

Music and Power at the English Court, 1575-1624

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Abstract

This thesis examines the functions of music and dance in English occasional entertainments between 1575 and 1624 by considering masques, country house entertainments, royal entries and civic pageantry. It explores the changing discourse of music's place within court entertainments, and the ways that different types of entertainment present music. Music's associations with court power are tested through an examination of the ways in which it is adopted and adapted on non-courtly public occasions.

This thesis contends that musical provision and musicality were crucial to the prestige of a particular event, and are therefore crucial to a contextualised interpretation of the textual traces the events have left behind. It seeks to understand the role of music in these events, both in terms of the way its particular qualities are deployed, and also the way those qualities are presented and exploited within the allegorical schemes of the entertainments themselves.

This study interrogates the circumstances of particular occasions, including aspects such as the place and time of an event, the political standing of the people who attended and commissioned it, and the resources and personnel available to provide the music and dance for such events. Rather than seeking to separate out these elements, this thesis examines the way they interact, showing both how music can bring connotative meaning to the events it is part of, and also how the events themselves shape musical meaning in particular ways. This thesis demonstrates that music's meanings are shaped by the extra-musical factors that surround it, and that music is able both to absorb and bestow meaning across the boundaries of social differentiation that it is enlisted to reinforce.

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Abbreviations

CSP Venetian	<i>Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts Relating to English Affairs: Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice</i> , ed. Allen B. Hinds (London: HMSO, 1909)
EEBO	<i>Early English Books Online</i>
ELH	<i>English Literary History</i>
ELR	<i>English Literary Renaissance</i>
H&S	<i>Ben Jonson</i> , ed, by C.H. Herford, Evelyn Simpson and Percy Simpson, 11 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1950)
MSC, III	<i>A Calendar of Dramatic Records in the Books of the Livery Companies of London, 1485-1640</i> , ed. by Jean Robertson and D. J. Gordon, Malone Society Collections, III (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1954)
Nichols, <i>Elizabeth</i>	<i>The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth</i> , 3 vols (London: John Nichols, 1823)
Nichols, <i>James</i>	<i>The Progresses, Processions, and Magnificent Festivities of King James the First</i> , ed. by John Nichols, 4 vols (London: John Nichols, 1828)
OED	<i>The Oxford English Dictionary</i>
PRMA	<i>Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association</i>
R.E.E.D. Chester	<i>Records of Early English Drama: Chester</i> , ed. by Lawrence M. Clopper ((Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979)
R.E.E.D. Norwich	<i>Records of Early English Drama: Norwich 1540-1642</i> , ed. by David Galloway (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984)

In early modern sources, abbreviations have been silently expanded, and i and u have been transcribed as j and v respectively. Where a modern edition has been used, quotations have been reproduced exactly.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Music and Courtliness

I must have wanton poets, pleasant wits,
Musicians, that with touching of a string
May draw the pliant king which way I please.
(*Edward II*)¹

This thesis interrogates the relationship between music and power in occasional entertainments in England between 1575 and 1624. It examines the changing discourse of music's place within court entertainments, and the ways that different types of entertainment present music. It investigates the various intersections between music and courtliness by considering a wide range of such entertainments, including masques, country house entertainments and royal entries. Music's associations with court power are tested through an examination of the ways in which the same courtly vocabulary is also deployed within civic pageantry, and the rhetoric of music is adapted, adopted and reconstituted for non-courtly public occasions. This thesis investigates the intertextuality of courtly entertainments, provincial civic pageantry, and London Lord Mayors' Shows, and their reproduction and modification of musical and courtly myth.

In Marlowe's depiction of Edward II's court, entertaining the King is a means to win favour and power. Gaveston plans elaborate and extravagantly staged spectacles to cement himself in the King's affections and to increase his own political influence. These plans come to nothing in the play, as Gaveston is killed before these spectacles can be staged, but they offer an illuminating insight into the way court entertainments functioned, and the ways they were interpreted outside the court. Gaveston's comment

¹ Christopher Marlowe, *Edward II*, in *Doctor Faustus and Other Plays*, ed. by David Bevington and Eric Rasmussen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995, reissued 1998), pp. 323-402 (1.1.51-2). Further references to this edition are given after quotations in the text.

quoted above demonstrates a commonly-held contemporary belief that aspiring courtiers could, and did, use theatrical spectacle to advance their standing with the monarch. In this respect, Marlowe's depiction of the favourite who charms the King with 'Italian masques' (I.1.54) is uncannily prescient of the relationship between James I and his favourites, particularly Buckingham,² and although it cannot be said that the play parallels the functioning of Elizabeth's court quite as closely, the general attitude still applies. For example, it was later reported by Sir Robert Naunton that Sir Christopher Hatton first 'came into the Court, as his opposite, Sir *John Perrot* was wont to say, by the Galliard, for he came thither as a private Gentleman of the Innes of Court in a Mask, and for his activity, and person, which was tall, and proportionable, taken into her favour'.³ Gaveston's comments, therefore, alert us to the access to power granted by participation in court entertainments, and to the wider contemporary context of what is deemed 'courtly'.

By this period entertainments, mumblings, masquings and playing were a fundamental part of European court life, marking the calendar of the courtly year and any significant events along the way. Such courtly behaviour was part of the maintenance of the identity of the court as a social group, and this is often reflected in the themes of the entertainments, which represent their participants and spectators as supernatural beings or particularly worthy historical figures, analogising their social superiority with the worthiness of the characters they play.⁴

² Mark Thornton Burnett argues that Marlowe was indeed aware of the Scottish King's tastes, although his suggestion that, in writing *Edward II*, Marlowe may have had one eye on James's possible accession to the English throne is rather far-fetched ('*Edward II* and Elizabethan Politics' in *Marlowe, History and Society: New Critical Essays on Christopher Marlowe*, ed. by Paul Whitfield White (New York: AMS, 1998), pp. 91-107).

³ Sir Robert Naunton, *Fragmenta regalia; or, Observations on the Late Queen Elizabeth, her Times and Favorits* (London: 1641), p. 27.

⁴ This point is made by Stephen Orgel in relation to masques in particular (*The Illusion of Power: Political Theatre in the English Renaissance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), pp. 38-9).

This analogising impulse is also found in the way the entertainments use and present music. They invoke the traditional mythologisation of music as a special art with magical properties.⁵ This aura of distinctiveness is also present in the superiority and exclusivity that courtly codes of behaviour signify. The charisma of royal authority corresponds to the affective power of music in that both lay claim to an ability to transform the external world. In combining the two, courtly entertainments promote this analogy as an interpretive strategy, encouraging the audience or reader of the text to understand the expression of royal power and musical affectiveness as equivalent.

