

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

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor in Philosophy

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by

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Complete in Three Volumes

Volume 2

EX. 2.1

SHAKESPEARE'S 'O MISTRESS MINE'

Set to the tune of Thomas Morley's 'O Mistress mine well may you fare' (*The first booke of ayres* (London: William Barley, 1600; STC 18115.5), sigs C2v–C3r). Accidentals as per the original.

a)

O mis-tress mine, where are you roam-ing? O stay and hear your true love's com-ing,
What is love, 'tis not here - af - ter, Pre-sent mirth hath pre-sent laugh-ter.
That can sing both high and low. Trip no fur-ther pret-ty sweet-ing, Jour - ney's
What's to come is still un-sure. In de - lay there lies no plen - ty, Then come
end in lov - ers' meet - ing. E - v'ry wise man's son doth know.
kiss me sweet and twen - ty. Youth's a stuff will not en - dure.

b)

O mis-tress mine, where are you roam-ing? O stay and hear your true love's com-ing,
What is love, 'tis nothere - af - ter, Pre-sent mirth hath pre-sent laugh-ter.
That can sing both high and low. That can sing both high and low. Trip no fur-ther
What's to come is still un-sure. What's to come is still un-sure. In de - lay there
pret - ty sweet-ing, Jour - ney's end in lov - ers' meet - ing.
lies no plen - ty, Then come kiss me sweet and twen - ty.
E - v'ry wise man's son doth know. E - v'ry wise man's son doth know.
Youth's a stuff will not en - dure. Youth's a stuff will not en - dure.

EX. 3.1

The Willow Song. Text *GB-Lbl Add. MS 22601*, f. 8r–v; melody *IRL-Dtc 410/1*, p. 26
(Dallis Lutebook; transcribed from lute tablature)



EX. 3.2

'Come away, Hecate': *GB-Cfm* MS 782, ff. 107v–108r (left) and *US-NYp* Drexel 4175, no. Liiii (right) compared

a)

Musical notation for 'I will but'noint and then I mount.' in G clef, 4/4 time, with a basso continuo staff below.

I will but'noint and then I mount.

Musical notation for 'I will but'noint and then I mount.' in G clef, 4/4 time, with a basso continuo staff below.

I will but'noint and then I mount.

b)

Musical notation for 'O - ver woods,high rocks and moun-tains' in G clef, 4/4 time, with a basso continuo staff below.

O - ver woods,high rocks and moun-tains

Musical notation for 'O - ver woods,high rocks and moun-tains' in G clef, 4/4 time, with a basso continuo staff below.

O - ver woods,high rocks and moun-tains

Ex. 3.3

'Where the bee sucks'. *GB- Ob* Don.c.57, f. 75r (left) and Wilson's *Cheerful Ayres*, *Cantus Primus* pp. 8–9 (right) compared

Musical notation for 'hangs on the bough.' in G clef, 4/4 time, with a basso continuo staff below.

hangs on the bough.

Musical notation for 'hangs on the bough.' in G clef, 4/4 time, with a basso continuo staff below.

hangs on the bough.

Ex. 3.4

'Where the bee sucks'. US-NH Misc. MS 170. Filmer 4 (left) and Wilson's *Cheerful Ayres* (right) compared

a) cantus secundus (Filmer 4b, f. 15r; Wilson, Cantus Secundus, p. 6)

The image shows two staves of musical notation in common time. The top staff uses a treble clef and the bottom staff uses a bass clef. Both staves have a key signature of one sharp. The lyrics are: "Where the bee sucks there suck I" and "un - der the blos-som that hangs". The notation consists of vertical stems with horizontal dashes indicating pitch and duration.

b) cantus bassus (Filmer 4c, f. 20v; Wilson, Cantus Bassus, p. 6)

The image shows two staves of musical notation in common time. The top staff uses a bass clef and the bottom staff uses a bass clef. Both staves have a key signature of one sharp. The lyrics are: "Where the bee sucks there suck I" and "There I couch when owls do cry". The notation consists of vertical stems with horizontal dashes indicating pitch and duration.

c) cantus bassus (Filmer 4c, f. 20v)

The image shows two staves of musical notation in common time. The top staff uses a bass clef and the bottom staff uses a bass clef. Both staves have a key signature of one sharp. The lyrics are: "Mer-ri - ly, mer-ri - ly shall I live_ now, un-der the blos-som that hangs on the bough." and "(Wilson, Cantus Bassus, p. 6)". The notation consists of vertical stems with horizontal dashes indicating pitch and duration.

Ex. 4.1

Edward Johnson, 'Eliza is the Fairest Queen'

Consort Songs, 2nd, rev. edn, Musica Britannica 22, ed. Philip Brett (London: Stainer and Bell, 1974), p. 58, bb. 4–6

Voice Treble Viol Tenor Viol Tenor Viol Bass Viol

E - li - za is the fair - est Queen

Ex. 4.2

George Kirbye, 'With angel's face/Bright Phoebus greets'

George Kirbye's madrigal from *The Triumphs of Oriana* with its two texts, 'With angel's face and brightness' (top line) and 'Bright Phoebus greets' (second line). Transcribed from *The Triumphs of Oriana*, ed. Edmund H. Fellowes, rev. Thurston Dart (London and New York: Stainer & Bell, Ltd, 1962).

a) p. 213

This is that maid - en Queen of the fai - ry land
And Pros - er - pine glad runs in her best ar - ray,

This is the maid - en Queen of the fai - ry land
And Pros-er - pine glad runs in her best ar - ray,

With Nymphs
With

b) pp. 214–15

3

The Fauns and Sa - tyrs danc - ing did
Her feet are li - ons kiss - ing: No

3

The Fauns and Sat - yrs danc - ing did
Her feet are li - ons kiss - ing: No

3

The Fauns and Sa - tyrs danc - ing, the Fauns and Sa - tyrs danc - ing
Her feet are li - ons kiss - ing, her feet are li - ons kiss - ing:

