, since hautboys, trumpets organs and sackbutts were all used as signifiers of death. The physical entrance of musicians is more readily identifiable with ceremony and ritual than with atmospheric scene music intended to prepare the audience for a visitation. It is likely,

---

<sup>151</sup> *F* (GB-Ob online), 393.

<sup>152</sup> J. S. Manifold, *The Music in English Drama, from Shakespeare to Purcell* (London: Rockliff, 1956), 95–9; David Lindley, *Shakespeare and Music*, 254.

<sup>153</sup> John Marston, *The wonder of women or The tragedie of Sophonisba* (London: Iohn Windet, 1606; STC 17488), sigs Bv and D2v; Thomas Middleton, *A mad world, my masters* (London: Henry Ballard, 1608; STC 17888), sig. Cr.

<sup>154</sup> Duffin, 'Music and the Stage in the Time of Shakespeare', 749.

therefore, that the vision is, as Posthumus suspects, a dream: ‘Tis still dream, or else such stuff as madmen / Tongue, and brain not’ (V.iii.257–8).

Shakespeare’s ghosts, then, are individually distinguished by discrete sound-worlds, and Walter Herbert’s supposed model has little if any application beyond old Hamlet’s ghost; it certainly does not apply to Banquo’s, and stops short of explicating the ghostly appearances in *Julius Caesar* and *Cymbeline* owing to Herbert’s omission of Shakespeare’s use of music from the formula. Tiffany Stern’s claim that ‘no Shakespearean ghost’s entrance is flagged by sinister music—or by music of any kind—as would happen in a modern film’ likewise overlooks the complex and delicate sound-worlds of Shakespeare’s ghosts.<sup>155</sup> While it is true that background or non-diegetic music was not a tool used by Renaissance playwrights, the fact that the onstage characters are as much caught up in the ghostly soundscape as the audience are does not diminish its dramatic impact. On the contrary, skilled actors can manipulate that shared experience to maximise the chilling effect of the appearance of a ghost.

### 5.5 ‘A Swan-Like End’: Music to Die By

The inherited literary trope of the swan song was much exploited by early modern poets, playwrights and even musicians. Though its credibility was questioned as early as Roman times,<sup>156</sup> the concept that swans remain silent for most of their lives but sing a beautiful song prior to the moment of death had long appealed to artistic imaginations. The motif is explicated in the text of Orlando Gibbons’s (bap. 1583, d. 1625) famous madrigal ‘The silver swan’:

---

<sup>155</sup> Tiffany Stern, *Making Shakespeare: From Stage to Page* (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), 107.

<sup>156</sup> For an account of the swan song in Greek and Roman literature, see McMullan, *Shakespeare and the Idea of Late Writing*, 212–14.

The silver swan, who living had no note,  
 When death approached unlocked her silent throat,  
 Leaning her breast against the reedy shore,  
 Thus sung her first and last, and sung no more.<sup>157</sup>

For artists, it is claimed, the swan song's appeal lay in its portrayal of 'a resurgence of creative brilliance in the face of death', and its function as a 'celebration of late productivity'.<sup>158</sup>

Shakespeare's use of swan song ranged from figurative to actual. In *King John*, Prince Henry figures himself as the cygnet of the dying swan, his father:

...'Tis strange that death should sing.  
 I am the cygnet to this pale faint swan,  
 Who chants a doleful hymn to his own death,  
 And from the organ-pipe of frailty sings  
 His soul and body to their lasting rest.  
 (V.vii.21–5)

In *3 Henry VI* (I.iv.18–21), York, describing his army's defeat, invokes the tragic image of a drowning swan who is no match for the waves, albeit without mention of singing; in this instance, a musical reference would arguably have weakened the military simile. In *The Merchant of Venice*, Portia uses swan song as a lighthearted metaphor for Bassanio's potential failure to choose the correct casket: 'Let music sound while he doth make his choice, / Then if he lose, he makes a swan-like end, / Fading in music' (III.ii.45–7). Swan song receives similarly flippant treatment in Lyly's *Love's Metamorphosis*, where it is crossed with another literary convention—the juxtaposition of death and sexual love: 'Sweete Niobe, let vs sing, that I may die with the Swanne'.<sup>159</sup> In *Othello*, Desdemona's

<sup>157</sup> Orlando Gibbons, *The first set of madrigals and mottets of 5. parts apt for viols and voyces* (London: Thomas Snodham, 1612; STC 11826), no. 1. Modern text above from *The English Madrigalists 5: Orlando Gibbons' Madrigals and Motets to Five Voices*, ed. Edmund H. Fellowes, rev. Thurstan Dart (New York: Stainer & Bell Ltd, 1964), pp. 1–3.

<sup>158</sup> McMullan, *Shakespeare and the Idea of Late Writing*, 212.

<sup>159</sup> John Lyly, *Loues metamorphosis* (London: for William Wood, 1601; STC 17082), sig. C4v.

Willow Song functions as her swan song—though she is unaware of her impending death—and is later labelled as such by her maid Emilia at her own death:

What did thy song bode, lady?  
 Hark, canst thou hear me? I will play the swan,  
 And die in music:—Willow, willow, willow—  
 Moor, she was chaste; she loved thee, cruel Moor.  
 So come my soul to bliss as I speak true,  
 So speaking as I think, alas, I die.  
 (V.ii.282–7)

In the anonymous *Maid's Metamorphosis*, Eurymine performs a swan song without labelling it explicitly, when she makes the following request of her prospective murderers: 'Yet good my maisters, do but stay so long / Till I haue tane my farewell with a song'. She proceeds to sing the song 'Ye sacred Fyres and powers aboue', before being ultimately spared.<sup>160</sup>

Music's function for the dying extended beyond the swan song motif; notwithstanding music's controversial status in early modern England's reformed church, its palliative powers remained crucial, as evidenced by Katherine in *Henry VIII*:

.....Good Griffith,  
 Cause the musicians play me that sad note  
 I named my knell, whilst I sat meditating  
 On that celestial harmony I go to.  
 (IV.ii.83–6)

In the versatile imagination of Shakespeare's audience, Katherine's knell, played by earthly musicians, becomes indistinguishable from the music of the spheres. Likewise in *2 Henry IV*, Henry looks to music for comfort on his deathbed: 'Let there be no noise made, my gentle friends, / Unless some dull and favourable hand / Will whisper music to my weary spirit' (IV.ii.138–40). By contrast, Richard II is not sick when he hears music from his prison cell where he waits to be killed. The music he hears is out of time, which corresponds with the disorder in his own life:

---

<sup>160</sup> *The maydes metamorphosis* (London: Thomas Creede, 1600; STC 17188), sigs A3v–A4r.

.....Music do I hear?  
 Ha, ha! Keep time. How sour sweet music is  
 When time is broke and no proportion kept!  
 So is it in the music of men's lives.  
 (*Richard II* V.v.41–4)

In Q1 and Q2 of *King Lear*, furthermore, Lear's doctor hopes that music will help to restore his wits: 'Please you draw near: louder the music there'. Lear confirms that he is in fact close to death at this moment: 'You do me wrong to take me out o'th'grave'.<sup>161</sup> In *F*, the doctor character is simply called 'Gentleman' and the reference to music omitted. In considering the reason for that revision, I am reminded of my time as a vocalist at the Royal Shakespeare Company. During a rehearsal of the final scene of *Hamlet* I performed an unaccompanied *Kyrie eleison* from the gallery as the lights gradually went down on the corpse-strewn stage, only to hear the director call up from the auditorium 'No, cut it; too hopeful!' Ultimately, the lights went out abruptly with a single loud drum beat. Melody, then, provides comfort and hope, both alien concepts to Lear as we know him, and this might explain the decision by the editors of *F* to omit music from Lear's final scenes.

Further to its calmativ effect, music possessed the power to restore and revitalise. In *Pericles*, for instance, music revives the apparently dead Thaisa:

.....The rough and  
 Woeful music that we have, cause it to sound, beseech you.  
 The viol once more—how thou stirr'st, thou block!  
 The music there! I pray you give her air.  
 Gentlemen, this queen will live.  
 (III.ii.96–100)

Later in the play, Pericles hears the music of the spheres when reunited with his daughter Marina whom he had presumed dead (V.i.246–58). And in *The Winter's Tale*, music itself

---

<sup>161</sup> *M. William Shak-speare: his true chronicle historie of the life and death of King Lear and his three daughters* (London: for Nathaniel Butter, 1608; STC 22292), sig. K2r; *M. William Shake-speare, his true chronicle history of the life and death of King Lear, and his three daughters* (London: William Jaggard, 1619; STC 22293), sig. Kv. The spelling of the quotation above is modernized owing to discrepancies between the two volumes.



seems to facilitate the reawakening of Hermione's statue: 'Music; awake her; strike!' (V.iii.120).

### 5.6 'The Rest is Silence': Dying Without Music

The absence of death's auditory signifiers at Ophelia's funeral has already been mentioned above, as has the absence of music at the end of *Romeo and Juliet*, which stands in contrast to the presence of musicians at the earlier fake announcement of Juliet's death (IV.iv). In Ophelia's case, those looked-for rites have been deliberately removed owing to the church's stance on suicide. Hamlet's own final words, 'The rest is silence' (V.ii.307), though ostensibly referencing the political situation which is resolved by the deaths of the Danish royal family,<sup>162</sup> must also be viewed through the lens of religion. If 'rest' is taken to mean death, Hamlet's statement might be interpreted as an atheistic conviction that there is no life after death, admittedly an unexpected viewpoint from someone who has interacted with a ghost. 'Silence' may also signify a peaceful repose as opposed to the torments of hell or Purgatory, calling to mind the blessing 'Quiet consummation have' from 'Fear no more the heat o'th' sun' (*Cymbeline*, IV.ii.345). Hamlet's worry earlier in the play about 'What dreams may come' (III.i.72) were he to kill himself is laid to rest by his eventual murder which clears him of that sin, replacing the dreaded dreams with silence. But 'silence' may also be understood as a comment on the absence of music at the actual moment of death: after all, even poor Ophelia died chanting 'snatches of old tunes' (IV.vi.160), whereas Hamlet is treated only to 'the soldiers' music and the rites of war' (V.ii.353). Horatio, though, wishes for a better death for his friend, filling the

---

<sup>162</sup> David Scott Kastan, *A Will to Believe: Shakespeare and Religion* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 143; Margreta de Grazia, *'Hamlet' without Hamlet* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 79.

prospective silence with angelic song: ‘Goodnight, sweet prince, / And flights of angels sing thee to thy rest!’ (V.ii.308–9).

In *Romeo and Juliet*, the music and musical puns of IV.iv complement the scene’s overly ostentatious display of mourning by Juliet’s family; by withholding music at the play’s tragic close, Shakespeare marks the difference between the noisy spectacle of mourning and silent, true grief.<sup>163</sup> In *Macbeth*, though, Malcolm urges Macduff to give voice to his grief for his murdered family: ‘Give sorrow words. The grief that does not speak / Whispers the o’er-fraught heart and bids it break’ (IV.iii.240–41). Silent grief, then, was dangerous.<sup>164</sup> If the notion of silent grief can be stretched to include an absence of music, the musically silent conclusion to *Romeo and Juliet* can be interpreted as a cipher for continued danger in Verona, despite the apparent truce between Montagues and Capulets (V.iii.305–14).