Musical discourse and its vocabulary of concord, tempering, resonance and, above all, harmony are habitually enlisted to express notions of social order in Elizabethan and Jacobean literature. For instance, Josuah Sylvester translated a passage from Du Bartas's 'Divine Weeks and Works' thus:

Nor can I see, where underneath the Skie
A man may finde a juster Policy,
Or truer Image of a calme Estate
Exempt from Faction, Discord and Debate,
Then in th'harmonious Order that maintains
Our Bodies life, through Members mutuall pains.⁶

Ideas of musical harmony are, therefore, intimately connected with the way writers of this period seek to understand the regulation of, and relationship between, society and individual.⁷ As we shall see, musical theory offers a scientific doctrine of connectedness that enables the human being to be seen as a microcosm of the wider universe. Robert

⁵ See below, pp. 35-44.

⁶ Josuah Sylvester, *Bartas his Devine Weekes and Workes* (London: 1605), S4^r (p. 255). Further examples include Richard's discussion of the 'Concord of my State and Time' in *Richard II*, and Ulysses's exclamation 'Take but degree away, untune that string, | And, hark, what discord follows!' in *Troilus and Cressida*.

⁷ Gretchen Ludke Finney has shown that harmony was made to stand for both social equality and inequality. On the one hand, harmony was presented as arising from an interdependence of equal parts, with no one part standing out. On the other, it was also presented as a successful blend of different levels, implying that each part must remain in its allotted range or risk spoiling the effect (*Musical Backgrounds for English Literature, 1580-1650* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1962; repr. Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1976), pp. 29-30).

Aylett analogises the regulation of the human body and the regulation of the state, and describes both in terms of musical harmony in 'Of Peace and Concord':

Ev'n as mans body, whose just temp'rature
 Consists of humid, frigid, hot and dry;
 So long as they in Concord do indure.
 Doth thrive and grow: but if ambitiously
 They strive amongst themselves for sovereignty,
 Their civill breach doth cause Deaths execution.
 So is't in City, Church, or Family,
 Sweet Peace and Concord breed sound constitution:
 But Envy, Discord, Pride, a fearefull dissolution.
 And as in Musicke divers differing Sounds,
 By Concord make one pleasant Harmonie,
 But he that straines above the rest, confounds
 His owne, and all the others melody:
 So it befalleth each Society,
 So long as they in Concord do remaine,
 They live in plenty, ease, prosperity:
 But if they jarre for Envy, Pride, or Gaine,
 They from their quiet state do tumble downe amaine.⁸

The metaphor of harmony expresses the reciprocal tensions and obligations of the relationship between the individual's own desires, and their position and responsibility as part of a social group.

The anxieties produced by this tension are all the more acute when the literature in question also encompasses the notions of privilege, entitlement, and obligation that are suggested by the presence of a social elite. In courtly or civic entertainments, therefore, the assertion of the validity of the mythologised powers of both monarch and song takes place within a highly politicised context. The implied metaphorical correlation between the fantasy of the courtly spectacle and the external reality of the court is exposed in a situation which increases its inherent tensions and inconsistencies.⁹

⁸ *Peace With Her Foure Garders* (London: 1622), ll. 172-89.

⁹ Frank Whigham discusses the tensions within the rhetoric of nobility produced by social mobility in *Ambition and Privilege: The Social Tropes of Elizabethan Courtesy Theory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984).

Nevertheless, the courtly entertainments discussed in this thesis collapsed distinctions between performers, the roles they played, and audience-members. Performed in country houses, on the streets, or at the Whitehall Banqueting House, these entertainments took place in environments that minimised their fictionality. When Queen Elizabeth was confronted on her way back from the hunt by a sylvan scene enacting the magical affect of her presence, pastoral fantasy asserted itself into the quotidian.¹⁰ When the masquers joined with the audience in dancing the revels at a court masque, their fictional characters were commingled with the population of the court, blurring the distinction between illusion and reality.¹¹ In this way, the entertainments actively pushed their metaphorical representations out of their fiction into the external world, using them to justify both their participants' political claims, and their social status. This thesis tests these points of tension in the rhetoric of music and courtly entertainments, and examines how this rhetoric is affected when transplanted into a non-courtly setting, such as the London Lord Mayors' Shows.

This tension is evinced by a deep unease about courtly modes of display and entertainment that continues to surface throughout the period under consideration. Music itself is morally problematic, as it is repeatedly associated with drunkenness, lewdness and depravity in the work of contemporary moralists, such as Prynne and Gosson.¹² This suggests a further potential analogy between the negative characteristics

¹⁰ See below, p. 76, and also Bruce R. Smith, 'Landscape with Figures: The Three Realms of Queen Elizabeth's Country-house Revels', *Renaissance Drama*, n.s. 8 (1977), 57-115 (p. 62), and Michael Leslie, "'Something Nasty in the Wilderness': Entertaining Queen Elizabeth on Her Progresses', *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England*, 10 (1998), pp. 47-72.

¹¹ Orgel, *The Illusion of Power*, p. 39.

¹² Indeed, a pervasive sense of anxiety suffuses writings on music in previous eras, starting with Plato's ambivalence. Even tracts which champion the powers they attribute to music are often characterized by a telling defensiveness (see below, p. 41). For a survey of attitudes to music, see Morrison Comegys Boyd, *Elizabethan Music and Music Criticism*, 2nd edn. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1962), pp. 13-36.

of music and courtly behaviour, which lurked alongside the idealised vision presented in the entertainments themselves.

The conflicting impulses surrounding contemporary attitudes to courtly entertainments are exemplified by the extract from *Edward II* above. The King is susceptible to the temptations embodied by music and entertainment, and Isabella accuses Gaveston of being ‘a bawd to his affections’ (I.IV.151). This sense of the King’s vulnerable disposition is also apparent in Marlowe’s source material. Edward is described in Holinshed as ‘of nature given to lightness’, but under ‘the prudent advertisements of certain of his counsellors’, he ‘counterfeited a kind of gravity, virtue, and modesty’. Holinshed asserts that it was Gaveston ‘through whose company and society he was suddenly so corrupted that he burst out into most heinous vices’. Gaveston filled the court with ‘vile and naughty ribalds’ and ‘flattering parasites’ (amongst whom Holinshed lists musicians), provoking the King to ‘forget himself, and the state to the which he was called’.¹³

Thus music, when applied to a weak disposition, can have a devastating influence, inciting corruption and depravity. Furthermore, music itself forms an element of that depravity, constituting part of the ‘jesting, playing, banqueting’ and other ‘filthy and dishonourable exercises’ that Edward is accused of engaging in by his chroniclers.¹⁴ Music was an integral part of the sport of dressing, cross-dressing and disguise that characterised the kind of entertainments that courtiers, and sometimes royal figures, regularly participated in. By the latter half of the period, courtly revels were viewed with such suspicion that in dramaturgy they became representative of courtly

¹³ *Christopher Marlowe: The Plays and Their Sources*, ed. by Vivien Thomas and William Tydeman (London: Routledge, 1994), pp. 351-2.

¹⁴ *Christopher Marlowe: The Plays and Their Sources*, p. 352.

corruption.¹⁵ In addition to its more general associations with vice, music's magical potential implies that it actively debases the mind of the unwary listener.