8

The Fauns and Sa - tyrs danc - ing,
Her feet are li - ons kiss - ing,

8

The Fauns and Sa - tyrs danc - ing the Fauns and Sa - tyrs danc - ing
Her feet are li - ons kiss - ing, her feet are li - ons kiss - ing:

3

The Fauns and Sa - tyrs danc - ing,

did

show their nim - ble light - ness, did show their nim - ble light - ness:
joy can there be miss - ing, no joy can there be miss - ing.

show their nim - ble light - ness, did show their nim - ble light - ness:
joy can there be miss - ing, no joy can there be miss - ing.

did show their nim - ble light - ness: Fair
No joy can there be miss - ing. Now

show their nim - ble light - ness: Fair
joy can there be miss - ing. Now

8 did show their nim - ble light - ness: Fair
No joy can there be miss - ing. Now

show their nim - ble light - ness: Fair

c) p. 211

A musical score for a vocal piece. The music is written in four staves. The top three staves are in treble clef, and the bottom staff is in bass clef. The time signature changes from common time to 8/8. The lyrics are as follows:

fair O-ri-a-na, fair O-ri-a-na, fair O-ri-a-na shin - ing,
 fair O-ri-a-na, fair O-ri-a-na, fair O-ri-a-na sit - ting,

 fair O-ri - a-na, fair O-ri - a-na, fair O-ri - a-na shin - ing,
 fair O-ri - a-na, fair O-ri - a-na, fair O-ri - a-na sit - ting.

 fair O-ri-a-na, fair O - ri - a-na, fair O-ri - a-na shin-ing,
 fair O-ri-a-na, fair O - ri - a-na, fair O-ri - a-na sit - ting

 Fair O-ri-a-na, fair O-ri-a-na, fair O-ri-a-na shin - ing,
 Fair O-ri-a-na, fair O-ri-a-na, fair O-ri-a-na sit - ting.

 Fair O-ri - a-na, fair O-ri - a-na, fair O-ri - a-na shin - ing,
 Fair O-ri - a-na, fair O-ri - a-na, fair O-ri - a-na sit - ting,

 Fair O-ri-a-na shin - ing,

Ex. 4.3

John Hilton, 'Fair Oriana, beauty's queen'

The Triumphs of Oriana, ed. Edmund H. Fellowes, rev. Thurston Dart, pp. 51–2.

Skip - ped and danc - ed,
skip - ped and danc - ed, round a - bout,
Skip - ped and danc - ed, skip - ped and danc - ed, round a - bout,
Skip - ped and danc - ed, skip - ped and danc - ed, skip - ped and danc - ed
Skip - ped and danc - ed, skip - ped and danc - ed, skip - ped and danc - ed
Skip - ped and danc - ed, skip - ped and danc - ed, round a - bout,

round a - bout, round a - bout.
round a - bout.

Ex. 4.4

Richard Carlton, 'Calm was the air'

The Triumphs of Oriana, ed. Edmund H. Fellowes, rev. Thurston Dart, pp. 70–71

Sa - tyrs and Nymphs danc - ing to -

Sa - trys and Nymphs danc - ing to - ge - ther, danc - ing to -

Sa - tyrs and Nymphs danc - ing to - ge - ther, danc - ing to - ge - - ther,

Sa - - - tyrs and Nymphs

ge - ther, to - ge - ther,
ge - ther, to - ge - - ther,
danc - ing to - ge - - ther,
danc - cing to - ge - - ther,
danc - ing to - ge - - ther,

Ex. 4.5

Daniel Norcome, 'With angel's face and brightness'

The Triumphs of Oriana, ed. Edmund H. Fellowes, rev. Thurston Dart, pp. 12–13

This musical score consists of five staves of music in common time. The key signature changes from G major (one sharp) to F major (one sharp) and then to E major (no sharps or flats). The lyrics are: "this is that maid-en Queen of the Fai - ry land, of the Fai - ry land," followed by a repeat sign; "this is that maid-en Queen of the Fai - ry land," followed by a repeat sign; "this is that maid-en Queen, this is that maid-en Queen of the Fai - ry land," followed by a repeat sign; "this is that maid-en Queen, this is that maid-en Queen of the Fai - ry land," followed by a repeat sign; and finally "this is that maid-en Queen of the Fai - ry land," followed by a repeat sign.

Ex. 4.6

Alfonso Ferrabosco II, 'Gentle knights, know some measure' from Ben Jonson's *Oberon*

Sabol, *Four Hundred Songs and Dances*, p. 65 (bb. 21–5)

This musical score shows one staff of music in common time with a key signature of two flats. The lyrics are: "As they will en- chant the fai - - - ry". The music features a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth note patterns, and a dynamic range indicated by a crescendo line above the notes.

Ex 4.7

Robert Johnson, 'Come away, Hecate' (*Macbeth*)

US-NYp Drexel 4175, no. Liiii

I will but noynte, and then I mounte, I will but noynte, and then I mounte.

Ex. 4.8

'There was a deft lad' from *The Late Lancashire Witches* set to the tune *Sir Eglamore*

Tune based on the cantus part of the part-song *Sir Eglamore* transmitted in 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. Text from Thomas Heywood and Richard Broome, *The late Lancashire witches* (London: Thomas Harper, 1634; STC 13373), sig. L4r.

There was a deft lad and a lass fell in love, with a fa la la, fa la la,
lang - ti-down dil - ly; With kiss - ing and toy - ing this maid-en did prove, with a
fa la la, fa la la, lang - ti-down dil - ly; So wide's the waist and her bel-ly so high, That
un - to her mo-ther the maid-en did cry, O lang - ti-down dil - ly, O
lang - ti-down dil - ly, Fa la la la lang - ti-down, lang - ti-down dil - ly.