## 5.7 Conclusion

Early modern English drama did not exactly hold ‘the mirror up to nature’, but rather (to paraphrase words attributed to Elizabeth I) it opened windows into men’s souls; that is, it presented an ideal association of death and music which was not always a realistic possibility in Reformation England. In drama, music continued to be used unreservedly (albeit secularly) to mourn, bury and remember the dead. Death commanded distinctive theatrical sound-worlds which could in turn be comforting or frightening. While elements of social custom found their way into theatrical death culture—knells and dirges, for instance—playwrights were inevitably led by dramatic effect rather than concerns of authenticity. Without plays, however, the nature of now obsolete traditions such as the dead

---

<sup>163</sup> See Smith, ‘What Do Shakespearean Musicians Think?’, 336.

<sup>164</sup> Philip K. Bock, “‘I Think but Dare Not Speak’: Silence in Elizabethan Culture”, *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 32 (1976), 285–94 (286).

march and the spoken dirge would remain obscured. Overwhelmingly, the dramatic output of the period reveals the individual's exploration of new ideologies concerning the afterlife, of what it meant in Reformation England 'to be and then not to be'.<sup>165</sup>

---

<sup>165</sup> Watson, *The Rest is Silence*, 96.



## CONCLUSION

The aim of the present study has been to uncover the earliest song texts and musical settings, and track their subsequent circulation and cultural significance. The research reveals several over-arching conclusions in its various fields:

1. Shakespeare's own songs circulated less widely and with more textual and musical stability than the pre-existing songs which he appropriated.
2. Shakespeare's appropriation of popular songs fuelled their rate of circulation in some instances, but not as a general rule.
3. The musical achievements of the boy playing companies stimulated the early seventeenth-century increase in the musical activity of adult companies, and certainly contributed to the evolution of English dramatic music in general.
4. Shakespeare's representation of fairies and witches was typical of wider theatrical and musical trends for depicting the supernatural.
5. The musical aspects of Shakespeare's depiction of death reveal the complex web of musical practices in play during this period of history where the intersection of religious change and theatrical tropes muddled the waters of what was real, what was allowed and what was believed.

Some of the methods used to arrive at the above conclusions are self-limiting. The text-critical method, for instance, is by nature qualitative or subjective. The outcome of any stemmatic analysis can be altered by preferring other variants as 'correct', meaning the outcomes lack the weight of scientific proof. To that end, all steps of the analysis have been laid out transparently and have equipped readers to re-orientate stemmata based on personal preference. My confinement of stemmatic analysis to Shakespeare's canon also limits the impact of the study's findings. As one critic has recently noted, 'we need to rethink the canon-focused biases inherent in our cataloguing and research practices in

order to better apprehend early modern dramatic texts and their afterlives'.<sup>1</sup> The selection of cases in chapter 3, furthermore, was influenced by the availability and accessibility of all relevant manuscripts, and it must be acknowledged that a wider survey or a different range of material may have yielded different results.

At the start of this process, my assumptions were that no new sources for Shakespeare's songs could be discovered, that all existing sources were already documented, and that Shakespeare was a pioneer in his use of song in drama. Although the present study has not revealed any new sources *per se*, it has included *GB-Lbl* Add. MS 22601 in musicological discourse on the Willow Song for the first time, and that manuscript's presence in the song's transmission history calls into question the findings of previous studies regarding the provenance of the tune transmitted in *GB-Lbl* Add. MS 15117. My appendix 2 vastly supplements all previous published source lists for the texts and earliest musical settings of Shakespeare's songs. There is scope for that list to be added to as further sources come to light, and also for expansion to include later musical settings.

This thesis has disproved my original assumption that Shakespeare was a pioneer in the use of dramatic song. Chapters 1, 4 and 5 illustrate that Shakespeare operated within the parameters of usual practice for early modern dramatists, adapting to trends, influences and changes of circumstance. The accelerated use of music in his later plays, for instance, was clearly a product of England's evolving musical style—itself a product in part of the musical tradition of the boy playing companies and the rise of the Jacobean court masque—and of The King's Men's move from the outdoor, public Globe theatre to the indoor venues of Blackfriars and perhaps the royal court, where they benefitted from increased levels of musical collaboration.

---

<sup>1</sup> Laura Estill, 'Shakespearean Extracts, Manuscript Cataloguing, and the Misrepresentation of the Archive' in *Rethinking Theatrical Documents in Shakespeare's England*, ed. Tiffany Stern (London: The Arden Shakespeare, 2020), 175–92 (175).

The groundwork has been laid here for further cataloguing of Shakespearean musical and textual sources. It is my hope to create a digital database from the material which makes up appendix 2, and to expand the content to include later musical settings of Shakespeare's song lyrics. There is scope, furthermore, for further stemmatic analysis of the songs in the canon. It is hoped that the present study proves firstly the viability of the text-critical method for illuminating the early circulation of Shakespearean song, and secondly that examining the songs within the cultural contexts of their original inclusion in the plays helps readers and audiences towards a cohesive understanding of the circulation and function of dramatic song in early modern England.





## BIBLIOGRAPHY

## 1. Manuscripts

*GB-Cfm* 32.g.29 (the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book)  
*GB-Eu* MS Dc.I.69  
*GB-Lbl* Add. MS 15117  
*GB-Lbl* Add. MS 15233,  
*GB-Lbl* Add. MS 24665 (Giles Earle's Song Book)  
*GB-Lbl* Add. MSS 30480–84 (the Hamond part-books)  
*GB-Lbl* Add. MS 31922 (Henry VIII Manuscript)  
*GB-Lbl* Royal 18. B. XIX  
*GB-Lna* P92/SAV/0450, 547 (St Saviour's Southwark Vestry Minute Book, 1581/2–1628)  
*GB-Lmcghie* *McGhie MS*  
*GB-NO* Mi LM 16  
*GB-Ob* MS Tenbury 389  
*GB-Ob* MS Tenbury 1465  
 Patent of impressment for Nathaniel Giles, London, Public Record Office, Patent Rolls 4  
 James I, pt. 18, C66/1708  
*GB-Och* MS Mus. 439  
*GB-Occc* Fulman Papers, X  
*US-CLwr*, SpecCol 3/Lge/ML 431.D24  
*US-NH* Misc. MS 170. Filmer 4  
*US-NYp* Drexel 4041  
*US-NYp* Drexel 4175  
*US-NYp* Drexel 4183  
*US-NYp* Drexel 4257  
*US-Ws* v.a.128  
*US-Ws* v.a.411

## 2. Early Printed Music

Anon., *The Shakespeare Vocal Album* (London: C. Lonsdale, 1864)

Campion, Thomas, *Two bookes of ayres ...To be sung to the lute and viols, in two, three, and foure parts: or by one voyce to an instrument* (London: Tho. Snodham, 1613; STC 4547)

———, and Giovanni Coprario, *Songs of mourning bewailing the vntimely death of Prince Henry* (London: Thomas Snodham, 1613; STC 4546)

Caulfield, John, *A Collection of the Vocal Music in Shakespeare's Plays* (London and New York: Samuel French, 1864)

Chappell, William, *Popular Music of the Olden Time*, 2 vols (London: Cramer, Beale and Chappell, 1855–9)

Dowland, Robert, *Varietie of lute-lessons* (London: for Thomas Adams, 1610; STC 7100)

Ferrabosco II, Alfonso, *Ayres* (London: T. Snodham, 1609; STC 10827)

———, *Lessons for 1.2. and 3. viols* (London: Thomas Snodham, 1609; STC 10828)

Gibbons, Orlando, *The first set of madrigals and mottets of 5. parts apt for viols and voyces* (London: Thomas Snodham, 1612; STC 11826)

Hilton, John, *Catch that catch can* (London: W. Godbid, 1667; Wing H2039)

Hunt, Henry, *A Collection of some verses out of the Psalms of David suited to several occasions* (London: J. Heptinstall, 1700; Wing H3729A)

Maver, Robert (ed.), *Maver's Collection of Genuine Scottish Melodies* (London: R. Maver, 1866)

Morley, Thomas, *A plaine and easie introduction to practicall musicke* (London: Peter Short, 1597; STC 18133)

———, *The first booke of ayres* (London: William Barley, 1600; STC 18115.5)

———, (ed.), *Madrigales. The triumphes of Oriana, to 5. and 6. voices: composed by divers severall authours*, Cantus (London: Thomas East, 1601; STC 18130.5)

Playford, John, *The second book of the Pleasant musical companion being a new collection of select catches, songs and glees : for two and three voices* (London: for John Playford, 1686; Wing P2499aA)

Ravenscroft, Thomas, *Pammelia. Musickes miscellanie: or Mixed varietie of pleasant roundelayes, and delightfull catches, of 3.4.5.6.7.8.9 10. parts in one* (London: William Barley, 1609; STC 20759)

———, *Melismata* (London: William Stansby, 1611; STC 20758)

———, *A briefe discourse of the true (but neglected) vse of charact'ring the degrees, by their perfection, imperfection, and diminution in measurable musicke* (London: Edward Allde, 1614; STC 20756)

Wilson, John, *Cheerfull ayres or ballads first composed for one single voice and since set for three voices* (London: W. Hall, 1659; Wing W2908)

———, *Select ayres and dialogues* (London: W. Godbid, 1659; Wing W2909)

## 3. Early Printed Literature

Adams, Thomas, *The Works of Tho. Adams* (London: 1629; STC 104)

Allestree, Richard, *Eighteen Sermons where of fifteen preached the king, the rest upon publick occasions* (London: Tho. Roycroft, 1669; Wing A1113)

Anon., *A myrrour for magistrates* (London: Thomas Marsh, 1563; STC 1248)

———, *The Queenes Maiesties entertainment at Woodstock* (London: for Thomas Cadman, 1585: STC 7596)

———, *The honourable entertainment giuen to the Queenes Maiestie in progresse at Eluetham in Hampshire* (London: John Wolfe, 1591; STC 7583)

———, *The Tragedie of Tancred and Gismund* (London: Thomas Scarlet, 1591; STC 25764)

———, *The wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll* (London: Thomas Creede, 1600; STC 6991)

———, *The maydes metamorphosis* (London: Thomas Creede, 1600; STC 17188)

———, *Blurt master-constable....As it hath bin sundry times priuately acted by the Children of Paules* (London: Edward Allde, 1602; STC 17876)

———, *The king of Denmarkes welcome Containing his ariuall, abode, and entertainment, both in the citie and other places* (London: Edward Allde, 1606; STC 5194)

———, *The merry deuill of Edmonton* (London: Henry Ballard, 1608; STC 7493)