Gaveston's comment on the power of music implicitly refers to the idea that the vibration of the musician's strings will set in motion a kind of sympathetic resonance within the heart of his intended recipient, and enact a Ficinian transference of spirit between player and listener.¹⁶ The play thus presupposes a familiarity with doctrines of music, indicating the common currency, or at least poetic currency, of the connection between music and magic which is generally considered to have been losing status throughout this period.¹⁷ As Lindley has shown, Thomas Wright invokes Ficino in his 1604 *Passions of the Mind in General*, combining traditional models of music's power with a more relativist approach to human responses to that power.¹⁸ Thus, speculative music theory remains an important ideological context for the study of the uses of music.

The political implications of occasional entertainments are further complicated by their occupation of an ambiguous position between public and private status. In *Edward II*, for example, the exclusivity of the relationship between Gaveston and Edward is part

¹⁵ This is exemplified by the stock revenge play device of using courtly revels as the opportunity for the fulfilment of the murderous intentions of both the revenger and others. See also, for example, Antonio's account of the circumstances of his wife's rape in *The Revenger's Tragedy*. He describes this as taking place during a masque, and the 'vicious minute' occurs at 'the height of all the revels | When music was heard loudest, courtiers busiest, | And ladies great with laughter'. The louder the music gets, it seems, the more dangerous and out of control the festivities become (*Four Revenge Tragedies* ed. by Katharine Eisaman Maus (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995, reissued 1998), pp. 93-173 (I.IV.37-9)).

¹⁶ For a lucid account of Ficino's understanding of music's effect on the body and soul, see D.P. Walker, 'Ficino's *Spiritus* and Music', *Annales Musicologiques*, 1 (1953), reprinted in *Music, Spirit and Language in the Renaissance*, ed. by Penelope Gouk (London: Variorum Reprints, 1985), pp. 131-50. See also Gary Tomlinson, *Music in Renaissance Magic: Towards a Historiography of Others* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), especially Chapter 4.

¹⁷ See Penelope Gouk, *Music, Science and Natural Magic in Seventeenth Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), and John Hollander, *The Untuning of the Sky: Ideas of Music in English Poetry, 1500-1700* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1961), especially pp. 332-422.

¹⁸ David Lindley, *Shakespeare and Music* (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2006), pp. 28-9.

of what makes it so dangerous for them and others. It is played out in a semi-public arena in a way which emphasises the exclusion of those who feel entitled to be at the centre of the court – another factor in Gaveston’s miscalculations. Such gestures of inclusion and exclusion can clearly have political significance in terms of who performed in an event, who was invited to the performance, where they sat, and so on.¹⁹ The intense politicking amongst ambassadors over invitations to masques at the Jacobean court is one very obvious instance of the way that inclusion or exclusion can in itself carry a significance which is independent of the entertainment’s literary content. In studying such events we must be alert to the implications of non-verbal acts and omissions, and this thesis seeks to understand the importance of musical connotations within such multi-layered meanings.

This highlights how, in a wider sense, an appreciation of the nature of the audience being addressed is an important factor to bear in mind in seeking to understand an entertainment’s impact. For instance, the presence of different factions and family groupings in attendance at an event raises the possibility of significantly different levels of potential communication and response within the same spectacle.²⁰ Additionally, the professional actors and musicians involved in performing the entertainment are another constituency, one which is often ignored but is nonetheless significantly present.²¹ Entertainments can thus convey a number of different messages, both intended and unintended, to different audiences, about their patrons and participants. This includes

¹⁹ I am thinking here of Orgel’s exposition of the importance of the spatial configuration of King, stage and audience in *The Illusion of Power*, pp. 10-11.

²⁰ I am indebted here to the work of Martin Butler, particularly his essay ‘Courtly Negotiations’, where he argues that we should widen the critical view of the politics of the masque to appreciate the ‘symbolic transactions between those who were competing for position in and around the courtly arena’ (‘Courtly Negotiations’ in *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque*, ed. by David Bevington and Peter Holbrook (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 20-40 (p. 25)).

²¹ I am grateful to Peter Holman for alerting me to the importance of composers and other artists as a constituency of the audience at entertainments.

the readership of any printed account, a constituency which can have a significant impact on the way an event is presented in a printed text. This thesis understands the 'audience' of an event in its widest possible terms, and will explore this multivalence to gain a greater understanding of the different registers of playing and listening that occasional entertainments demanded.

When viewed in this way, the politics of court entertainments reveal a certain fluidity in the apparently rigid social hierarchy. Although every person within an elite hierarchy has a vested interest in maintaining it, to maintain their position above those below them, the struggle for advantage within the system exerts pressure upon that system.²² Court entertainments expressed, reinforced, and readjusted the hierarchy of the court milieu, reflecting a more complex picture of social status than is implied by the official social rank of the participants.²³ This thesis also examines the way non-courtly entertainments engaged in similar types of social differentiation.

An understanding of the wider implications of particular court entertainments naturally entails placing them within the context of the discourse of courtly entertainments as a whole. This thesis sees all the types of entertainments it covers as participating in a tradition of revelry to which they must conform in terms of protocol, precedent and acceptability. To be successful, however, entertainments must also depart from tradition to provide their audience with a sufficiently original and enjoyable performance. These entertainments are thus shaped by an aesthetic that is poised

²² Norbert Elias, *The Court Society*, trans. by Edmund Jephcott (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983), pp. 85-6. Butler highlights the circumscribed nature of the exercise of power, even for an absolutist, as without the cooperation of favourites and courtiers, governing would be impossible (Butler, 'Courtly Negotiations' p. 27). Indeed, James I himself acknowledges as much in *Basilicon Doron* when he advises his son that the nobility 'must be your armes and executers of your lawes' (*The Basilicon Doron of King James VI*, ed. by James Craigie, Scottish Text Society Series 3, 2 vols (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1944-50), 1, 87.

²³ See especially Chapters 4 and 5.

between a deep conservatism and a pressing need for innovation.²⁴ The pervasive cultural conservatism of the period is particularly evident in the neo-classicism that saturated artistic and political, as well as literary, discourses, although an appeal to venerable precedent could sometimes be a ploy to render novelty acceptable.²⁵ This thesis examines the way different types of entertainment articulate and attempt to balance these conflicting aesthetic criteria, and explores the ways in which these criteria influenced the style of the music that was employed at these differing events.

The expectations that entertainments needed to conform to can be difficult to define, however, because they depend very much upon an occasion's attendant circumstances. For example, factors such as a host's social status, their relationship to the person or occasion being celebrated, and the location of the entertainment, all contribute to the calculus of the propriety or otherwise of an event and its constituent parts. These factors are particularly variable in the context of Elizabethan country house entertainments, discussed in Chapter 2. Here, an excavation of the relationship of the provision of music to an Aristotelian model of magnificence enables a more detailed understanding of music's role within the *modi operandi* of country house entertainments and their place within the complex negotiations of power at the Elizabethan court.

In Chapter 3, the place of music in the vocabulary of court entertainments will be examined in relation to Elizabethan civic pageantry during the Queen's progresses to provincial areas, by looking at her visit to Norwich in 1578 to show how the rhetoric of harmonious music was adopted by this civic entertainment.