Ex. 5.1

Tell me where is fancie bred

catch for three voices

The Merchant of Venice, III.ii

A. J.

[-ll + -ed]

[-ll + -ead]

[-ll + -ed]

When the last Reply be Finish'd:—

(as many times as shall please ye)

A setting of 'Tell me where is fancy bred' (*The Merchant of Venice*, III.ii) as a three-part catch, illustrating the phenomenon of the composite homophone (music specially commissioned for this dissertation).

Ex. 5.2

'Ding dong bell'

- a) 'Jack boy, ho boy' (*US-Wog M1490 M535.A5*, p. 101)

Musical notation for 'Jack boy, ho boy' on four staves. The music is in common time (indicated by 'C') and F major (indicated by a sharp sign). The lyrics are:

1 Jack boy, ho boy, news,
2 the cat is in the well,
3 let us ring now for her knell,
4 ding dong, ding dong bell.

- b) 'Full fathom five' (Robert Johnson, *GB-Bc Acc. No. 57316*, Location No. S747.01, p. 87)

Musical notation for 'Full fathom five' on one staff. The music is in common time (indicated by 'C') and G major (indicated by a sharp sign). The lyrics are:

Ding dong ding dong bell. Ding dong ding dong bell. Ding dong ding dong bell.

FIGURE 1.1
GRAPH SHOWING THE INCIDENCE OF CHILD AND ADULT SONGS IN
SHAKESPEARE'S PLAYS

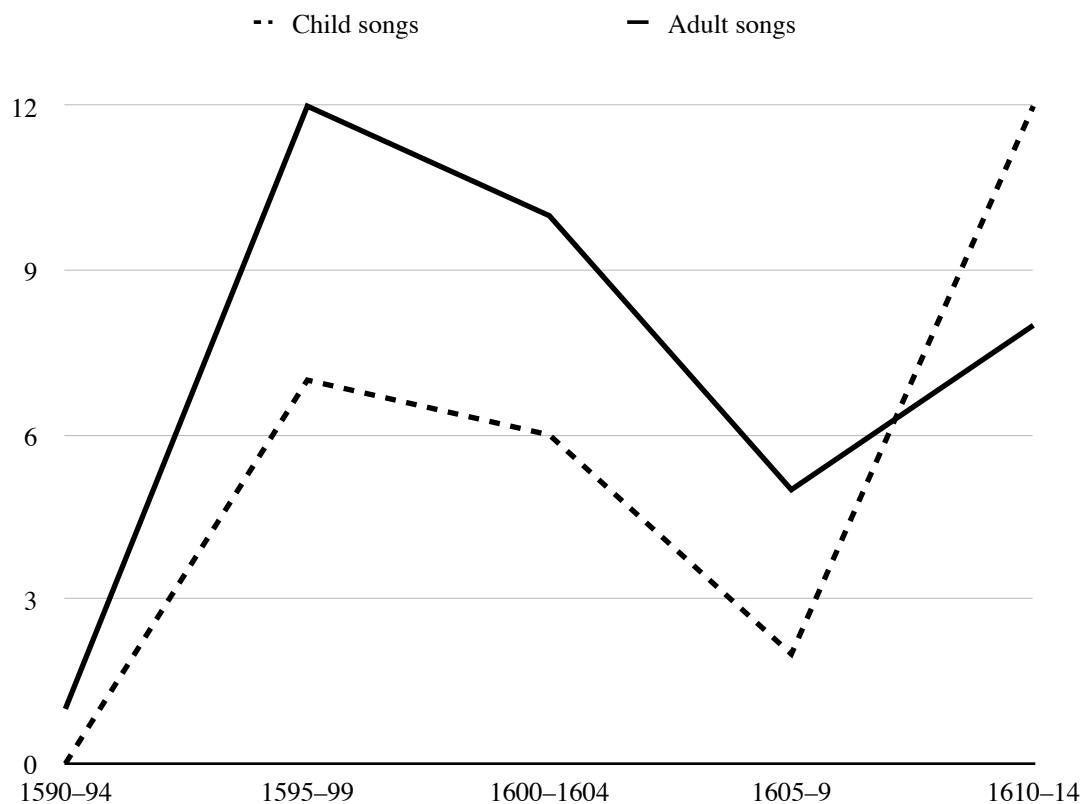


FIGURE 1.2
GRAPH SHOWING SHAKESPEARE'S USE OF HAUTBOY

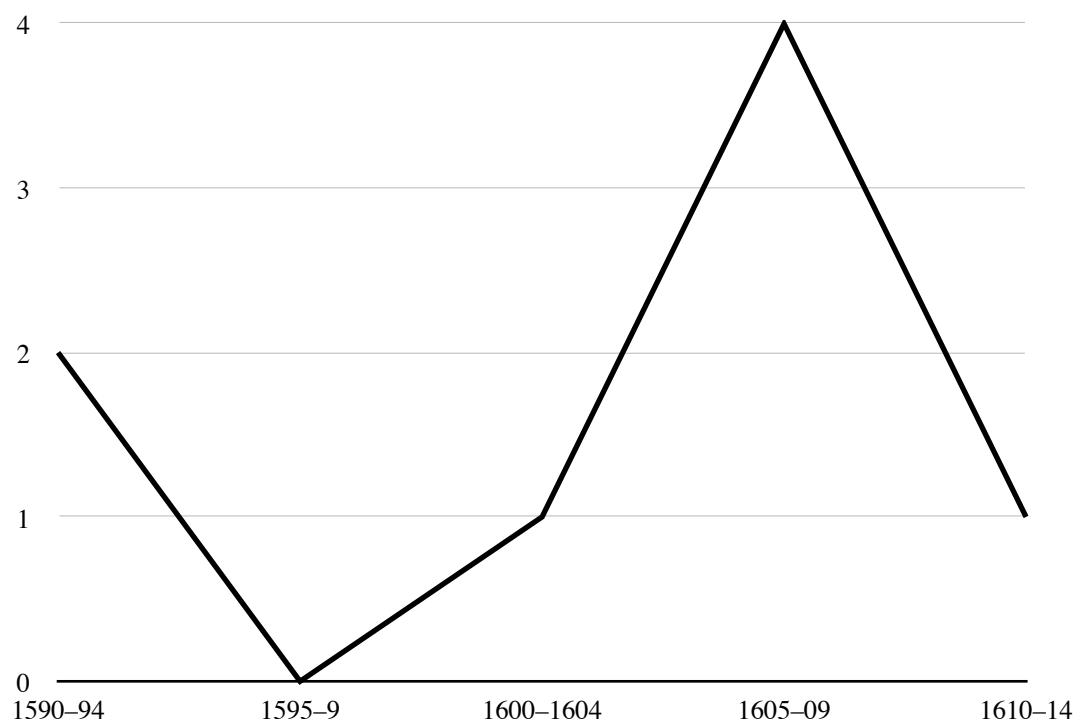
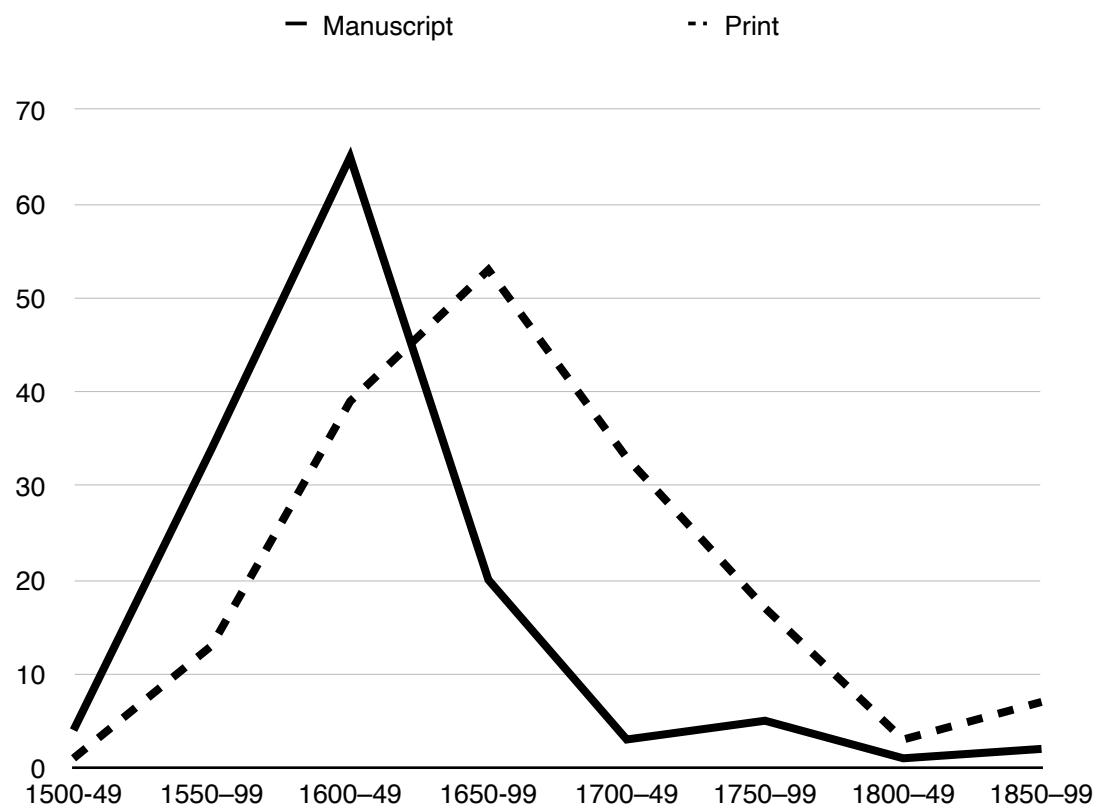


FIGURE 2.1
GRAPH SHOWING THE MANUSCRIPT AND PRINT CIRCULATION OF
SHAKESPEARE'S SONGS



	MS	Print
1500-1549	5	1
1550-1599	35	15
1600-1649	65	39
1650-1699	20	53
1700-1749	3	33
1750-1799	5	17
1800-1849	1	3
1850-1899	2	7

FIGURE 5.1

GRAPHS SHOWING SHAKESPEARE'S USE OF THE WORDS 'PLAQUE',
 'BELL' AND 'KNELL'

These statistics include Shakespeare's poetry as well as his plays. Dating of the works is according to *R*.

Figure 5.1a: Shakespeare's Use of the Word 'Plague'