———, *The booke o merrie riddles Together with proper questions, and witty prouerbs, to make pleasant pastime. No lesse vsefull then behoouefull, for any young man or childe, to knowe whether he be quick-witted or no* (London: for Roger Jackson, 1617; STC 3322.5)

———, *Certain elegant poems* (London: R. Cotes, 1647; Wing C6270)

———, *Certain Sundry Strange Prophecies of Merlin Bede and Others* (London: for Matthew Walbancke, 1652)

———, *Westminster-drollery, or, A choice collection of the newest songs & poems both at court and theaters by a person of quality* (London: for H. Brome, 1671; Wing W1462)

———, *Wit and Mirth or Pills to Purge Melancholy; A Collection of the best Merry BALLADS and SONGS, Old and New*, 6 vols (London: W. Pearson, 1720), vol. 6

Arbeau, Thoinot, *Orchesography*, trans. Mary Stewart (Mineola and New York, Dover Publications, Inc., 2011)

Arber, Edward (ed.), *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London 1554–1640 A. D.*, 5 vols (London: privately printed, 1875), vols 1–2

Armin, Robert (attrib.), *The Valiant Welshman* (London: George Furslowe, 1615; STC 16)

Bacon, Francis, *Sylua syluarum: or A naturall historie In ten centuries* (London: John Haviland and Augustine Mathewes, 1627; STC 1168)

Baldwin, William (ed.), *The last part of the Mirour for magistrates*, ed. William Baldwin (London: Thomas Marsh, 1578; STC 1252)

Balmford, J., *A Short Dialogue Concerning the Plagues Infection* (London: for Richard Boyle, 1603; STC 1338)

Banks, John, *Cyrus the Great, or, The tragedy of love* (London: for Richard Bentley, 1696; Wing B656)

Beaumont, Francis, and John Fletcher, *Comedies and tragedies* (London: for Humphrey Robinson and Humphrey Moseley, 1647; Wing B1581)

Becon, Thomas, *The reliques of Rome contayning all such matters of religion, as haue in times past bene brought into the Church by the Pope and his adherentes* (London: John Day, 1563; STC 1755)

Berners, Lord (trans.), *Arthur of Brytayne The hystory of the moost noble and valyaunt knyght Arthur of lytell brytayne* (London: W. Copland, 1560; STC 807)

von Bülow, Gottfried, and Wilfred Powell (eds), 'Diary of the Journey of Philip Julius, Duke of Stettin-Pomerania, through England in the Year 1602', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6 (1892), 1–67 (28)

Butler, Charles, *The Principles of Musik, in Singing and Setting* (London: J. Haviland, 1636; STC 4196)

Carmichael, James, *Newes from Scotland, declaring the damnable life and death of Doctor Fian a notable sorcerer* (London: E. Alde, 1592; STC 10841a)

Chamberlayne, William, *Pahronnida a heroick poem* (London: for Robert Clavell, 1659; Wing 1866)

Chappell, William (ed.), *The Roxburghe Ballads*, 9 vols (Hertford: Taylor & Co., 1871–99)

Church of England, *The booke of common praier, and administration of the Sacramentes, and other rites and ceremonies in the Church of Englande* (Londini: In officina Richardi Iugge, & Iohannis Cawode, 1559; STC 16292)

———, *The primer set furth at large, with many godly and deuoute prayers* (London: William Seres, 1559; STC 16087)

———, *Articles. wherevpon it was agreed by the archbysshops and bisshops of both the prouinces, and the whole clergie, ... accordyng to the computation of the Church of*

*England, for thauoydyng of the diuersities of opinions, and for the stablyshyng of consent touchyng true religion. Put foorth by the Quenes auctoritie* (London: Richarde Jugge and John Cawood, 1563; STC 10038.3)

———, *Articles to be enquired of, within the prouince of Canterburie, in the metropolitall visitation of the Moste Reuerende Father in God, Edmonde, Archbishop of Canterburie ... in the xvij yeare of the reygne of our most gracious souereygne Ladie Elizabeth* (London: Willyam Seres, 1577; STC 10155.3)

Churchyard, Thomas, *A discourse of the Queenes Maiesties entertainment in Suffolk and Norfolk with a description of many things then presently seene* (London: Henry Bynneman, 1578; STC 5226)

Cibber, Colley, *An Apology for the Life of Mr Colley Cibber*, ed. Robert R. Lowe, 2 vols (London: John C. Nimmo, 1889), vol. 1

Comitis, Natalis, *Mythologiae, sive explicationum fabularum* (Venice, 1568)

Cowper, William, *The task, a poem, in six books* (London: for J. Johnson, 1785; ESTC T014896)

Crashaw, William, *The sermon preached at the Crosse* (London: H. Lownes, 1609; STC 6028)

Cuffe, Henry, *The differences of the ages of mans life together with the originall causes, progresse, and end thereof* (London: Arnold Hatfield, 1607; STC 6103)

Dekker, Thomas, *Satiromastix* (London: for Edward White, 1602; STC 6521)

———, *The Wonderfull Yeare, 1603, Wherein is shewed the picture of London, lying sicke of the plague* (London: Thomas Crede, 1603; STC 6535.5)

———, *Newes from Graues-end sent to Nobody* (London: T. C., 1604; STC 12199)

———, *Lanthorne and candle-light. Or, The bell-mans second nights-walke* (London: for Iohn Busby, 1609; STC 6486)

———, *The guls horne-booke* (London; Nicholas Okes, 1609; STC 6500)

Deloney, Thomas, *The gentile craft. The second part* (London: Elizabeth Purslow, 1639; STC 6556)

———, *The garland of good-will divided into three parts: containing many pleasant songs and pretty poems to sundry new notes* (London: for J. Wright, 1678; Wing D946)

Donne, John, *Devotions vpon emergent occasions and seuerall steps in my sicknes* (London: for Thomas Iones, 1624; STC 7033a)

Douglas, Audrey and Peter Greenfield (eds), *REED: Cumberland, Westmoreland, Gloucestershire* (Toronto, Buffalo and London: Toronto University Press, 1986)

Edwards, Richard, *The excellent comedie of two the moste faithfullest freendes, Damon and Pithias* (London: Richard Iohnes, 1571; STC 7514)

Foster, Joseph, *Alumni Oxonienses: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1500–1714* (Oxford: Parker & Co., 1892)

Fulke, William, *T. Stapleton and Martiall (two popish heretikes) confuted, and of their particular heresies detected. Done and directed to all those that loue the truth, and hate superstitious vanities* (London: Henrie Middleton, 1580; STC 17542)

Furnivall, Frederick J., (ed.), *The Story of England by Robert Manning of Brunne, A.D. 1338. Edited from MSS at Lambeth Palace and the Inner Temple* (London: Longman & Co., 1887)

Gascoigne, George, *A larum for London, or The siedege of Antwerpe* (London: for William Ferbrand, 1602; STC 16754)

Gascoigne, Thomas, *Here after folowith the boke callyd the myrroure of Oure Lady very necessary for all relygious persones* (London: Richard Fawkes, 1530; STC 17542)

Greene, Robert, *The historie of Orlando Furioso, one of the twelue pieres of France* (London: John Danter, 1594; STC 12265)

———, *The comicall historie of Alphonsus, King of Aragon* (London: Thomas Creede, 1599; STC 12233)

Hales, John W. and Frederick J. Furnivall (eds), *Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript: Ballads and Romances*, 3 vols (London: N. Trübner & Co., 1867)

Harsnet, Samuel, *A declaration of egregious popish impostures* (London: James Roberts, 1603; STC 12880)

Heywood, John, *A parable of the spider and the flie* (London: Tho. Powell, 1556; STC 13308)

Heywood, Thomas, and Richard Broome, *The late Lancashire witches* (London: Thomas Harper, 1634; STC 13373)

Hollinshead, Raphaell, *The description of Scotland...Wherevpon is inferred the historie of Scotland* (London, 1585)

Homer, *Homer's Odysses. Translated according to ye Greeke by. Geo: Chapman* (London: Rich. Field, 1615; STC 13637)

Hopkins, Charles, *Neglected virtue, or, The Unhappy conqueror* (London: for Henry Rhodes, Richard Parker and Sam Briscoe, 1696; Wing H2725)

Howell, Thomas, *Devises* (London: H. Iackson, 1581; STC 13875)

Huloet, Richard, *Abcedarium anglico latinum, pro tyrunculis* (London: for Gulielmi Riddel, 1552; STC 13940)

J. D., (trans.), *The history of Appian of Alexandria in two parts: the first consisting of the Punick, Syrian, Parthian, Mithridatick, Illyrian, Spanish, & Hannibalick wars, the second containing five books of the civil wars of Rome* (London: for John Amery, 1679; Wing A3579)

James VI of Scotland, *Dæmonologie* (Edinburgh: Robert Waldgraue, 1597; STC 14364)

Jewel, John, *The second tome of homilees of such matters as were promised, and intituled in the former part of homilees. Set out by the aucthoritie of the Queenes Maiestie: and to be read in euery parishe church agreeably* (London: Richard Jugge and John Cawood, 1571; STC 13669)

Jonson, Ben, *Euery man in his humor* (London: for Walter Burre, 1601; STC 14766)

———, *The fountaine of selfe-loue. Or Cynthias reuels As it hath beene sundry times priuately acted in the Black-Friers by the Children of her Maiesties Chappell* (London: R. Read, 1601; STC 14773)

———, *his part of King Iames his royall and magnificent entertainment through his honorable cittie of London*, (London: V. S., 1604; STC 14756)

———, *The characters of two royall masques The one of blacknesse, the other of beautie*, (London: G. Eld, 1608; STC 14761)

———, *The masque of queenes* (London: N. Okes, 1609; STC 14778)

———, *The workes of Beniamin Ionson* (London: Will Stansby, 1616; STC 14751)

———, *Epicoene, or the silent woman* (London: William Stansby, 1620; STC 14763)

Kyd, Thomas, *The Spanish tragedie* (London: Edward Allde, 1592; STC 15086)

Lant, Thomas, *Sequitur celebritas & pompa funeris ... Here followeth the manner of the whole proceeding of his ffunerall which was celebrated in St Paules the 16 of ffebr. 1586* (London: S.N., 1588; STC 15224)

Lee, Nathaniel, *Lucius Junius Brutus, father of his country* (London: for Richard and Jacob Tonson, 1681; Wing L852)

Legg, J. Wickham (ed.), *The Sarum Missal: Edited from Three Early Manuscripts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1916)

Linche, Richard, *The fountaine of ancient fiction* ( London: Adam Islip, 1599; STC 4691)

Lockhard, J. G. (ed.), *W. Scott, The Poetical Works*, 10 vols (Edinburgh: Cadell, 1833) vol. 4

Lyly, John, *Campaspe* (London: for Thomas Cadman, 1584; STC 17048a)

———, *Sapho and Phao* (London: for Thomas Cadman, 1584; STC 17086)

———, *Endimion, the man in the moone* (London: J. Charlewood, 1591; STC 17050)

———, *Gallathea* (London: John Charlewood, 1592; STC 17080)

———, *Mother Bombie* (London: Thomas Scarlet, 1594; STC 17084)