²⁴ Tom Bishop highlights the polarities of tradition and novelty and their political and aesthetic importance at the Jacobean court in 'The Gingerbread Host: Tradition and Novelty in the Jacobean Masque', in *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque*, ed. by David Bevington and Peter Holbrook (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 88-120.

²⁵ For example, in the Prologue to *Volpone*, Jonson claims to be following Aristotelian precepts, yet omits to mention the unity of action which he expediently ignores in his double-plotting (*Volpone; or, The Fox*, ed. by R.B. Parker (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983), p. 93).

Anxieties over the moral status of courtly entertainments became far more pronounced with the advent of the Stuarts and the court masque. Chapters 4 and 5 discuss music's place within this moral equivocation, and the ways in which music adapted to the demands made upon it by differing occasions. Chapter 4 discusses the importance of masque dance in terms of the aesthetic desiderata that shaped it, and its practical manifestation within the genre. Chapter 5 examines the aural manifestation of music in more detail. Songs which survive from masque performances are investigated to illuminate the impact of the ideology of the masque upon musical style.

Chapters 6 and 7 extend the discussion of the developments in musical style, and in the techniques of courtly entertainment. These developments are considered first in terms of a 1610 pageant in Chester in Chapter 6, where it will be argued that, independent of its associations with courtliness, music had the potential to bring a mythological and pseudo-scientific status which depends upon music's cultural importance as a signifier of sophistication and wealth.

Chapter 7 then examines the development of the London Lord Mayors' Shows within the context of a period of profound social and economic change in the early seventeenth century. The Shows are presented as a sustained response to courtly modes of celebration, and the changes in the status, function and style of music outlined in the preceding chapters. Analysis of Middleton and Munday's Lord Mayors' Shows demonstrates that music is a protean element of these entertainments, whose meanings are shaped by the extra-musical factors that surround it. It is thus able to both absorb and bestow meaning across the boundaries of social differentiation that it is enlisted to reinforce.

An interdisciplinary project such as this necessarily engages with the work of a wide range of scholars, and one of the principal aims of this thesis has been to synthesise the approaches of scholars from different fields to gain a new insight into an area which has sometimes fallen between disciplines.

There are a great many studies which investigate the relationship between poetry and music, and the presence of music as a theme within literature. Elise Bickford Jorgens, Gretchen Ludke Finney, John Hollander and James Anderson Winn have produced particularly useful examples of this type of criticism.²⁶ The images and myths of music within poetry are discussed in great detail by these commentators. However, the impact of the juxtaposition of such ideas with the performance of live music is a factor which has escaped attention in these wide-ranging accounts. This thesis investigates the effect of combining assertions of music's affectiveness with practical music.

In terms of the specific practicalities and meanings of music within court entertainments, the literature is rather haphazard. No study of the music of the period has comprehensively situated it within the vocabulary of occasional drama, and conversely, studies of occasional drama rarely concentrate upon, or even mention, the musical elements of the performance.

The only systematic studies of music in court entertainments of any type are two on the masque: Mary Chan's study of Ben Jonson and Peter Walls's comprehensive book on music for masques. Prior to Chan, the discussion of masques in music criticism tended to see the masque as a forerunner of opera, and was thus ill-equipped to offer

²⁶ Elise Bickford Jorgens, *The Well-tun'd Word: Musical Interpretations of English Poetry 1597-1651* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982); Finney, *Musical Backgrounds for English Literature, 1580-1650*; Hollander, *The Untuning of the Sky*; James Anderson Winn, *Unsuspected Eloquence: A History of the Relations between Poetry and Music* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981).

insight into the form itself.²⁷ Chan's book appears to offer an account of the importance of music within Jonson's plays and masques, but despite her inclusion of many musical examples, it is really a discussion of Jonson's philosophy and artistic development, rather than a study of music.²⁸ Additionally, her focus is on extant music. Owing to the relative abundance of such evidence for masques, I also discuss such examples, but I also analyse the texts of songs which do not have surviving musical settings to explore the way music is presented within a masque's fictional universe.²⁹

The attribution of surviving musical examples to particular masques is, along with the preoccupation with opera, another factor that has occupied much of the scholarly attention given to the music of masques. Andrew Sabol's work in this respect is undoubtedly invaluable in his bringing together of transcriptions and making them available for wider scholarship.³⁰ His analysis of the music, however, has been sidetracked by this approach, and the pursuit of particular dances for particular masques is so fraught with uncertainty that it is, in most cases, unproductive. One cannot come to conclusions about the relationship of musical style to literary content if caveats of improbability are attached to every supporting example.

Peter Walls manages to avoid such pitfalls in his balanced study.³¹ His focus ranges from the beginnings of the masque to the demise of the genre, and is the real starting point for any serious discussion of music in the masque. A study of this range

²⁷ The most prominent example of this is E.J. Dent's *The Foundations of English Opera: A Study of Musical Drama in England During the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1928; repr. New York: Da Capo, 1965).

²⁸ Mary Chan, *Music in the Theatre of Ben Jonson* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980).

²⁹ Owing to the scarcity of extant music, it is this latter approach which characterises my consideration of other types of entertainment.

³⁰ *Songs and Dances for the Stuart Masque: An Edition of Sixty Three Items of Music for the English Court Masque, from 1604 to 1641* (Providence: Brown University Press, 1959); *A Score for Lovers Made Men: A Masque by Ben Jonson* (Providence: Brown University Press, 1963); *Four Hundred Songs and Dances from the Stuart Masque*, ed. by Andrew Sabol (Providence: Brown University Press, 1978); *A Score for the Lords' Masque by Thomas Campion* (Hanover NH: Brown University Press, 1993).

³¹ Peter Walls, *Music in the English Courtly Masque* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).

inevitably, however, involves elisions and generalisations. Walls's tripartite division of the masque into antimasque, main masque and revels implies a generic consistency which I aim to pick apart. Walls goes some way to acknowledging that this model is based upon Jonson's middle and later masques,³² but not that the genre itself was far more fluid and responsive to particular circumstances than his pattern suggests. I will put forward a more nuanced view of masque structure, and consequently the role and importance of music in demarcating that structure.

I also aim to bring a dramatic sensibility to bear upon questions of musical style. Walls's discussion of verse forms and their implications for the style of performance and nature of their delivery may be convincing,³³ but he neglects to explore the way that stylistic changes alter the relationship of performer and audience, which is one of the main areas of investigation for this thesis. Although Walls declares himself in his introduction to be interested in the 'interface' between masque fantasy and reality,³⁴ it is only in the very last section of the book that he begins to address this question, and his portrayal of the revels as unintentionally ironic underestimates their importance.³⁵

Published in 1996, Walls's book brought the consideration of music in masques up to date in terms of musicology, but takes less account of developments in general masque scholarship. The concentration of the latter during the last few decades upon a politicised view of the masque is the most important strand of masque criticism for the shaping of this thesis.³⁶ Few of these more recent critics have engaged with music, although work by David Lindley has gone some way towards applying a political slant

³² Walls, *Music in the English Courtly Masque*, p. 76.