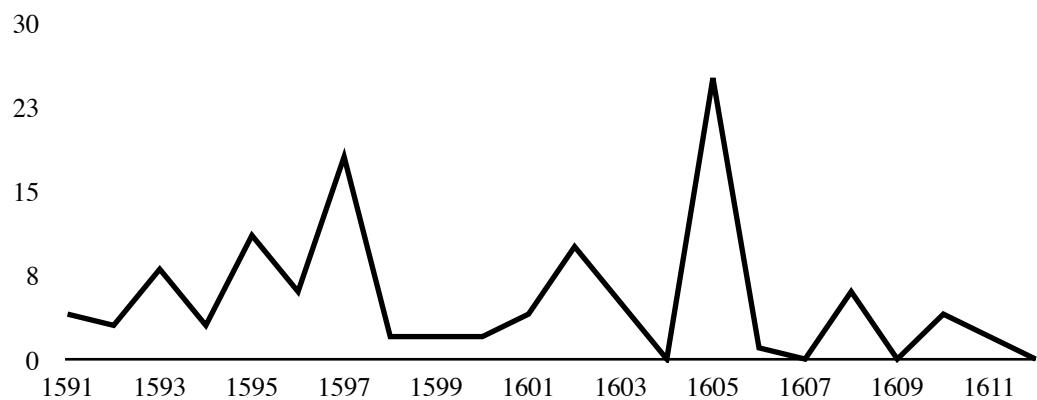


Figure 5.1b: Shakespeare's Use of the Word 'Bell' in the Context of Death

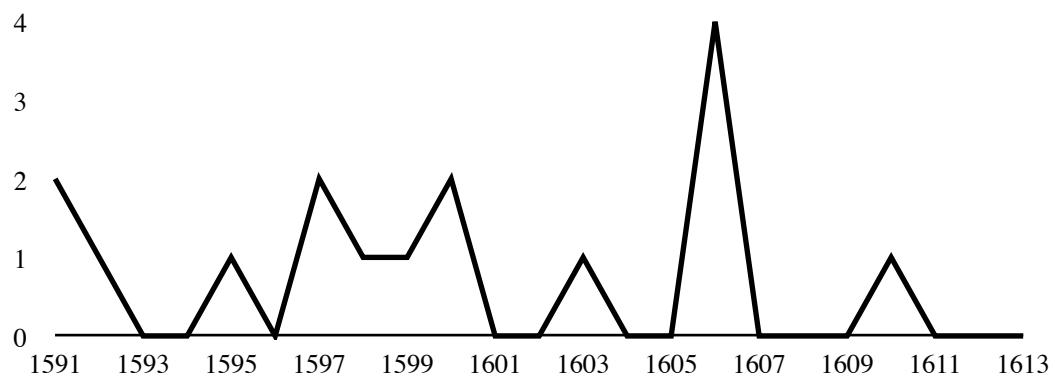


Figure 5.1c: Shakespeare's Use of the Word 'Knell'