———, *Midas* (London: Thomas Scarlet, 1592; STC 17083)

———, *Mother Bombie* (London: Thomas Scarlet, 1594; STC 17084)

———, *Loues metamorphosis* (London: for William Wood, 1601; STC 17082)

———, *Sixe court comedies* (London: Edward Blount, 1632; STC 17088)

Markham, Francis, *Fiue decades of epistles of warre* (London: Augustine Matthewes, 1622; STC 17332)

Marlowe, Christopher, *Tamburlaine the Great* (London: Richard Ihones, 1590; STC 17425)

Marshall, William, *A prymer in Englyshe with certeyn prayers [et] godly meditations, very necessary for all people that vnderstonde not the Latyne tongue* (London: Johan Byddell, 1534; STC 15986)

———, *A goodly prymer in englyshe, newly corrected and printed with certeyne godly meditations and prayers added to the same, very necessarie [and] profitable for all them that ryghte assuredly vnderstande not ye latine [and] greke tongues* (London: John Byddell, 1535; STC 15988)

Marston, John, *The history of Antonio and Mellida. The first part* (London: R. Bradock, 1602; STC 17473)

———, *Antonios reuenge* (London: for Thomas Fisher, 1602; STC 17474) *The malcontent. Augmented by Marston. With the additions played by the Kings Maiesties servants. Written by Ihon Webster* (London: Valentine Simmes, 1604; STC 17481)

———, *The malcontent* (London: Valentine Simmes, 1604; STC 17479)

———, *The malcontent. Augmented by Marston. With the additions played by the Kings Maiesties servants. Written by Ihon Webster* (London: Valentine Simmes, 1604; STC 17481)



———, *The wonder of women or The tragedie of Sophonisba* (London: Iohn Windet, 1606; STC 17488)

May, Thomas, *The old couple* (London: J. Cottrel, 1658; Wing M1412)

Middleton, Thomas, *The meeting of gallants at an ordinarie: or The walkes in Powles* (London: T. C., 1604; STC 17781)

———, *A mad world, my masters* (London: Henry Ballard, 1608; STC 17888)

———, *The famelie of loue* (London: Richard Bradock, 1608; STC 17879)

Mulcaster, Richard, *Positions wherin those primitiue circumstances be examined, which are necessarie for the training vp of children, either for skill in their booke, or health in their bodie* (London: Thomas Vautrollier, 1581; STC 18253)

Munday, Anthony, *Londons Love, to the Royal Prince Henrie* (London: Edward Allde, 1610; STC 13159)

Nashe, Thomas, *Have With You to Saffron-walden* (London: Iohn Danter, 1596; STC 18369)

———, *Christs teares ouer Ierusalem Whereunto is annexed a comparatiue admonition to London* (London: for Thomas Thorpe, 1613; STC 18368)

Newton, George, *A sermon preached at the funeral of Mr. Joseph Aleine* (London: Neil Simmons, 1672; Wing N1047)

Norton, Thomas, *The tragedie of Gorboduc* (London: William Griffith, 1565; STC 18684)

Ovid, *Metamorphosis Englished by G.S.* (London: Robert Young 1628; STC 18965)

Peele, George, *The araynement of Paris* (London: Henry Marsh, 1584; STC 19530)

Percy, Thomas, *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, 3 vols (London: for J. Dodsley, 1765; ESTC T084936)

Pilkington, James, *A godlie exposition vpon certeine chapters of Nemiah* (Cambridge: Robert Some, 1585; STC 19929)

Proctor, Thomas, *A gorgeous gallery, of gallant inuentions* (London: W. How, 1578; STC 20402)

Prynne, William, *Histrion-mastix The players scourge, or, actors tragaedie, ... Wherein it is largely evidenced, by diuers arguments ... That popular stage-playes ... are sinfull, heathenish, lewde, ungodly spectacles, and most pernicious corruptions* (London: E. A., Augustine Mathewes, Thomas Cotes and W. I., 1633; STC 20464)

Ramsay, Alan, *The tea-Table miscellany*, 3 vols (London: A. Millar, 1733; ESTC T062726), vol. 1

Rowley, William, Thomas Dekker and John Ford, *The Witch of Edmonton* (London: J. Cottrel, 1658; Wing R2097)

S. I. (trans.), *The pageant of popes contayninge the lyues of all the bishops of Rome, from the beginninge of them to the yeare of Grace 1555* (London: Thomas Marshe, 1574; STC 1304)

S. S., *The Honest Lawyer* (London: George Purslowe, 1616; STC 21519a)

Schilders, Richard, *A booke of the forme of common prayers, administration of the Sacraments, &c. agreeable to Gods Worde, and the vse of the reformed Churches* (Middleburgh: Richard Schilders, 1587)

Scot, Reginald, *The Discovery of Witchcraft* ed. Brinsley Nicholson (London: Elliot Stock, 1886)

Scott, Walter, *The Complete Works of Sir Walter Scott: With a Biography, and his last Additions and Illustrations*, 7 vols (New York: Conner & Cooke, 1833), vol. 1

Shakespeare, William, *The most excellent and lamentable tragedie, of Romeo and Iuliet* (London: Thomas Creede, 1599; STC 22323)

———, *A Midsommer nights dreame* (London: Thomas Fisher, 1600; STC 22302)

———, *A Midsommer nights dreame* (London: James Roberts, 1600)

———, *The tragicall historie of Hamlet Prince of Denmarke* (London: for N. L. and John Trundle, 1603; STC 22275)

———, *The tragicall historie of Hamlet, Prince of Denmarke* (London: I. R., 1604; STC 22276)

———, *his true chronicle historie of the life and death of King Lear and his three daughters* (London: Nicholas Okes, 1608; STC 22292)

———, *The tragædy of Othello, the Moore of Venice* (London: Thomas Walkley, 1622; STC 22305), 76.

———, *The two noble kinsmen presented at the Blackfriars by the Kings Maiesties servants, with great applause: written by the memorable worthies of their time; Mr. Iohn Fletcher, and Mr. William Shakspeare* (London: Tho. Cotes, 1634; STC 11075)

Sidney, Philip, *The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia* (London: for William Ponsonbie, 1598; STC 22541)

Spenser, Edmund, *The faerie queene Disposed into twelue books, fashioning XII. morall vertues* (London: John Wolfe, 1590; STC 23081)

———, *Amoretti and Epithalamion* (London: P. Short, 1595; STC 23076)

Stow, John, *The annales of England* (London: Ralfe Newberry, 1592; STC 23334)

Surrey, Henry Howard, Earl of, *Songes and sonettes, written by the right honorable Lorde Henry Haward late Earle of Surrey, and other* (London: Tottel, 1557; STC 13861)

Urban, Sylvanus, *The gentleman's magazine, or, Trader's monthly intelligencer*, vol. 22 (London: for Edward Cave, 1752)

Vasari, Giorgio, *Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptures and Architects*, trans. Jonathan Foster (London: Bell & Daldy, 1871)

Vesalius, Andreas, *De Humani Corporis* (Basel: 1543)

W. W., *A true and iust recorde, of the information, examination and confession of all the witches, taken at S. Ofes in the countie of Essex* (London: Thomas Dawson, 1582; STC 24922)

Wager, W., *A very mery and pythie commedie, called the longer thou liuest, the more foole thou art* (London: Wyllyam How, 1569; STC 24935)

Watson, Thomas, *The hekatompathia or Passionate centurie of loue* (London: Iohn Wolfe, 1582; STC 25118a)

Webster, John, *The white diuel, or, The tragedy of Paulo Giordano Vrsini, Duke of Brachiano* (London: N. O., 1612; STC 25178)

———, *The deuils law-case. Or, VVhen vvomen goe to law, the Deuill is full of businesse* (London: A. M., 1623; STC 25173)

Wedderburn, Robert (attrib.), *The Complaynt of Scotland* (Paris: s. n., c. 1550)

Wood, Anthony, *Athenae Oxonienses. An exact history of all the writers and bishops who have had their education in the University of Oxford*, ed. Philip Bliss, 4 vols (London: F. C. & J. Rivington et. al, 1817), vol. 3

#### 4. Broad sides

Anon., *The complaint of a sinner, vexed with paine, desyring the ioye, that euer shall remayne* (London: Alexander Lacey, 1563; STC 3076)

EBBA 20274, *The mad-merry pranks of Robbin Good-fellow* (London: for H. G., 1625)

EBBA 20655 *The Age and Life of Man* (London: for F. Coles, J. Vere, J. Wright and J. Clarke, 1674–9)

- EBBA 21201 *The Downfall of Dancing* (London: for J. Deacon, 1671–1702)
- EBBA 30163 *The mad-merry pranks of Robbin Good-fellow* (London; for H. G., 1601–40)
- EBBA 31654 *The Age and Life of Man* (London: T. Mabb, 1650–65)
- EEBA 31962 *The mad merry Pranks of Robin Good-fellow* (London: F. Coles, T. Vere, and J. Wright, 1663–74)
- EBBA 31963 *The Mad Merry Pranks of Robin Good-fellow* (London: for F. Coles, T. Vere, J. Wright, J. Clark, W. Thackeray, and T. Passinger., 1678–80)
- EBBA 32344 *A new song* (London: for C. Tebroc, 1682)
- EBBA 34830 *A new song* (London: for C. Tebroc, 1682)
- EBBA 35599 *A new song* (London: for C. Tebroc, 1682)
- EBBA 36112, *An excelent Ditty, called The Shepheards woing faire Dulcina.* (1615)

### 5. Modern Musical Editions and Anthologies

- Bickford Jorgens, Elise (ed.), *English Song 8: Edinburgh University Library Manuscript Ms, Dc. 169* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1987)
- Brett, Philip (ed.), *Consort Songs*, The Byrd Edition, vol. 15 (London: Stainer & Bell, 1970)
- , *The Consort Songs*, Musica Britannica 22 (2nd, rev. edn, London: Stainer and Bell, 1974)
- Chappell, William, *Popular Music of the Olden Time*, 2 vols (London: Cramer, Beale & Chappell, 1855–9)
- Cutts, John P. (ed.), *La musique de scène de la troupe de Shakespeare: The King's Men sous le règne de Jacques I<sup>er</sup>* (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1959)
- Eubanks Winkler, Amanda (ed.), *Music for 'Macbeth'* (Middleton, Wisconsin: A-R Editions Inc., 2004)
- Fellowes, Edmund H. (ed.), *The Triumphs of Oriana*, rev. Thurston Dart (London and New York: Stainer & Bell, Ltd, 1962)
- Fuller Maitland, J. A., and W. Barclay Squire (eds), *The Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*, 2 vols (New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1963)
- Herd, David, *The Ancient and Modern Scots Songs, Heroic Ballads, &c* (Edinburgh: Martin and Wotherspoon, 1769)
- Johnson, James, *The Scots Musical Museum*, 6 vols (Edinburgh: Johnson & Co., 1790), vol. 5

Johnstone, Andrew (ed.), *William Byrd: Eight Fragmentary Songs* (Teddington: Fretwork Publishing, 2020)