³³ Walls, *Music in the English Courtly Masque*, pp. 86-103.

³⁴ Walls, *Music in the English Courtly Masque*, p. 4.

³⁵ Walls, *Music in the English Courtly Masque*, pp. 324-32.

³⁶ I am thinking of the work of scholars such as Martin Butler, Leah Marcus, Graham Parry, Barbara Lewalski and Leeds Barroll. The most thorough account of the origins of the masque, however, remains Enid Welsford's *The Court Masque: A Study in the Relationship between Poetry and the Revels* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1927, repr. New York: Russell and Russell, 1962).

to music and masque. Lindley explored the development within masques of the rhetoric of music, and the correspondence between this rhetoric and absolutism in a 1998 article.³⁷ What remains to be seen, however, is the impact that musical affect has upon the genre's amalgamation of fantasy and reality, and how allying political statements with fictional musical powers influences their reception.

Further to its discussion of masque music, this thesis extends its consideration to a wider range of court and civic entertainments, identifying the ways in which music operated within a variety of public occasions. Only Ernest Brennecke has looked in any great detail at the music of the progress entertainments, in an article on the entertainment at Elvetham. This provides an account of the musical resources for the entertainment, collecting together as much information as can be gleaned.³⁸ Brennecke overstates his case, though, in terms of the music which survives, as most of his examples have only circumstantial connections to the event. Furthermore, like Sabol, his focus upon finding all the music that can be linked, however tenuously, to the entertainment means that the implications of what we do know for certain are overlooked.

In terms of civic pageantry, there has only been the most general consideration of its political and social importance with very little, if any, regard to music. David M. Bergeron's work has done much to bring attention to these genres, and in doing so has revealed how much more there is to be said in several areas, not least music.³⁹

³⁷ David Lindley, 'The Politics of Music in the Masque', in *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque*, ed. by David Bevington and Peter Holbrook (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 273-95.

³⁸ Ernest Brennecke, 'The Entertainment at Elvetham, 1591', in *Music in English Renaissance Drama*, ed. by John H. Long (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1968).

³⁹ David M. Bergeron, *English Civic Pageantry, 1558-1642* (London: Edward Arnold, 1971); *Pageantry in the Shakespearean Theater* (Athens GA: University of Georgia Press, 1985); *Pageants and Entertainments of Anthony Munday: A Critical Edition* (New York: Garland, 1985); *Thomas Heywood's Pageants: A Critical Edition* (New York: Garland, 1986).

With regard to dance, previous scholarship has focused almost exclusively on masques when discussing its significance in court entertainment.⁴⁰ This is perhaps understandable, since there is far more material available for the masque, yet there are references to dance in Elizabethan entertainment texts, and this evidence of dance and its significance has been overlooked.

This thesis takes a synthesising approach to occasional entertainments, examining music, dance and poetry together, and their relationship to social and political contexts. This is partly because such an approach can bring a wealth of new insights, but also because it is much more suited to the nature of the entertainments that will be examined. They are the work of many practitioners working in different fields, and require a different paradigm of production and reception than the models provided by divided academic disciplines. Rather than seeking to separate out the elements of collaboration, this thesis seeks to examine the way they interact and work together or, indeed, clash. To do so sheds new light on the nature of public discourse in the period, and traces the response of music to the developing demands of occasional entertainments.

Methodology and Contexts

There are three preliminary areas which need to be considered before the main part of the thesis, to establish two important aspects of methodology, and to outline the musical contexts within which much of my argument takes place. The first methodological discussion will be based around the status of the primary texts consulted

⁴⁰ Barbara Ravelhofer, *The Early Stuart Masque: Dance, Costume, and Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); 'Memorable Movements: Rhetoric and Choreography in Early Modern Courtly Entertainment', *Internationales Archiv für Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Literatur*, 22 (1997), 1-18; "'Virgin Wax" and "Hairy Men-monsters": Unstable Movement Codes in the Stuart Masque', in *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque*, ed. by David Bevington and Peter Holbrook (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 244-272; Skiles Howard, *The Politics of Courtly Dancing in Early Modern England* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998); John M. Ward, 'Newly Devis'd Measures for Jacobean Masques', *Acta Musicologica* 60 (1988), 111-142; 'The English Measure', *Early Music* 14 (1986), 15-21.

by this thesis. Recurring issues of reliability, context, and bias make it important to consider the cultural status of texts which report entertainments, as well as specific problems pertaining to the textual representation of music. The second discussion involves issues regarding not only the identity of a text's author or authors, but also the nature of authorship itself in these contexts.

The third of these preliminary topics is an examination of contemporary concepts of music and the ways that they may have had an impact upon the use and presentation of music in entertainments. The modern understanding of musical affect is a highly contested field.⁴¹ What needs to be established for this historical context, however, are the theories of music which shaped the circumstances in which it was heard, consequently influencing the listener's response. This will provide a background within which the music of particular entertainments can be situated.

Texts

The evidence base for a study such as this is severely limited by the materials which have survived, and one must acknowledge the impact that this can have on one's range of conclusions. Alternative sources of information either directly show, or indirectly imply that far more events took place than we have substantial texts for. For instance, there were clearly more masques performed than we have information about. Even where there is evidence, however, it can sometimes be so limited as to be unhelpful in establishing anything of interest with great certainty. With regard to

⁴¹ Stephen Davies gives a lucid summary of the positions of major theorists such as Susanne Langer and Nelson Goodwin, and an account of the debate surrounding their work in *Musical Meaning and Expression* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994). A more comprehensive account of developments in the field can be found in Edward Lippman, *A History of Western Musical Aesthetics* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1992). A detailed account of a socially contextualised approach to music can be found in Judith Becker, 'Anthropological Perspectives on Music and Emotion', in *Music and Emotion: Theory and Research*, ed. by Patrik N. Juslin and John A Sloboda (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 135-60.

Elizabethan progress entertainments, Bruce R. Smith asserts that for the period from 1575 to the end of the reign, we possess ‘full texts for no fewer than fifteen country-house devices’.⁴² Smith’s definition of a ‘full text’, however, includes those which merely comprise poems and speeches with very little (if any) description, such as a dialogue written by Mary Sidney for an unspecified occasion which may never have been performed. Knowing that Elizabeth went on progresses for most of the summers of her reign, we can reasonably surmise that, as with the masque, there were more entertainments and royal entries staged which have left no trace at all.

Notwithstanding the above, one cannot assume that there have been examples of such ‘great’ entertainments as the 1575 visit to Kenilworth which have been utterly forgotten. Such elaborate (and expensive) events were few and far between. Alexandra F. Johnston has remarked in relation to extant medieval plays that ‘the few dramatic texts that have survived are the special ones’.⁴³ It is clear that the preservation of a text implies a certain significance to those involved in producing the event, and those who attended or read accounts of it.⁴⁴ So although one must also acknowledge the role of chance in the matter of the survival of texts, it can nevertheless be plausibly argued in relation to certain texts that the manner of their survival is itself evidence of their political significance. Texts are preserved for various reasons, and it will be argued in relation to several texts that these reasons themselves can reveal interesting things not only about the afterlife of an event, but also the event itself.