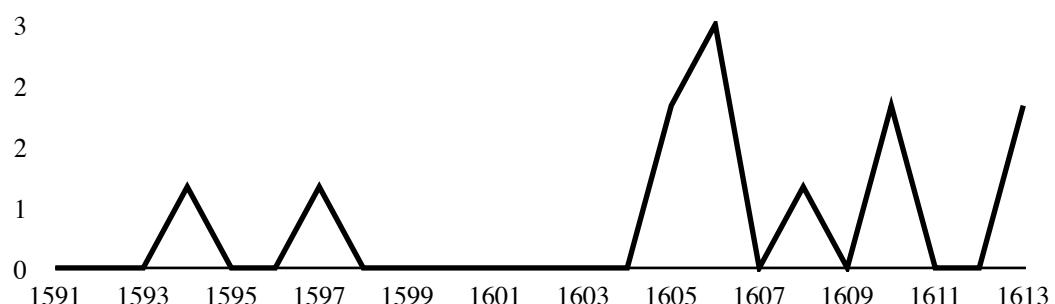


ILLUSTRATION 3.1

GB-Lbl Add. MS 11608, f. 56r

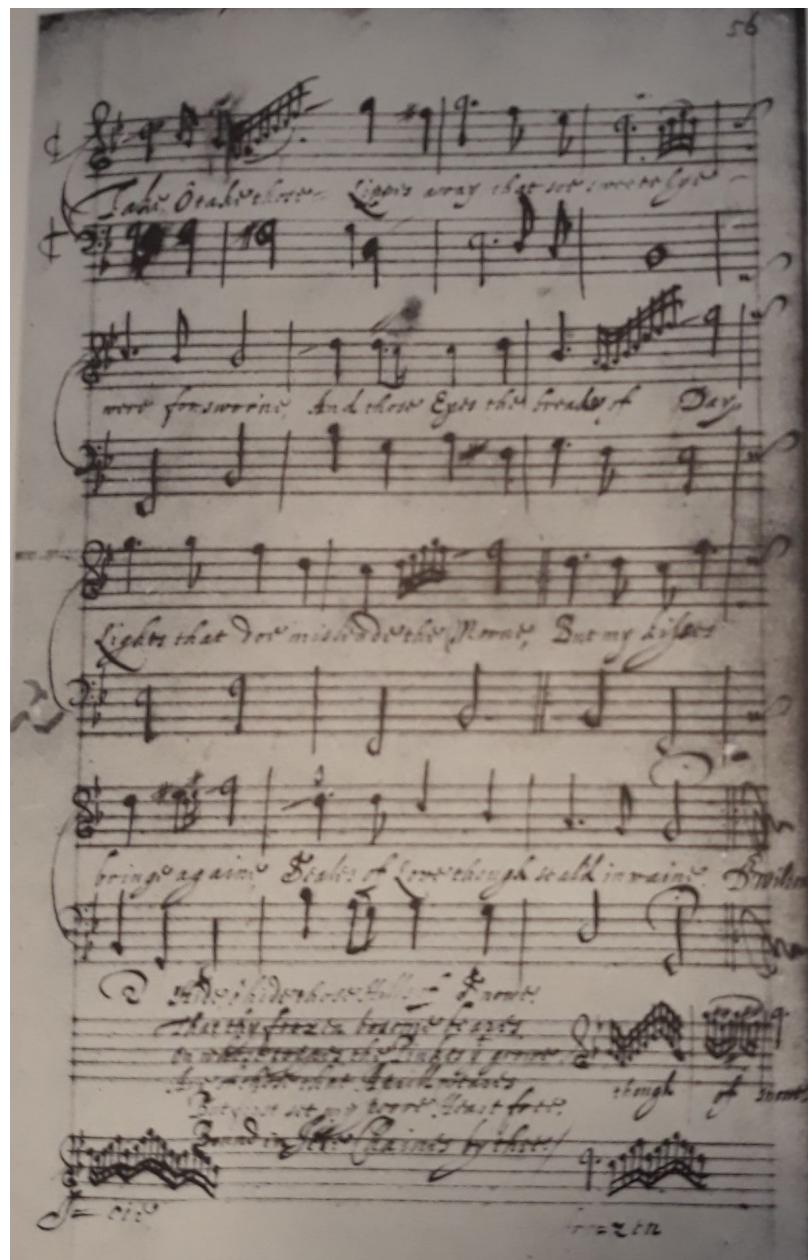


TABLE 1.1

CROSS SECTION OF CHILD COMPANY SOLO SONGS AND THEIR NOTATED VOCAL RANGES

<i>Song</i>	<i>Composer</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Vocal range</i>
<i>DAMON AND PITHIAS</i> (RICHARD EDWARDS, 1564)			
Awake, ye woful wights	Richard Edwards	<i>GB-Lbl Add. MS 15117, f. 3r</i>	F4–F5
<i>THE MAID'S METAMORPHOSIS</i> (JOHN LYLY?, 1600)			
Jolly shepherd	Anon.	Thomas Ravenscroft, <i>Pammelia</i> (London: William Barley, 1609; STC 20759), no. 3	C3–F4
<i>CYNTHIA'S REVELS</i> (BEN JONSON, 1600)			
O that joy so soon should waste	Anon.	<i>GB-Och MS Mus. 439, pp. 38–9</i>	D4–D5
<i>POETASTER</i> (BEN JONSON, 1601)			
If I freely may discover	Anon.	<i>GB-Lbl Add. MS 24665, ff. 59v–60r*</i>	C4–C5

Song	Composer	Source	Vocal range
<i>BLURT MASTER CONSTABLE (ANON., 1602)</i>			
Love for such a cherry lip	Edward Peace	Ravenscroft, <i>A Briefe Discourse</i> (London: Edward Alde, 1614; STC 20756), sigs E4v–Fr.	D4–D5
<i>VOLPONE (BEN JONSON, 1605)</i>			
Come my Celia	Alfonso Ferrabosco II	Ferrabosco, <i>Ayres</i> (London: T. Snodham, 1609; STC 10827), no. 6	C4–Eb5
<i>A TRICK TO CATCH THE OLD ONE (THOMAS MIDDLETON, 1607)</i>			
The scrivenor's song of Holborn	Anon.	Ravenscroft, <i>Melismata</i> (London: William Stansby, 1611; STC 20758), sigs. D3v–D4r	C4–D5
<i>THE DEVIL IS AN ASS (BEN JONSON, 1616)</i>			
Have you seen but a white lily grow?	Robert Johnson? [†]	GB-Lbl Add. MS 15117, f. 17v	F4–F5

* Ross W. Duffin doubts that this is the original setting (*Some Other Note: The Lost Songs of Renaissance Comedy* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 217–18).

† On the attribution to Johnson, see John P. Cutts, *La musique de scène de la troupe de Shakespeare: The King's Men sous le règne de Jacques I^{er}*. (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1959), 152, and Robert Johnson: *Ayres, Songs and Dialogues*, ed. Ian Spink (2nd edn, London and New York: Stainer & Bell, 1974), p. iv.

TABLE 1.2

RANGES OF SHAKESPEAREAN CHILDREN'S AND WOMEN'S SONGS

For a full source list for all Shakespearean songs, see appendix 2.1. Only one source per song is specified below unless the range differs from source to source. A printed source is preferred where possible since those sources are more easily accessible to the reader.

<i>Song</i>	<i>Composer</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Vocal range</i>
<i>AS YOU LIKE IT</i> (1598–1600)			
It was a lover and his lass	Thomas Morley	Morley, <i>The first booke of ayres</i> (London: William Barley, 1600; STC 18115.5), sigs B4v–B5r	G4–G5
<i>OTHELLO</i> (1603)			
The Willow Song	Anon.	GB-Lbl Add. MS 15117, f. 18r	G4–G5
<i>MEASURE FOR MEASURE</i> (1604)			
Take, o take those lips away	John Wilson	John Wilson, <i>Select ayres and dialogues</i> (London: W. Godbid, 1659; Wing W2909), p. 1*	G4–G5
<i>US-NYp</i> Drexel 4257, no. 16 and <i>US-NYp</i> Drexel F4–F5 4041, f. 34r			
<i>THE WINTER'S TALE</i> (1610–11)			
Get you hence	Robert Johnson?†	<i>US-NYp</i> Drexel 4175, no. Lix	D4–G5
		<i>US-NYp</i> Drexel 4041, ff. 131v–132r	C3–Eb5

<i>Song</i>	<i>Composer</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Vocal range</i>
<i>THE TEMPEST</i> (1611)			
Full Fathom Five	Robert Johnson	John Wilson, <i>Cheerfull ayres or ballads</i> (London: W. Hall, 1659; Wing W2908), pp. 6–7	F#4–F5
Where the bee sucks	Robert Johnson	Wilson, <i>Cheerful ayres or ballads</i> , pp. 8–9	D4–E5

* All other sources for ‘Take, o take those lips away’ transmit the same vocal range as Wilson’s print.
 † On the attribution to Johnson, see John P. Cutts, ‘An Unpublished Contemporary Setting of a Shakespeare Song’ in *Shakespeare Survey IX*, ed. Allardyce Nicoll (Cambridge University Press, 1956), 86–9. While in Drexel 4175 this dialogue song is written in G2 clef throughout, ‘Autolycus’ lines in Drexel 4041 are written in bass clef, Mopsa’s and Dorcas’s in G2 clef.