Sabol, Andrew, *Four Hundred Songs and Dances from the Stuart Masque* (Providence: Brown University Press, 1978)

Spink, Ian (ed.), *Robert Johnson: Ayres, Songs and Dialogues*, ed. Ian Spink (2nd edn, London: Stainer & Bell, 1974)

Sternfeld, Frederick (ed.), *Songs from Shakespeare's Tragedies* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964)

Tilmouth, Michael (ed.), *Musica Britannica LI: Matthew Locke Dramatic Music* (London: Stainer and Bell, 1986)

## 6. Modern Editions of Plays and Poetry

Randolph, Thomas, *The Fary Knight or Oberon the Second*, ed. Fredson Thayer Bowers (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1942)

Anon., *The Wars of Cyrus*, ed. James Paul Brawner (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1942)

Jonson, Ben, *Poetaster*, ed. Tom Cain (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1995)

———, *Ben Jonson*, 11 vols, ed. C. H. Herford and P. E. Simpson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1925–52), vol 10

Marston, John, *The Malcontent*, ed. G. K. Hunter (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1999)

Munday, Anthony, *John a Kent and John a Cumber*, ed. J. Payne Collier (London: The Shakespeare Society, 1851)

Proctor, Thomas, *The Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions (1578)*, ed. Hyder E. Rollins (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1926)

## *Shakespeare*

Bate, Jonathan and Eric Rasmussen (eds), *William Shakespeare: Complete Works, RSC Edition* (London: Macmillan, 2007)

Brooke, Nicholas (ed.), *The Tragedy of Macbeth* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1990)

Brooks, Harold F. (ed.), *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (London and New York: Methuen, 1984)

Butler, Martin (ed.), *Cymbeline* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005)

Edwards, Philip (ed.), *Hamlet, Prince of Denmark* (Cambridge, London and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985)

Erne, Lukas (ed.), *The First Quarto of Romeo and Juliet* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007)

Lindley, David (ed.), *The Tempest* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013)

Malone, E. (ed.), *The plays and poems of William Shakspeare*, 16 vols (Dublin: John Exshaw, 1794; ESTC T138592), vol. 3

Proudfoot, G. R. (ed.), *The Two Noble Kinsmen* (London: Edward Arnold, 1970)

Ridley, M. R. (ed.), *Othello* (London: Arden Shakespeare, 1958)

Taylor, Gary, John Jowett, Terri Bourus and Gabriel Egan (eds), *The New Oxford Shakespeare: The Complete Works* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2016)

Walker, Alice and John Dover (eds), *Othello* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957)

Warren, Roger (ed.), *Cymbeline* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1998)

Wells, Stanley (ed.), *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1967)

## 7. Secondary Literature

Albrecht, William P., 'A Seventeenth-Century Text of Thomas of Erceldoune', *Medium Ævum*, 23 (1954), 88–95

———, *The Loathly Lady in 'Thomas of Erceldoune' With a Text of the Poem Printed in 1652* (Albuquerque: University of Mexico Press, 1954)

Albright, Daniel, *Musicking Shakespeare: A Conflict of Theatres* (New York: University of Rochester Press, 2007)

Allan, David, *Making British Culture: English Readers and the Scottish Enlightenment, 1740–1830* (New York and London: Routledge, 2008)

Ashbee, Andrew, David Lasocki, Peter Holman and Fiona Kisby (eds), *A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians, 1485–1714*, 2 vols (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), vol. 2

Ashley, M. and A. C. Mecke, “‘Boys are apt to change their voice at about fourteene yeeres of age’: An Historical Background to the Debate about Longevity in Boy Treble Singers’, *Reviews of Research in Human Learning and Music*, 1 (2013), 1–19

Ashton, J. W., ‘Conventional Material in Munday’s *John a Kent and John a Cumber*’, *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, 49 (1934), 752–61

Auden, W. H., ‘Music in Shakespeare’ in *The Dyer’s Hand and other essays*, ed. W. H. Auden (London: Faber and Faber, 1956), 500–527

Austern, Linda Phyllis, ‘Thomas Ravenscroft: Musical Chronicler of an Elizabethan Theater Company’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 38 (1985), 238–63

———, “‘Art to Enchant’: Musical Magic and Its Practitioners in English Renaissance Drama’, *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 115 (1990), 191–206

———, *Music in English Children’s Drama of the Later Renaissance* (Philadelphia, Yverdon, Victoria, Paris, Berlin, Reading, Tokyo and Amsterdam: Gordon and Breach, 1992)

———, “‘For Musicke is the Handmaid of the Lord’: Women, Psalms, and Domestic Music-Making in Early Modern England’ in *Psalms in the Early Modern World*, ed. Linda Austern (Surrey: Ashgate, 2011), 77–114

———, and Inna Naroditskaya (eds), *Music of the Sirens* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indianapolis University Press, 2006)

Axton, Marie, *The Queen’s Two Bodies: Drama and the Elizabethan Succession* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1977)

Baird, Caroline, ‘From Court to Playhouse and Back: Middleton’s Appropriation of the Masque’, *Early Theatre*, 18 (2015), 57–85

Barker, Harley Granville, ‘Screeds of Word-Music’ in *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, ed. Judith M. Kennedy and Richard F. Kennedy (London and New Brunswick: The Athlone Press, 1999), 378–80

Bate, Jonathan, *Soul of the Age: The Life, Mind and World of William Shakespeare* (London: Viking, 2008)

———, ‘Was Shakespeare an Essex Man?’ in *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 162 (2009), 1–28

Bateson, Mary (ed.), *Records of the Borough of Leicester: Being a Series of Extracts from the Archives of the Corporation of Leicester, 1509–1603*, 3 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1905), vol. 3

Bednarz, James P., *Shakespeare & the Poets' War* (New York and Chichester: Columbia University Press, 2001)

Bellingham, Bruce, 'The Musical Circle of Anthony Wood in Oxford During the Commonwealth and Restoration', *Journal of the Viola da Gamba Musical Society of America*, 19 (1982), 6–70

Belsey, Catherine, 'Shakespeare's Sad Tale for Winter: *Hamlet* and the Tradition of Fireside Ghost Stories', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 61 (2010), 1–27

Bergen, David M. (ed.), *Pageantry in the Shakespearean Theater* (Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1981)

Berry, Philippa, *Of Chastity and Power: Elizabethan Literature and the Unmarried Queen* (London and New York: Routledge, 1989)

Blakemore Evans, G., 'Dryden's *Mac Flecknoe* and Dekker's *Satiromastix*', *Modern Language Notes*, 76 (1961), 598–600

Bland, Mark, 'Stemmatics and Society in Early Modern England', *Studia Neophilologica*, 86: sup.1 (2014), 29–47

Bliss, Jane, *Naming and Namelessness in Medieval Romance* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2008)

Bloom, Gina, "'Thy Voice Squeaks': Listening for Masculinity on the Early Modern Stage', *Renaissance Drama*, 29 (1998), 39–71

Bock, Philip K., "'I Think but Dare Not Speak': Silence in Elizabethan Culture', *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 32 (1976), 285–94

Bogin, Barry, *Patterns of Human Growth* (2nd edn, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999)

Bowers, Roger, 'To Chorus from Quartet: The Performing Resource for English Church Polyphony, c. 1390–1559' in *English Choral Practice, 1400–1650*, ed. John Morehen (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 1–47 (39, 47).

Brennecke Jnr, Ernest, 'Shakespeare's Musical Collaboration with Morley', *PMLA*, 54 (1939), 139–152 (146–9)

———, "'Nay, That's Not Next!': The Significance of Desdemona's 'Willow Song'", *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 4 (1953), 35–8

Brett, Philip, 'Pitch and Transposition in the Paston Manuscripts' in *Sundry Sorts of Music Books: Essays on the British Library Collections, Presented to O. W. Neighbour on his 70th Birthday*, ed. Chris Banks, Arthur Searle and Malcolm Turner (London: The British Library, 1993), 89–118



Briggs, Katherine M., *Anatomy of Puck* (London and New York: Routledge & Keegan Paul, 1959)

———, *Fairies in Tradition and Literature* (London and New York: Routledge & Keegan Paul, 1967)

Brown, Alan and Richard Turbot (eds), *Byrd Studies* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992)

Burden, Michael (ed.), *Performing the Music of Henry Purcell*, ed. Michael Burden (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996)

Burgers, Jan W. J., Louis Peter Grijp and John H. Robinson, 'A Newly discovered Dutch Lute Book: MS Enkhuizen 1667-1' in *The Lute in the Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century: Proceedings of the International Lute Symposium Utrecht, 30 August 2013*, ed. Jan W. J. Burgers, Tim Crawford and Matthew Spring (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016), 301–44

Butler, Katherine, *Music in Elizabethan Court Politics* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2015)

———, 'Death Songs and Elegies: Singing About Death in Elizabethan England', *Early Music*, 43 (2015), 269–80

Byrne, Maurice, 'The English March and Early Drum Notation', *The Galpin Society Journal*, 50 (1997), 43–80

Chambers, E. K., *The Elizabethan Stage*, 4 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923)

———, *William Shakespeare: A Study of Facts and Problems*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930), vol. 1

Chan, Mary, 'John Hilton's Manuscript British Library Add. MS 11608', *Music & Letters*, 60 (1979), 440–49

Chapman, Matthieu, 'An Argument for Slavery in Robert Greene's Adaptation of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*', *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England*, 29 (2016), 175–90

Charteris, Richard, *An Annotated Catalogue of the Music Manuscripts in the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC*. (New York: Pendragon Press, 2005)

Child, Francis (ed.), *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, 5 vols (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1904) vol. 1

Clark, Andrew (ed.), *The Shirburn Ballads, 1585–1616* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907)

Clode, Charles M., *The Early History of the Guild of Merchant Taylors of the Fraternity of St John the Baptist, London*, 2 vols (London: Harrison and Sons, 1888), vol. 1

Cooksey, J., 'Voice Transformation in Male Adolescents' in *Bodymind and Voice—Foundations of Voice Education*, ed. L. Thurman and G. Welch (Iowa City: The VoiceCare Network, 2000), 718–36

Cooper, Helen, *The English Romance in Time: Transforming Motifs from Geoffrey of Monmouth to the Death of Shakespeare* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2004)

Cressy, David, *Birth, Marriage and Death: Ritual, Religion, and the Life-Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999)

Croft, P. J., 'The "Friar of Order Gray" and the Nun', *The Review of English Studies*, 32 (1981), 1–16

Cross, F. L. and E. A. Livingstone (eds), *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (2nd edn, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974)

Cummings, Brian, *The Book of Common Prayer: The Texts of 1549, 1559 and 1562* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2011)

———, "'Dead March": Liturgy and Mimesis in Shakespeare's Funerals', *Shakespeare*, 8:4 (2012), 368–85

Cummins, N., M. Kelly and C. O' Gráda, 'Living Standards and Plague in London 1560–1665', *UCD Centre for Economic Research Working Paper Series* (July 2013), 3–34