For instance, it will be argued in Chapter 6 that the text of the Chester pageant celebrating the investiture of Prince Henry is more concerned with publicising the

⁴² Smith, ‘Landscape with Figures’, p. 59.

⁴³ Alexandra F. Johnston, ‘What If No Texts Survived? External Evidence For Early English Drama’, in *Contexts For Early English Drama*, ed. by Marianne G. Briscoe and John C. Coldewey (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1989), pp. 1-19 (p. 10).

⁴⁴ That this is especially true for progress entertainments will be discussed in Chapter 2.

achievements of the event's patron than the qualities of the newly-created Prince of Wales – who is, after all, its ostensible subject. This pattern of reflected praise is part of a general sense of self-reflexiveness within these texts. Entertainment texts often engage with their own status, giving self-justifying explanatory notes to help the reader understand the 'true' import of the occasion. They give a strong sense that there is a unitary 'correct' interpretation,⁴⁵ deviation from which on the part of audience or reader is presented as wilful misunderstanding or stupidity.⁴⁶

Entertainment texts often assert that they offer a transparent and objective account of an event. When considered in terms of their cultural context, it becomes apparent that these assertions of authority and transparency spring from two unstated assumptions. Firstly, that there is indeed an available objective truth, and secondly, that the author of the text has privileged access to it. In reading these texts, however, it is important not to be seduced by this sense of certainty. As the principal, and sometimes only, source of evidence for an event, some of the assertions made by a text have to be taken at face value, but we need to maintain a sense of scepticism.

Also important is the relationship between a text and the event it represents. Jeffrey Masten describes playtexts as recapitulations,⁴⁷ and this formulation goes some way towards describing the status of occasional entertainment texts. The texts summarise and encapsulate an event which was acted out in a particular space and time. The

⁴⁵ For example, Gascoigne subtitles his account of the 1575 Kenilworth entertainment as 'A briefe rehearsall, or rather a true Copie of as much as was presented before her majesti[e]' (*The Princely Pleasures at Kenelworth Castle*, in *The Complete Works of George Gascoigne*, ed. by John W. Cunliffe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910), pp. 91-131 (p. 91)). Further references to this edition are given as page numbers after quotations in the text.

⁴⁶ Jonson, for instance, in the preface to *Hymenaei*, expresses exasperation with those for whom his meaning 'steps beyond their little or (let me not wrong 'em) no brain at all' (ll. 19-20). Thomas Churchyard, in his description of Elizabeth's visit to Norwich also complains of misunderstandings on the part of onlookers, albeit with a far less bad-tempered tone (*Records of Early English Drama: Norwich 1540-1642*, ed. by David Galloway (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), p. 303).

⁴⁷ Jeffrey Masten, *Textual Intercourse: Collaboration, Authorship, and Sexualities in Renaissance Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 16.

recording process inevitably involves a certain amount of telescoping of events in order to represent them on paper. There is considerable variation in the extent of this contraction within the entertainment texts discussed, partly owing to the nature of the events themselves. Elizabethan progress entertainment texts often have to describe a varied and complicated series of events seen on a particular day or series of days of a visit, whereas masque texts usually record the events of a single night. Accounts of Lord Mayors' Shows describe a procession following a traditional sequence in its route and rituals which its readership could reasonably be expected to be aware of.

The presentation of material by the text is also influenced by other, similar entertainment texts. For example, it will be argued in Chapter 2 that the Elvetham entertainment sets out in its textual form to evoke and surpass the grandeur of previous entertainments, in particular the 1575 visit to Kenilworth.⁴⁸ In terms of the Lord Mayors' Shows, the texts reflect what was an increasingly entrenched set pattern, but also a desire to outdo the previous year's and previous company's Show (see Chapter 7). Entertainment texts thus respond to each other in their presentation of events.

Quite apart from using the text as evidence for the event itself, it has been argued in relation to the masque that, independent of the events they purport to represent, the texts demand to be read as literary artefacts. Limon asserts that the written account and the performance are different 'systems' and should be considered separately.⁴⁹ A distinction between text and performance is indeed important. For instance, Brown has identified the way in which the alterations made to texts of Milton's *Comus* indicate differing

⁴⁸ The text for the Elvetham entertainment is somewhat problematic. The source used by John Nichols (which was reproduced by Jean Wilson in her edition of progress entertainments) is no longer extant, and Nichols's copy is significantly different from the three surviving texts (Curt Bright, 'Realpolitik and Elizabethan Ceremony: The Earl of Hertford's Entertainment of Elizabeth at Elvetham, 1591', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 45 (Spring 1992) 20-48 (p. 25)). I therefore refer to R. Warwick Bond's text of the Elvetham entertainment, reproduced in his edition of the works of Lyly.

⁴⁹ Jerzy Limon, *The Masque of Stuart Culture*, (London: Associated University Presses, 1990), p. 19.

attitudes towards the differing audiences of performance and texts – effectively, the text itself can be seen as another ‘occasion’.⁵⁰

Limon posits a further distinction, however, between ‘journalistic’ masque texts, which attempt to offer an ‘accurate account of the spectacle’, and those which can be described as ‘an autonomous literary work’.⁵¹ The latter may invite the reader to imagine a performance, but only ‘those elements of the performance that the author considers significant to his artistic purpose’, and ‘often does not include a number of details relevant to the actual production’.⁵² This does not explain how such masque texts are different to, or in Limon’s terms, more ‘literary’ than, other entertainment texts which might be described as ‘journalistic’. All descriptive texts are in some sense defective as they are the product of choices regarding what is recorded and how it is presented. That the texts are a result of these choices does not, as Limon seems to suggest, mean that the reader has to acquiesce to an imagined authorial intention. Instead, the way the text presents itself and the performance it refers to can be interrogated.

Limon’s vision of masque-as-literature is probably most plausibly fulfilled by the masque texts of Jonson, with their clearly-signposted literary intentions. Even these, however, lose some of their potential significations if we take Jonson’s cue and neglect or even dismiss any contribution other than his own.⁵³ A study purely of the language of the text has the tendency to efface the collaborativity of the text’s production. Masques, like the other occasional entertainments discussed, are a hybrid form, which demand an interaction between all elements. The texts are also intrinsically occasional, therefore, as

⁵⁰ Cedric C. Brown, *John Milton’s Aristocratic Entertainments* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 132-52.

⁵¹ Limon, p. 41.

⁵² Limon, p. 51.

⁵³ In his introductory remarks to the Quarto of *Hymenaei*, Jonson famously described the poetic part of the masque as the occasion’s lasting soul, as opposed to the ephemeral body of its set, costumes, props or anything pertaining to its extra-textual performed existence (see Chapter 4).

they cannot be considered separately from the event that they represent without effacing a substantial amount of their meaning. The concealment of elements of the event described, and/or the addition of elements not present at the event are, in themselves, a lucid example of the way that a knowledge of the relationship between text and event is essential to a clearer understanding of the political importance of both the entertainments and the texts that represent them. This awareness only adds to the interesting possibilities of interpretation offered by reading these texts, and this thesis investigates the importance of differences between entertainments and their texts.