TABLE 1.3

FORMER CHILD COMPANY PLAYERS IN SHAKESPEARE'S COMPANY

The data below is mostly from Andrew Gurr, *The Shakespeare Company, 1594–1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), Appendix 1 ‘The Players’.

<i>Actor</i>	<i>Child company</i>	<i>Dates active with King's Men</i>	<i>Age joined King's Men</i>
John Underwood (d. 1624)	Blackfriars	1608–24	unknown
William Ostler (1586/87*–1614)	Blackfriars and Whitefriars	1609–14	23/24
Nathan Field (1587–1619/20)	Paul's Boys and Whitefriars	c. 1615–19	28
Stephen Hammerton (dates unknown)	Blackfriars	1632–42	unknown
Charles Hart (1625–83)	Blackfriars	c. 1640	c. 15

* According to David Kathman ('John Rice and the Boys of the Jacobean King's Men', 256–7), the baptisms of two William Ostlers are recorded in the International Genealogical Index for the second half of the sixteenth century: one in Lincolnshire in 1586, and the other in Plymouth in 1587. It is here assumed that one of those boys was the same Ostler who went on to act with the King's Men.

TABLE 1.4
INSTRUMENTATION ACCORDING TO SHAKESPEARE'S FIRST FOLIO

The following table lists instruments which were undoubtedly played during Shakespeare's plays, according to *F*. Several types of instrument may fall under the category 'pipe'; the pipes mentioned in *Othello* III.i.17, for instance, are likely bagpipes since they 'speak i'th' nose' (lines 3–4), whereas Ariel plays a pipe and tabor according to a stage direction in *The Tempest* (III.ii.109). Instruments detailed in quarto editions but absent from *F* are omitted (for instance, Ophelia's lute in Q1 *Hamlet*, IV.iv).¹ That is not to say that those instruments were not played in early performances, but owing to the dubious provenance of some quartos, *F* alone is my source for the present survey. Instruments which appear from *F*'s dialogue to have been present on the stage but not necessarily played are omitted below (for instance, Hortensio's lute in *The Taming of the Shrew* (II.i.38) or the recorder in *Hamlet* (III.ii.296)). Where a stage direction calls for music but does not specify instruments, none are recorded below (for instance in *The Taming of the Shrew* III.ii.170, 'music plays'). In that light, table 1.4 cannot be deemed representative of Shakespeare's use of music, since plays in which music plays an important role—*Twelfth Night*, for instance—appear from the data below to be unmusical.

<i>Play</i>	<i>Cornet</i>	<i>Drum</i>	<i>Fife</i>	<i>Flute</i>	<i>Hoboy</i>	<i>Horn</i>	<i>Lute</i>	<i>Organ</i>	<i>Pipe</i>	<i>Recorder</i>	<i>Tambourine</i>	<i>Trumpet</i>	<i>Viol</i>
<i>The Taming of the Shrew</i> (1590–92)													✓
<i>Titus Andronicus</i> (1591–2)	✓					✓							✓
<i>2 Henry VI</i> (1591)		✓										✓	
<i>3 Henry VI</i> (1591)			✓									✓	
<i>I Henry VI</i> (1592)							✓						✓

¹ Shakespeare *The tragicall historie of Hamlet Prince of Denmarke* (London: for N. L. and John Trundell, 1603; STC 22275), sig. G4v.

Play	Cornet	Drum	Fife	Flute	Hoboy	Horn	Lute	Organ	Pipe	Recorder	Tambourine	Trumpet	Viol
<i>All's Well That Ends Well</i> (1605)	✓	✓										✓	
<i>King Lear</i> (1605–6)			✓			✓						✓	
<i>Timon of Athens</i> (1605–6)			✓			✓						✓	
<i>Macbeth</i> (1606)		✓				✓						✓	
<i>Antony and Cleopatra</i> (1606–7)		✓			✓							✓	
<i>Coriolanus</i> (1608)§	✓	✓				✓						✓	
<i>Cymbeline</i> (1611)													
<i>Pericles</i> (1608)													
<i>The Tempest</i> (1610–11)¶			✓										
<i>Henry VIII</i> (1613)			✓	✓									
<i>The Two Noble Kinsmen</i> (1613–14)		✓	✓	✓								✓	

*Though music is undoubtedly played by musicians named Simon Catling (a catling being a lute string made from cat gut), Hugh Rebec and James Soundpost, it is not certain that they played the string instruments associated with their names, particularly since they assert their intention to ‘put up our pipes and be gone’ (IV.iv.130).

† When a tucket is sounded at V.i.131, Lorenzo states ‘Your husband is at hand; I hear his trumpet’. It should be acknowledged, though, that the tucket may in reality have been played on a cornet like the other flourishes in the play. While there are other cues for music in the play, the instruments are not specified.

‡ The trumpet is not called for by name, but rather implied through directions such as ‘flourish’ and ‘sennet’. Trumpet is therefore assumed on the grounds of its preponderance in the history plays.

§ In *Coriolanus* V.iv.40–44, the stage direction reads ‘Trumpets, hautboys, drums beat all together’, but a bystander remarks ‘The trumpets, sackbutts, psalteries and fifes,/Tabors and cymbals and the shouting Romans/Make the sun dance./Hark you!’ In my opinion, the speaker here leads the audience to believe that they are hearing more instruments than are present.

¶ From stage directions such as ‘Enter Ferdinand, and Ariel, invisible, playing and singing’ (I.ii.437) it is likely, in my opinion, that Ariel played the lute.