Cunningham, Peter (ed.), *Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court in the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James I* (London: F. Shoberi, 1852)

Cutts, John P., 'Jacobean Masque and Stage Music', *Music & Letters*, 35 (1954), 185–200

———, 'Robert Johnson: King's Musician in His Majesty's Public Entertainment', *Music & Letters*, 36 (1955), 110–25

———, 'The Original Music to Middleton's *The Witch*', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 7 (1956), 203–209

———, 'A Reconsideration of the "Willow Song"', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 10 (1957), 14–24

———, 'Seventeenth-Century Songs and Lyrics in Edinburgh University Library Music Ms. Dc. 1. 69', *Musica Disciplina*, 13 (1959), 169–94

———, 'Robert Johnson and the Court Masque', *Music & Letters*, 41 (1960), 111–26

———, 'Venus and Adonis in an Early Seventeenth-Century Song-Book', *Notes & Queries*, 10 (1963), 302–3

- Davis, William, 'Now, Gods, Stand up for Bastards: The 1603 "Good Quarto" *Hamlet*', *Textual Cultures*, 1 (2006), 60–89
- Döring, Tobias, *Performances of Mourning in Shakespearean Theatre and Early Modern Culture* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006)
- Doyle, A. I., 'Publication by Members of the Religious Orders' in *Book Production and Publishing in Britain, 1375–1475*, ed. Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989)
- Duckles, Vincent, 'New Light on "O Mistresse mine"', *Renaissance News*, 7 (1954), 98–100
- Duffin, Ross W., 'Catching the Burthen: A New Round of Shakespearean Musical Hunting', *Studies in Music from the University of Western Ontario*, 19–20 (2000), 1–15
- , *Shakespeare's Songbook* (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company Inc., 2004)
- , 'Music and the Stage in the Time of Shakespeare' in *The Oxford Handbook of the Age of Shakespeare*, ed. Malcolm R. Smutts (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 748–63
- , *Some Other Note: The Lost Songs of English Renaissance Comedy* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2018)
- Duffy, Eamon, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400–1580* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992)
- Dunne, Leslie C., 'Ophelia's Songs in *Hamlet*: Music, Madness and the Feminine' in *Embodied Voices: Representing Female Vocality in Western Culture*, ed. Leslie C. Dunn and Nancy A. Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 50–64
- Dutton, Richard, 'Hamlet, An Apology for Actors, and The Sign of the Globe' in *Shakespeare Survey 41*, ed. Stanley Wells (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 35–44
- , 'The Birth of the Author' in *Texts and Cultural Change in Early Modern England*, ed. Cedric C. Brown and Arthur F. Marotti (London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1997), 153–78
- , 'The Revels Office and the Boys' Companies, 1600–1613: New Perspectives', *English Literary Renaissance*, 32 (2002), 324–51
- Edwards, Kathryn A., 'Witchcraft in Tudor England and Scotland' in *A Companion to Tudor Literature*, ed. Kent Cartwright (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 31–48
- Edwards, Philip, *Pilgrimage and Literary Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005)

van Es, Bart, 'Reviving the Legacy of Indoor Performance' in *Moving Shakespeare Indoors: Performance and Repertoire in the Jacobean Playhouse*, ed. Andrew Gurr and Farah Karim-Cooper (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014)

Estill, Laura, *Dramatic Extracts in Seventeenth-Century English Manuscripts* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2015)

———, 'Shakespearean Extracts, Manuscript Cataloguing, and the Misrepresentation of the Archive' in *Rethinking Theatrical Documents in Shakespeare's England*, ed. Tiffany Stern (London: The Arden Shakespeare, 2020), 175–92

Eubanks Winkler, Amanda, *O Let Us Howle Some Heavy Note: Music for Witches, the Melancholic, and the Mad on the Seventeenth-Century English Stage* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2006)

———, 'A Thousand Voices: Performing Ariel' in *A Feminist Companion to Shakespeare*, ed. Dymna Callaghan, 2nd edn (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2016), 520–39

Fallows, David, 'The Drexel Fragments of Early Tudor Song', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 26 (1993), 5–18

Farley-Hills, David, *Shakespeare and the Rival Playwrights, 1600–1606* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002)

Feder, Georg, *Music Philology: An Introduction to Musical Textual Criticism, Hermeneutics, and Editorial Technique*, trans. Bruce C. MacIntyre (New York: Pendragon Press, 2011)

Feldman, Sabrina, *The Apocryphal William Shakespeare* (Indianapolis: Dog Ear Publishing, 2011)

Fincham, Kenneth (ed.), *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Early Stuart Church, Vol. 1* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1994)

Flynn, Jane, 'The Education of Choristers in England During the Sixteenth Century' in *English Choral Practice, 1400–1650*, ed. John Morehen (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 180–99 (192).

Ford, Robert, 'The Filmer Manuscripts: A Handlist', *Notes*, 34 (1978), 814–25

Forsythe, R. S., 'The Passionate Shepherd; And English Poetry', *PMLA*, 40 (1925), 692–742

Fox-Good, J., 'Other Voices: The Sweet, Dangerous Air(s) of Shakespeare's *Tempest*', *Shakespeare Studies*, 24 (1996), 241–74

Fuller, David, 'The Jonsonian Masque and Its Music', *Music & Letters*, 54 (1973), 44–52

- Furnivall, Frederick J. (ed.), *The Story of England by Robert Manning of Brunne, A.D. 1338. Edited from MSS at Lambeth Palace and the Inner Temple* (London: Longman & Co., 1887)
- Gair, Reavley, *The Children of Paul's: The Story of a Theatre Company, 1553–1608* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982)
- Gale, Michael, 'Remnants of Some Late Sixteenth-Century Trumpet Ensemble Music', *Historic Brass Society Journal*, 14 (2002), 115–31
- Garrison, James D., *Dryden and the Tradition of Panegyric* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and Oxford: University of California Press, 1975)
- Gordon, Philip, 'The Morley-Shakespeare Myth', *Music & Letters*, 28 (1947), 121–5
- Grapes, K. Dawn, *With Mornefull Musique: Funeral Elegies in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2018)
- Gray, Austin K., 'The Song in the Merchant of Venice', *Modern Language Notes*, 42 (1927), 458–9
- de Grazia, Margreta, *'Hamlet' without Hamlet* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007)
- Greenblatt, Stephen, *Shakespearean Negotiations: The Circulation of Social Energy in Renaissance England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988)
- Greg, W. W., *The Calculus of Variants: An Essay on Textual Criticism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927)
- , *The Shakespeare First Folio* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955)
- Grier, James, 'Musical Sources and Stemmatic Filiation: A Tool for Editing Music', *The Journal of Musicology*, 13 (1995), 73–102
- Gurr, Andrew, *The Shakespearian Playing Companies* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996)
- , and Mariko Ichikawa, *Staging in Shakespeare's Theatres* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2000)
- , *The Shakespeare Company, 1594–1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004)
- Hammer, Paul E. J., 'Shakespeare's *Richard II*, the Play of 7 February 1601, and the Essex Rising', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 59 (2008), 1–35
- Harding, Vanessa, 'Burial of the Plague Dead in Early Modern London', *Epidemic Disease in London: Centre for Metropolitan History Working Papers Series*, 1 (1993), 53–64

Henze, Catherine A., *Robert Armin and Shakespeare's Performed Songs* (London and New York: Routledge, 2017)

Herbermann, Charles G. (ed.), *Catholic Encyclopedia*, 17 vols (New York: Appleton, 1913), vol. 9

Herbert, T. Walter, 'Shakespeare Announces a Ghost'. *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 4 (1950), 247–54

Herissone, Rebecca, *Musical Creativity in Restoration England* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013)

———, 'Daniel Henstridge and the Aural Transmission of Music in Restoration England' in *Beyond Boundaries*, ed. Linda Phyllis Austern, Candace Bailey and Amanda Eubanks Winkler (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2017), 165–86

Hiley, David, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford and New York: Clarendon Press, 1993)

Hinds, A. B. (ed.), *Historical Manuscripts Commission: Report on the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Downshire*, 5 vols (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1938), vol. 3

Holman, Peter, 'Two Jacobean Songs', *Early Music*, 6 (1974), 629–31

———, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court, 1540–1690* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993)

Honigmann, E. A. J., 'The Date of *Hamlet*' in *Shakespeare Survey* 9, ed. Allardyce Nicoll (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956), 24–34

———, and Susan Brock (eds), *Playhouse Wills, 1558–1642: An Edition of Wills by Shakespeare and his Contemporaries in the London Theatre* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1993)

———, *The Texts of 'Othello' and Shakespearean Revision* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996)

Houck, Stacey, 'John Playford and the English Musical Market' in '*Noyses, Sounds and Sweet Aires*': *Music in Early Modern England*, ed. Jessie Ann Owens (Washington, DC: The Folger Shakespeare Library, 2006), 48–61

Howard-Hill, T. H., "'Nor Stage, Nor Stationers Stall Can Showe": The Circulation of Plays in Manuscript in the Early Seventeenth Century', *Book History*, 2 (1999), 28–41

Hughes-Hughes, Augustus (ed.), *Catalogue of Manuscript Music in the British Museum*, 3 vols (William Clowes and Sons: London, 1907), vol. 3

Hunt, Edward Eyre (ed.), *Sir Orfeo* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Co-operative Society, 1909)

Hunter, G. K., 'The Wars of Cyrus and Tamburlaine', *Notes & Queries*, 8 (1961), 395–96

———, *John Lyly: The Humanist as Courtier* (London: Routledge & Keegan Paul, 1962)

———, 'The Spoken Dirge in Kyd, Marston and Shakespeare: A Background to *Cymbeline*', *Notes & Queries*, 2 (1964), 146–7

le Huray, Peter, *Music and the Reformation in England* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1967)

Johnstone, Andrew, "'As It Was in the Beginning": Organ and Choir Pitch in Early Anglican Church Music', *Early Music*, 34 (2003), 506–25

Joiner, Mary, 'British Museum Add MS. 15117: A Commentary, Index and Bibliography', *R. M. A. Research Chronicle*, 7 (1969), 51–109

Jorgensen, Paul A., *Shakespeare's Military World* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1956)

Kapitaniak, Pierre, 'Reginald Scot and the Circles of Power: Witchcraft, Anti-Catholicism and Faction Politics' in *Supernatural and Secular Power in Early Modern England*, ed. Marcus Harnes and Victoria Bladen (2nd edn, London and New York: Routledge, 2016), 41–66

Kastan, David Scott, *A Will to Believe: Shakespeare and Religion* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2014)

Kathman, David, 'Grocers, Goldsmiths, and Drapers: Freemen and Apprentices in the Elizabethan Theater', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 55 (2004), 1–49

———, 'The Seven Deadly Sins and Theatrical Apprenticeship', *Early Theatre*, 14 (2011), 121–39

———, 'John Rice and the Boys of the Jacobean King's Men' in *Shakespeare Survey 68: Shakespeare, Origins and Originality*, ed. Peter Holland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 247–66