This is not to disregard their textual strategies, however. Whilst the texts are historical documents which give insight into their cultural context, they also employ literary tools, rhetoric, allusion, and so on, to portray themselves, and the events they represent, in ways which promote a particular agenda. These strategies in themselves, however, expose the investment in them of many of those involved in the production of the event and text, ‘investors’ such as the patron, writer, performers, and printer. These are texts which have designs upon their readership, but it is those very designs which can be read back into the text and its historical circumstances.

Musical texts present their own set of problems.⁵⁴ For example, surviving versions of songs from masques can contain discrepancies with the lyrics as given in the masque text. In the manuscript copy of the setting of the song ‘Nay, Nay, You must not Stay’ from *Oberon* (1611), for instance, the line given as ‘Or for fays so to forget’ (l. 317),⁵⁵ in Jonson’s text, becomes ‘Or for fairies to forget’ in the musical setting. The latter also omits the text’s final phrase ‘of which you are’ (l. 322) in favour of another repeat of the

⁵⁴ Surviving examples of songs from masques are discussed in Chapter 5.

⁵⁵ *Ben Jonson: The Complete Masques*, ed. by Stephen Orgel (London: Yale University Press, 1969), p. 171. Further references to masques from this edition are given as line numbers after quotations in the text.

preceding phrase ‘As with the air’.⁵⁶ These divergences, in many cases, seem to represent deliberate alterations to make the songs more intelligible for non-masque consumption. The alterations to Jonson’s lyric omit the more specific ‘of which you are’ (referring to the fairy characters the masquers were playing), in favour of the more general and vague repeat of ‘as with the air’. This reflects the function of such written-out music to facilitate amateur musicians in domestic music-making. This is certainly the case for many of the songs from Jonson’s early masques which, like ‘Nay, Nay, You must not Stay’, were preserved in Ferrabosco’s publication of his 1609 *Ayres*.

An illustration of the differing purposes of reproducing music can be found in Campion’s *Somerset Masque* (1613).⁵⁷ This text contains, as an appendix, four songs, introduced by the text as ‘AYRES, Made by severall Authors: And Sung in the Maske’.⁵⁸ Yet this music does not represent the songs as sung in the performance. For example, one of the songs, ‘While Dancing Rests’, is described in the main text as a ‘*Song of three partes, with a Chorus of five partes*’ (p. 274), but only parts for solo voice, lute accompaniment and bass are given in the appendix. Rather than being an accurate representation of what the song might have sounded like in performance, this is intended as a version suitable for a keen reader to try to recreate at home.

There seems to be a similar reason for the presentation of three of the five songs appended to Campion’s edition of *Lord Hay’s Masque* (1607). The first two, the text implies, were sung, as given, in the performance. The last three, however, ‘were devised onely for dauncing, yet they are here set forth with words that they may be sung to the Lute or Violl’ (p. 230). With few exceptions, the masque songs which have survived

⁵⁶ *Four Hundred Songs and Dances from the Stuart Masque*, p. 552.

⁵⁷ This has been referred to as both *The Squires’ Masque* and *The Somerset Masque*. I use the latter since it bears more relevance to the political context of the masque.

⁵⁸ *The Works of Thomas Campion: Complete Songs, Masques, and Treatises with a Selection of the Latin Verse*, ed. by Walter R. Davis (London: Faber and Faber, 1969), p. 277. Further references to this edition are given as page numbers after quotations in the text.

seem to have been preserved in a way in which would be most likely to enable a reader to perform the songs themselves. By the time such music is reproduced, therefore, it reflects different priorities to those of the performance.

Authorship

The identification of authorship for the texts under consideration in this thesis varies through a range of levels of uncertainty. There are texts which are completely anonymous, there are those for which a few details are known, such as the name of a poet but nothing else, and there are texts which are the product of professional writers with well known bodies of work, such as Jonson for the masques, and Middleton and Munday in the Lord Mayors' Shows. For investigating the attribution of authorship in occasional entertainments, however, modern notions of authorship and intellectual property are irrelevant, or even positively obstructive in seeking a culturally-nuanced understanding of the text. Some critics of courtly entertainments find the lack of attributability in these texts to be a fault which needs rectifying.⁵⁹ This thesis, by contrast, takes a more complex view of authorship, seeing it as part of a set of conditions that shape the production of an occasional entertainment and its textual traces.

Paradoxically, within this model a wider notion of authorship can be of increased importance to our reading of the text. Collaboration is the primary mode of composition for these entertainments, and patronage is a creative part of this collaborative enterprise. The structures and procedures of patronage are therefore of crucial importance for the creative process, the performance, and the textual transmission of any given event. This view of patronage forms the basis for the way this thesis understands 'authorship' as

⁵⁹ See, for example, Albert Chatterley, 'Thomas Watson and the Elvetham Entertainment', *Notes and Queries*, n.s. 47 (March 2000), 37-40.

multi-layered, and closely connected to the political potential of occasional entertainments and their place within society.

Courtly and public spectacles of whatever genre are collaborative in their production by necessity. Bentley makes this point in relation to the London theatre companies, pointing out that ‘every performance [...] was the joint accomplishment of dramatists, actors, musicians, costumers, prompters [...] and [...] managers’.⁶⁰ This assertion also holds true for occasional entertainments, and is perhaps even more apt when one considers that they were usually unique events, whose text was not, and was not expected to be, subject to repeat performances under different conditions.⁶¹ The text and its author do not gain a special status as a point of commonality between multiple performances.

We must also remember that, in many cases, entertainment texts are descriptive rather than prescriptive. The person writing is often recording events which have already happened.⁶² Their influence over them is not, therefore, one of ‘authority’, although, of course, as noted above, their textual choices can significantly shape our impression of an event.⁶³ The circumstances of performance are part of the creative process, and particularly important for assessing the nature and impact of an entertainment’s music. Yet this and other non-verbal elements of the entertainments are often totally absent from the text. Performance practice shapes the nature of the event in a way that is often disregarded by the text because, for example, it is so common as to

⁶⁰ Gerald Eades Bentley, *The Profession of Dramatist in Shakespeare’s Time, 1590-1642* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971), p. 198.

⁶¹ Occasional by their very nature, the vast majority of courtly and civic spectacles received one performance only. Of the genres discussed in this thesis, court masques are the most likely to be repeated, and even here, this is the exception rather than the rule.

⁶² In some cases, many authors contributed poetry and ideas to a range of festivities which were then all recorded in a single account, usually put together by one of the contributors (for example, Gascoigne’s account of Kenilworth).

⁶³ For example, Jonson makes statements about the music of *Lovers Made Men* and *The Vision of Delight* which have stylistic implications. The reliability of these statements is discussed below, pp. 204-8.

be not worth commenting upon, or even because the poet writing the text has little knowledge of the way in which music is produced. This has the effect of eliding factors which are critically important to understanding the impact of the entertainment as a performed entity.