TABLE 2.1
PRE-EXISTING SHAKESPEARE SONGS AND THEIR EARLIEST SOURCES

<i>Song</i>	<i>Earliest Source</i>	<i>Character</i>	<i>Hierarchization device</i>
<i>THE TAMING OF THE SHREW</i> (1590–92)			
It was the friar of orders grey	GB-Cu Add. MS 7350 (c. 1500)	Petruchio	Drunk/feigning drunkenness
Where is the life that late I led?	Proctor, <i>The gorgiaus gallery of gallant inventions</i> (1578)	Petruchio	Drunk/feigning drunkenness
<i>ROMEO AND JULIET</i> (1595–6)			
When griping grief	Edwards, <i>The paradise of daintie deuises</i> (1585)	Peter	Clown
<i>HENRY IV, PART 2</i> (1596–9)			
Do me right and dub me knight/Monsieur Mingo	IRL-Dtc 410 (1583–5)	Silence	Drunk
Fill the cup	GB-Lb/Cotton MS Vespasian A XXXV (c. 1576)	Silence	Drunk
<i>THE MERRY WIVES OF WINDSOR</i> (1597–1601)			
Come live with me and be my love	US-Ws.z.e.28 (2), (1572–3)	Sir Hugh Evans	Butt of a joke
Whenas we sat in Pabylon	Sternhold and Hopkins, <i>The whole booke of Psalmes</i> (1562)	Sir Hugh Evans	Butt of a joke

<i>Song</i>	<i>Earliest Source</i>	<i>Character</i>	<i>Hierarchization device</i>
<i>MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING</i> (1598–9)			
The god of love that sits above/Turkeyloney	<i>US-NHub</i> Osborn Music MS 13,(c. 1560–70)	Benedick	Butt of a joke
<i>AS YOU LIKE IT</i> (1598–1600)			
O sweet Oliver/Hunt's Up	<i>US-Ws</i> v.a.159 (1559–c. 1575)	Touchstone	Clown
<i>HAMLET</i> (1599–1601)			
For bonny sweet Robin is all my joy/ Robin is to the greenwood gone	Ibid.	Ophelia	Mad
How should I your true love know?/Walsingham	<i>GB-Lbl</i> MS Mus. 1591 (1591)	Ophelia	Mad
In youth when I did love/I loathe that I did love	<i>Tottel's Miscellany</i> (1557)	Two clowns/ gravediggers	Clown
<i>TWELFTH NIGHT</i> (1601–2)			
Farewell dear heart/ Farewell dear love	Jones, <i>The first booke of songs & ayres</i> (1600) or perhaps <i>GB-WCr</i> 44M69 (c. 1600)	Sir Toby and Feste	Drunk and clown
Hey Robin	<i>GB-Lbl</i> Add. MS 31922 (1510–20)	Feste	Clown
Hold thy peace	<i>GB-CkC</i> MS Rowe 1 (c. 1580)	Sir Toby, Sir Andrew and Feste	Drunk and clown
O mistress mine	Morley, <i>The first booke of ayres</i> (1600)	Feste	Clown

<i>Song</i>	<i>Earliest Source</i>	<i>Character</i>	<i>Hierarchization device</i>
Three merry men be we	Peele, <i>The old wifes tale</i> (1595)	Sir Toby	Drunk
<i>OTHELLO</i> (1603)	GB-LnA Star Chamber 5, 30/16 (witness account describes the song being sung in 1601)	Lago	Feigning drunkenness
King Stephen was and a worthy peer/Bell my wife			
<i>KING LEAR</i> (1605–6)	GB-Lbl Add. MS 5665 (15th–16th century)	Edgar	Feigning madness
Come o'er the broom Bessie	A songe betwene the Quenes maiestie and Englaunde (1564)		
<i>THE TWO NOBLE KINSMEN</i> (1613–14)			
O fair, o sweet	Sidney, <i>Arcadia</i> (1598)	Jailer's Daughter	Mad

TABLE 3.1
TEXTUAL SOURCES OF PRE-SHAKESPEAREAN WILLOW SONGS

The Sources

GB-NYp Drexel 4183 (vocal part-book) 1530s–40s*
US-CLwr SpecCol 3/Lge/ML 431.D24 (marginalia in David & Lussy, *Histoire de la Notation Musicale* (Paris, 1882)) 1530s–40s*
GB-Lbl Add. MS 15233 (music and verse anthology) c 1555¹

Proctor, Thomas *The gorgious gallery, of gallant inuentions* (London: for Richard Jones, 1578; STC 20402) (song and ballad anthology)
 Howell, Thomas, *H. His deuises, for his owne exercise, and his friends pleasure* (London: H. Jackson, 1581; STC 13875) (prose and verse anthology)
 Deloney, Thomas, *The gentile craft. The second part* (London: Elizabeth Purslow, 1639; STC 6556), first printed in 1597 (novel)

* Date and pagination from John Ward, ‘Fragments at Western Reserve University’ in *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music: A Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese* (London: Melbourne: Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1967), 832–55 (852)

The Table

Source	Text	Music
<i>GB-NYp</i> Drexel 4183, fly-leaf	✓	✓
<i>US-CLwr</i> SpecCol 3/Lge/ML 431.D24	✓	✓
<i>GB-Lbl</i> Add. MS 15233, f. 46	✓	
Proctor, sigs L2r–L3v	✓	
Howell, sig. C2r	✓	
Deloney, <i>Gentle Craft</i> , sig. E	✓	

¹ Date from Louise Rayment, ‘A Study in Sixteenth-Century Performance and Artistic Networks: British Library, Additional Manuscript 15233’ (Ph. D. diss., University of Southampton, 2011), 24. Folio number from CELM.

TABLE 5.1
 SHAKESPEARE'S USE OF THE WORDS 'PLAQUE', 'BELL' (IN THE CONTEXT
 OF DEATH) AND 'KNELL' DURING THE PERIOD 1605–6

Play	Plague	Bell	Knell
<i>All's Well That Ends Well</i> (1606)	4	1	0
<i>King Lear</i> (1605–6)	8	0	0
<i>Timon of Athens</i> (1605–6)	13	1	0
<i>Macbeth</i> (1606)	1	3	4