Kenyon, Nicholas (ed.), *Authenticity and Early Music* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1988)

King, Ros, *The Works of Richard Edwards: Politics, Poetry and Performance in Sixteenth-Century England* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2001)

Knutson, Roslyn L., 'Falconer to the Little Eyases: A New Date and Commercial Agenda for the "Little Eyases" Passage in *Hamlet*', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 46 (1995), 1–31

Knutson, Roslyn Lander, *Playing Companies and Commerce in Shakespeare's Time* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004)

Koehler, Elisa, *A Dictionary for the Modern Trumpet Player* (London and New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015),

Krantz, David L., 'The Sounds of Supernatural Soliciting in *Macbeth*', *Studies in Philology*, 100 (2003), 346–83

Kuin, R. J. P. (ed.), *Robert Langham, A Letter* (Leiden: Brill, 1983)

Latham, Agnes and Joyce Youings (eds), *The Letters of Sir Walter Raleigh* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1999)

Lawrence, W. J., 'The Earliest Private-Theatre Play', *Times Literary Supplement* (11 August 1921), 514

L'Estrange Ewen, C., *Witch Hunting and Witch Trials* (London: Keegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd, 1929)

Levy, Kenneth Jay, 'Susanne un Jour: The History of a Sixteenth-Century Chanson' in *Annales Musicologiques*, vol.1, ed. M. Bukofzer, F. Lesure, L. Schrade and G. Thibault. (Paris: F. Paillart, 1953), 375-408

Lin, Shen, 'How Old Were the Children of Paul's?', *Theatre Notebook*, 45 (1991), 121–31

Lindley, David, *Shakespeare and Music* (London and New York: Bloomsbury, 2006)

Long, John H., 'Shakespeare and Morley', *Modern Language Notes*, 65 (1950), 17–22

———, *Shakespeare's Use of Music: A Study of the Music and Its Performance in the Original Production of Seven Comedies* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1955)

———, *Shakespeare's Use of Music: The Final Comedies* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1961)

———, *Shakespeare's Use of Music: The Histories and Tragedies* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1971)

Lord, Alfred B., *The Singer of Tales*, ed. Stephen Mitchell and Gregory Nagy (2nd edn, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000)

Love, Harold, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1993)

Lyle, Emily B., *Fairies and Folk: Approaches to the Scottish Ballad Tradition* (Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier, 2007)

Lyons, William, 'Theatre Bands and Their Music in Shakespeare's London' in *Shakespeare, Music and Performance*, ed. Bill Barclay and David Lindley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 14–28



- Maas, Paul, *Textual Criticism*, trans. Barbara Flowers (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958)
- Manifold, J. S., *The Music in English Drama, from Shakespeare to Purcell* (London: Rockliff, 1956)
- Mann, David, 'Reinstating Shakespeare's Instrumental Music', *Early Theatre*, 15 (2012), 67–91
- Marotti, Arthur F., *Manuscript, Print and the English Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1995)
- Marsh, Christopher, *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010)
- Mark Matheson, 'Venetian Culture and the Politics of *Othello*' in *Shakespeare and Politics*, ed. Catherine M. S. Alexander (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 169–84
- May, Stephen W., 'Tudor Aristocrats and the Mythical "Stigma of Print"', *Renaissance Papers* (1980), 11–18
- , and William A. Ringler, Jr, *Elizabethan Poetry: A Bibliography and First-line Index of English Verse, 1559–1603*, 3 vols (London and New York: Thoemmes Continuum, 2004), vol. 3
- , 'The Circulation in Manuscript of Poems by King James VI and I' in *Renaissance Historicisms: Essays in Honor of Arthur F. Kinney*, ed. James M. Dutcher and Anne Lake Prescott (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008), 206–24
- McCarthy, Kerry, *Byrd* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2013)
- McMullan, Gordon, *Shakespeare and the Idea of Late Writing: Authorship in the Proximity of Death* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007)
- Melnikoff, Kirk, and Edward Gieskes (eds), *Writing Robert Greene: Essays on England's First Notorious Professional Writer* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008)
- Minear, Erin, *Reverberating Song in Shakespeare and Milton: Language, Memory and Musical Representation* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2011)
- Moore, Roger E., 'The Music to *Macbeth*', *Musical Quarterly*, 47 (1961), 22–40
- Munro, Lucy, *Children of the Queen's Revels* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005)
- , 'The Humour of Children: Performance, Gender, and the Early Modern Children's Companies', *Literature Compass*, 2 (2005), 1–26
- Neill, Michael, *Issues of Death: Mortality and Identity in English Renaissance Tragedy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997)

———, ‘“Noises, / Sounds, and Sweet Airs”: The Burden of Shakespeare’s *Tempest*’, *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 59 (2008), 36–59

Nosworthy, J. M., ‘The Hecate Scenes in *Macbeth*’, *The Review of English Studies*, 24 (1948), 138–9

Ó hAnnráchain, T. and R. Armstrong (eds), *Christianities in the Early Modern Celtic World* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014)

Opie, Iona and Peter (eds), *The Oxford Dictionary of Nursery Rhymes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973)

Orgel, Stephen, ‘What’s the Globe Good For?’, *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 49 (1998), 191–4

Overall, W. H., *The Accounts of the Churchwardens of the Parish of St. Michael, Cornhill, in the City of London, from 1456 to 1608* (London, 1871)

Parrott, Andrew, ‘Falsetto Beliefs: The “Countertenor” Cross-Examined’, *Early Music*, 43 (2015), 79–110

Parry, Milman, ‘Studies in the Epic Technique of Oral Verse-Making: I. Homer and Homeric Style’, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 41 (1930), 73–148

Pask, Kevin, *The Fairy Way of Writing: Shakespeare to Tolkien* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013)

Payne, Ian, ‘The Provision of Teaching on the Viols at Some English Cathedral Churches, c. 1594–c. 1645: Archival Evidence’, *The Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society*, 19 (1990)

———, *The Provision and Practice of Sacred Music at Cambridge College and Selected Cathedrals c. 1547–c. 1646* (New York and London: Garland Publishing Inc., 1993)

Phillips, Peter, ‘Performance Practice in 16th-Century English Choral Music’ *Early Music*, 6 (1978), 195–9

Pincombe, Michael, *The Plays of John Lyly: Eros and Eliza* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1996)

Pollard, Alfred W., and Gilbert R. Redgrave (eds), *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475–1640*, ed. William A. Jackson, Frederick S. Ferguson and Katherine F. Pantzer, 3 vols (2nd edn, London: Bibliographical Society, 1976–91)

Price, David C., *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981)

Purkiss, Diane, *The Witch in History: Early Modern and Twentieth-Century Representations* (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 1996)

———, *Troublesome Things: A History of Fairies and Fairy Stories* (London and New York: Penguin, 2000)

Quinlan, Maurice J., 'Shakespeare and the Catholic Burial Services', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 5 (1954), 303–6

Quitslund, Beth, *The Reformation in Rhyme: Sternhold, Hopkins and the English Metrical Psalter, 1547–1603* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008)

Raine, James (ed.), *The Injunctions and Other Ecclesiastical Proceedings of Richard Barnes, Bishop of Durham, From 1575 to 1587* (Durham: Surtees Society, 1850)

Raines, F. R. (ed.), *A Description of the State, Civil and Ecclesiastical, of the County of Lancaster about the year 1590* (Manchester: Chetham Society, 1875)

Range, Matthias, *British Royal and State Funerals: Music and Ceremonial Since Elizabeth I* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2016)

Rankin, Susan K., 'Liturgical Drama' in *The New Oxford History of Music: The Early Middle Ages to 1300*, ed. Richard Crocker and David Hiley, 10 vols (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), vol. 2, pp. 310–56

Rappaport, Steve, *Worlds Within Worlds: Structures of Life in Sixteenth-Century London* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989)

Rapson, Penelope, *A Technique for Identifying Textual Errors and Its Application to the Sources of Music by Thomas Tallis* (New York and London: Garland Publishing Inc., 1989)

Ratcliffe, Stephen, *Reading the Unseen: (Offstage) 'Hamlet'* (Denver, Colorado: Counterpath Press, 2010)

Ravens, Simon, *The Supernatural Voice: A History of High Male Singing* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2014)

Rayment, Louise, 'A New Context for the Manuscript of *Wit and Science*', *Early Theatre*, 17 (2014), 49–73

Reid Thompson, Ruby, 'Francis Tregian the Younger as Music Copyist: A Legend and an Alternative View', *Music & Letters*, 82 (2001), 1–31

Riewerts, Sigrid, (ed.), *The Ballad Repertoire of Anna Gordan, Mrs Brown of Falkland* (Woodbridge and New York: The Boydell Press, 2011)

Rivière de Carles, Natalie (ed.), *Early Modern Diplomacy, Theatre and Soft Power: The Making of Peace* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016)

Robinson, Hastings (ed.), *The Zurich Letters* (Cambridge: The Parker Society, 1855)

Ruggiers, Paul G. (ed.), *The Canterbury Tales: A Facsimile and Transcription of the Hengwrt Manuscript, with Variants from the Ellesmere Manuscript* (Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979)

Sabol, A. J., 'Two Unpublished Stage Songs for the "Aery of Children"', *Renaissance News*, 13 (1960), 222–32

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

Seng, Peter J., 'An Early Tune for the Fool's Song in *King Lear*', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 9 (1958), 583–5

———, 'The Foresters' Song in *As You Like It*', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 10 (1959), 246–9.

———, *The Vocal Songs in the Plays of Shakespeare* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967)

——— (ed.), *Tudor Songs and Ballads from MS Cotton Vespasian A-25* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1978)

Shapiro, James, *1606: Shakespeare and the Year of Lear* (London: Faber & Faber, 2015)

Shapiro, Michael, *Children of the Revels: The Boy Companies of Shakespeare's Time and their Plays* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977)

Siegel, Paul N., 'A *Midsummer Night's Dream* and the Wedding Guests', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 4 (1953), 139–44

Simonds, Peggy Muñoz, *Myth, Emblem and Music in Shakespeare's 'Cymbeline': An Iconographic Reconstruction* (Newark, London and Toronto: University of Delaware Press and Associated University Presses, 1992)

Simpson, Clade M., *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music* (New Brunswick and New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1966)

Sisson, C. J., *Lost Plays of Shakespeare's Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936)

———, 'A Topical Reference in *The Alchemist*' in *Joseph Quincy Adams Memorial Studies*, ed. Giles E. Dawson and Edward E. Willoughby (Washington, DC: Folger Shakespeare Library, 1948), 739–41

Smith, Bruce R., *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1999)

———, 'Shakespeare's Residuals: The Circulation of Ballads in Cultural Memory' in *Shakespeare and Elizabethan Popular Culture*, ed. Stuart Gillespie and Neil Rhodes (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2006), 193–217

Smith, David J., 'A Legend?: Francis Tregian the Younger as Music Copyist', *The Musical Times*, 143 (2002), 7–16

———, and Rachelle Taylor (eds), *Networks of Music and Culture in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries: A Collection of Essays in Celebration of Peter Philips's 450th Anniversary* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2013)

Smith, J. C. and E. de Selincourt (eds), *The Poetical Works of Edmund Spenser*, ed. J. C. Smith and E. de Selincourt (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1924)

Smith, Jeremy L., 'Music and Late Elizabethan Politics: The Identities of Oriana and Diana', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 58 (2005), 507–58

———, 'Music and the Cult of Elizabeth: The Politics of Panegyric and Sound' in *Noyses, Sounds and Sweet Aires': Music in Early Modern England*, ed. Jessie Ann Owens (Washington DC: The Folger Shakespeare Library, 2006), 62–77

———, "'Unlawful song": Byrd, the Babington Plot and the Paget Choir', *Early Music*, 38 (2010), 497–508

———, 'What Do Shakespearean Musicians Think? Complementary Rhetorical Devices in *Romeo and Juliet* and Byrd's *O that most rare breast*', *Journal of Musicological Research*, 36 (2017), 336–63

Smuts, R. Malcolm (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Age of Shakespeare* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2016)

Steele-Perkins, Crispian, *Trumpet* (London: Kahn & Averill, 2001)

Stern, Tiffany, *Making Shakespeare: From Stage to Page* (London and New York: Routledge, 2004)

———, *Documents of Performance in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009)

———, 'Middleton's Collaborators in Music and Song' in *The Oxford Handbook of Thomas Middleton*, ed. Gary Taylor and Trish Thomas Henley (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 64–80

———, 'Inverted Commas Around the "Fun": Music in *Twelfth Night*' in *Twelfth Night: A Critical Guide*, ed. Alison Findley and Liz Oakley-Brown (London: Methuen, 2013), 166–88

———, "A Ruinous Monastery": The Second Blackfriars Playhouse as a Place of Nostalgia' in *Moving Shakespeare Indoors: Performance and Repertoire in the Jacobean Playhouse*, ed. Andrew Gurr and Farah Karim-Cooper (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 97–114

Sternfeld, Frederick W., 'Lasso's Music for Shakespeare's "Samingo"', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 9 (1958), 105–16

———, 'Ophelia's Version of the Walsingham Song', *Music & Letters*, 45 (1964), 108–13

———, 'Appendix II: *Take, O Take Those Lips Away*' in *Measure for Measure*, ed. J. W. Lever (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd, 1965)

———, *Music in Shakespearean Tragedy* (2nd edn, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul; New York: Dover Publications, 1967)

———, and Mary Joiner Chan, "'Come Live with Me and be My Love'", *Comparative Literature*, 22 (1970), 173–87

Stevens, John, *Music and Poetry in the Early Tudor Court* (Cambridge, London, New York and Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1961),

———, 'Music of the Elizabethan Stage: An Introductory Essay' in *Shakespeare in Music: A Collection of Essays*, ed. Phyllis Hartnoll (London, Melbourne and Toronto: Macmillan, 1966), 3–48

Strahle, Graham, *An Early Music Dictionary: Musical Terms from British Sources, 1500–1740* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995)

Swift, Daniel, *Shakespeare's Common Prayers: The Book of Common Prayer and the Elizabethan Age* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2013)

Tarr, Edward, *The Trumpet* (London; B. T. Batsford Ltd., 1988)

Taylor, Gary, and Michael Warren (eds), *The Division of the Kingdoms: Shakespeare's Two Versions of 'King Lear'* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1983)

———, and John Lavagnino (eds), *Thomas Middleton and Early Modern Textual Culture: A Companion to the Collected Works* (Oxford and New York: Clarendon Press, 2007)

———, and Andrew Sabol, 'Middleton, Music and Dance' in *Thomas Middleton and Early Modern Textual Culture*, ed. Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 119–81

———, and Trish Thomas Henley (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Thomas Middleton* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2012)

———, and Gabriel Egan, *The New Oxford Shakespeare: Authorship Companion*, (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2017)

Thompson, William, *Southwark Cathedral: The History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of St Saviour (St Marie Overie)* (London: Elliot Stock, 1907)

Timbers, Frances, *Magic and Masculinity: Ritual Magic and Gender in the Early Modern Era* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 2014)

Vlasto, Jill, 'An Elizabethan Anthology of Rounds', *The Musical Quarterly*, 40 (1954), 222–34

Walsh, Brian, *Unsettled Toleration: Religious Difference on the Shakespearean Stage* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2016)

Ward, John, 'Music for "A Handefull of pleasant delites"', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 10 (1957), 151–80

———, 'Apropos "The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music"', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 20 (1967), 28–86

———, 'Joan qd John and Other Fragments at Western Reserve University' in *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music: A Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese*, ed. Jan LaRue (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), 846–51

Waters Bennett, Josephine, *The Evolution of 'The Faerie Queene'* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942)

Watson, Robert N., *The Rest Is Silence: Death as Annihilation in the English Renaissance* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994)

Wells, Stanley, 'A *Midsummer Night's Dream* Revisited', *Critical Survey*, 3 (1991), 14–29

———, 'Boys Should be Girls: Shakespeare's Female Roles and the Boy Players', *New Theatre Quarterly*, 25 (2009), 172–77

Werstine, Paul, 'Narratives about Printed Shakespeare Texts: "Foul Papers" and "Bad" Quartos', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 41 (1990), 65–86

Wiggins, Martin, 'When Did Marlowe Write *Dido, Queen of Carthage*?', *Review of English Studies*, 59 (2008), 521–41

Wilde, Lady, *Ancient Legends, Mystic Charms, and Superstitions of Ireland*, 2 vols (Boston: Ticknor and Co., 1887), vol. 1

Wiles, David, *Shakespeare's Almanac: 'A Midsummer Night's Dream', Marriage and the Elizabethan Calendar* (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 1993)

Willetts, Pamela, 'Oportet meliora tempora non expectare sed facere. The Arduous Life of Francis Tregian the Younger', *Recusant History*, 28 (2007), 378–96

Williams, Sarah F., *Damnable Practices: Witches, Dangerous Women, and Music in Seventeenth-Century English Broadside Ballads* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2015)

Wills, Gary, *Witches and Jesuits: Shakespeare's 'Macbeth'* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995)

Wilson, Christopher R., *Shakespeare's Musical Imagery* (London and New York: Continuum, 2011)

Wilson, John (ed.), *Roger North on Music: Being a Selection from his Essays written during the years c. 1695–1728* (London: Novello & Company Ltd, 1959)

Wing, Donald, *Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America, and of English Books Printed in Other Countries, 1641–1700*, 3 vols (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945–51)

Wolf II, Edwin, “‘If Shadows Be a Picture’s Excellence’: An Experiment in Critical Bibliography”, *Modern Language Association*, 63 (1948), 831–57

Woodcock, Matthew, *Fairy in 'The Faerie Queene: Renaissance Elf-Fashioning and Elizabethan Myth-Making* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004)

Woodward, Jennifer, *The Theatre of Death: The Ritual Management of Royal Funerals in Renaissance England, 1570–1625* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997)

Wulstan, David, ‘The Problem of Pitch in Sixteenth-Century English Vocal Music’, *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 93 (1966–7), 97–112

———, *Tudor Music* (London: J. M. Dent, 1985)

## 8. Unpublished Works

Fenn, Robert Denzell, ‘William Percy’s *Faery Pastorall*: An Old Spelling Edition’ (Ph. D. diss., University of British Columbia, 1997)

Hill, Richard Adam, ‘The Reformation of the Bells in Early Modern England’ (Ph. D. diss., Simon Fraser University, 2012)

McFeely, Julia Craig, ‘English Lute Manuscripts and Scribes 1530–1630’ (D. Phil diss., University of Oxford, 1993)

Rayment, Louise, ‘A Study in Sixteenth-Century Performance and Artistic Networks: British Library, Additional Manuscript 15233’ (Ph. D. diss., University of Southampton, 2011)

Reardon, Maria Louise, ‘The Manuscript Miscellany in Early Stuart England: A Study of British Library Manuscript Additional 22601 and Related Texts’, (Ph. D. diss., University of London, 2007)



## 9. Online Resources

Birch, Dinah (ed.), 'Bloody Brother, The, or Rollo, Duke of Normandy' in *Oxford Companion to English Literature* (online edn: Oxford University Press, 2009)

British Library, *English Short Title Catalogue* (<estc.bl.uk/F/?func=file&file\_name=log-in-bl-estc>)

*Catalogue of English Literary Manuscripts* (<celm-ms.org.uk/about.html>)

*Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music*, (<[diamm.ac.uk](http://diamm.ac.uk)>, 1998)

*Early English Books Online* (<[eebo.chadwyck.com.elib](http://eebo.chadwyck.com.elib)>, 1998)

*Early English Church Music: Primary Source Database* (<[eecm.tcd.ie](http://eecm.tcd.ie)>)

*Eighteenth-Century Collections Online*, <[gale.com/intl/primary-sources/eighteenth-century-collections-online](http://gale.com/intl/primary-sources/eighteenth-century-collections-online)> (Detroit: Gale Cengage Learning, 2008)

Estill, Laura, 'Commonplace Markers and Quotation Marks' in *Archbook* (<[drc.usask.ca/projects/archbook/commonplace.php#](http://drc.usask.ca/projects/archbook/commonplace.php#)>, 2014–; accessed 26 June 2018)

Favez, Charles, Gordon Willis Williams and John Scheid, 'nenia' in *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, (online edn: Oxford University Press, 2012)

*First Line Index* (<[firstlines.folger.edu](http://firstlines.folger.edu)>)

*Grove Music Online* (2001)

Brown, Alan, 'Toy'

Brown, David, and Ian Harwood, 'Johnson, Edward (i)'

Edwards, Warwick, 'Sources of instrumental ensemble music to 1630'

Fallows, David, 'Lai'

Greer, David, and Fiona Kisby, 'Cornysh Family'

Haar, James, 'Lassus, Orlande de'

Haynes, Bruce, 'Oboe: History to 1800'

Lefkowitz, Murray, 'Antimasque'

Sayce, Lynda, 'Tunings' in 'Lute'

Spink, Ian, 'Wilson, John (English composer, lutenist and singer)'

Steiner, Ruth, revised by Keith Falconer, 'Lauds'

Tyler, James, 'Cittern'

Whenham, John, 'Dialogue: Secular: Seventeenth Century',

Woodfield, Ian and Lucy Robinson, 'Viol'

Johnson, Eric M., *Open Source Shakespeare* (<[opensourceshakespeare.org](http://opensourceshakespeare.org)>, 2003)

Knutson, Roslyn L., David McInnis and Matthew Steggle, *Lost Plays Database* (<[lostplays.folger.edu](http://lostplays.folger.edu)>, 2009)

*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online edn: Oxford University Press, 2008)

Butler, Martin, 'Robert Armin'

Cain, Tom, 'Herrick, Robert (bap. 1591, d. 1674)'

Woudhuysen, H. R., 'Langham, Robert'

*Répertoire International des Sources Musicales* (<[opac.rism.info](http://opac.rism.info)>)