The poet's involvement in an event may vary. Several actually took part in performances themselves, as, for instance, did Thomas Churchyard at Elizabeth's visit to Norwich in 1578. Churchyard's description gives an unusually frank account of the relationship between patrons and poet during the event, recording that 'I was not well provided of thinges necessarye for a Shewe (by mean of some crossing causes in the Citie)'.⁶⁴ Churchyard's level of involvement in the entertainments he devised seems to have varied. Although it is apparently he who has the idea of using timbrels as a quirky touch for one of his devices, he comments in relation to another that it was to include 'such Musicke as is devised'.⁶⁵ Clearly, the particulars of performance were not all determined by Churchyard himself. Like Churchyard, all the poets assigned to versifying and describing the events discussed bring their own particular perspective to the rest of the event, which may influence the presentation of musical factors in the text.

Thus, the written version of an event might well be shaped by an individual whose identity is part of the historical specificity of the event. Whilst Churchyard's comments are a response to the circumstances of the particular event, for other writers, particularly Jonson, a broader artistic ideology shapes the relationship between different elements of the performance as presented by the text.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ Having brought Churchyard in to devise entertainments for the visit, the city authorities do not seem to have been able to decide what to do with him (*R.E.E.D. Norwich*, p. 304).

⁶⁵ *R.E.E.D. Norwich*, p. 312. With regard to the timbrels, Churchyard comments 'the strangeness of the Timbrels (yet knowen to oure forefathers)' was to be 'a matter of admiration to such as were ignorante of that newfounde toy' (*R.E.E.D. Norwich*, p. 316).

⁶⁶ Joseph Loewenstein places Jonson's editing of his masques in the context of his rivalry with Samuel Daniel in 'Printing and "The Multitudinous Presse": The Contentious Texts of Jonson's Masques'.

It may be helpful, therefore, to know who the writer might be, but in many cases this is not possible, and even in cases where it is, this knowledge should not dislodge the importance of the patron as the most important shaping force in the provenance of an entertainment. Most patrons, whether individuals or civic organisations, were very closely involved in the production of entertainments they commissioned, as one might expect considering their expense and exposure. It is clear that some patrons gave very precise and detailed instructions as to the theme, content and execution of the devices on show. Robert Cecil, for example, kept a very close eye upon the entertainments devised for him by Jonson.⁶⁷

In the case of *Chesters Triumph*, the patron presents himself within the text as the creator of the entertainment:

IF any Reader shall desire to know
Who was the Author of this pleasing show:
Let him receive advertizement hereby
A Sheriffe (late of *Chester*) AMERIE.
Did thus performe it; who for his reward,
Desires but Love, and competent regard. ⁶⁸

Amery presents himself as both ‘author’ and ‘performer’ in their widest senses, and the event as unequivocally his own. In claiming that any credit for the event is due to him alone, Amery also asserts his view of the event’s meaning: it was altruistically performed for the approval of his fellow townspeople. He thus asserts control over its interpretation, placing himself as the originator of meaning, rather than Richard Davies, the poet who wrote the speeches and the bulk of the descriptive account.⁶⁹

in *Ben Jonson’s 1616 Folio*, ed. by Jennifer Brady and W.H. Herendeen (London: Associated University Presses, 1991), pp. 168-91.

⁶⁷ James Knowles, “‘To raise a house of better frame’: Jonson’s Cecilian Entertainments”, in *Patronage, Culture and Power: The Early Cecils*, ed. by Pauline Croft (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 181-95.

⁶⁸ *Chesters Triumph in Honor of her Prince* (London: 1610), D1^v-D2^f.

⁶⁹ This will be discussed more fully in Chapter 6.

This model of control by the patron is based on the way that the devices created for occasional entertainments were a service tailored to a specific client and occasion. Jonson's text for *The Masque of Blackness* notes that 'it was her majesty's will to have them blackamores at first' (ll. 18-9), clearly indicating that he was working to the Queen's brief, or at the very least was obliged to incorporate her ideas. The pattern also holds for entertainments where the patron is an organisation rather than an individual. In the case of the London Lord Mayors' Shows, although practice varied from year to year, the livery companies who commissioned the Shows usually laid down very specific guidance to the writers they hired. For example, in 1602, the Merchant Taylors' Company specified 'a pageon, a shipp, a Lyon And a Cammell' for their Show, reasoning that the lion and camel featured in their coat of arms and that 'the shipp is proper, and very apt' for a company of merchants.⁷⁰ In 1616, representatives of the yeomanry of the Fishmongers' Company successfully persuaded the wardens to nominate a shipwright named Clay 'who Monday must ymploy' to make one of the pageants for that year's Show.⁷¹

The patronage relationship is one which differs significantly between the different types of entertainment discussed, and also one which develops across the time period covered by this thesis. These two factors of genre and time are interlinked, of course, because new types of entertainment developed as time went on. One of their effects is that the number of professional writers asserting their own identity increases. For instance, the notion of 'device' or 'invention' that Jonson articulates as the essence of the value of the poetic contribution to the masque and claims as his own is, in fact, what I would argue a host claims in presenting a progress entertainment to Elizabeth. The

⁷⁰ *A Calendar of Dramatic Records in the Books of the Livery Companies of London, 1485-1640*, ed. by Jean Robertson and D.J. Gordon, Malone Society Collections, III (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1954) p. 58.

⁷¹ *MSC*, III, p. 90.

nature of a major progress entertainment is a totality of a collection of vignettes which are linked by the priorities of the person that commissioned them. The Lord Mayors' Shows increased in prestige and importance, and became an important professional commission for a writer.⁷² Parallel to the emergence of the individuated and professionalised playwright,⁷³ the status of the writer of an entertainment text as an 'author' to be named on a title page and to claim the work as their own, increases as the period goes on. For the purposes of this thesis, however, an interest in the author must encompass an awareness of the patron as one of the defining contexts of an entertainment.

Paradoxically, understanding the patron's role as, in some senses, an 'author' of an event, could provide the overriding, unifying genius which some critics seek. Nevertheless, the notion of 'authorship' and 'authority' remains contingent upon the circumstances of an event. I do not seek to resolve it conclusively in favour of the patron, as opposed to any particular author.⁷⁴ I prefer to understand authorship in these entertainments to be, in most cases, a collaboration between artists and patron. The entertainment provides an environment where all involved can enhance their own particular career and their prestige in their field, as a writer, as a musician, as a courtier. Knowles identifies this as an example of 'dual self-fashioning', whereby patronage operates in a 'dialectic, dynamic fashion, involving both patron and client in a mutual economy of self-presentation and fashioning'.⁷⁵ The recognition that occasional

⁷² Paula Johnson, 'Jacobean Ephemera and the Immortal Word', *Renaissance Drama*, n.s. 8 (1977), 151-71 (p. 158).

⁷³ See Richard Helgerson, *Self-Crowned Laureates: Spenser, Jonson, Milton, and the Literary System* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983).

⁷⁴ Or, as Leslie does, the monarch. In the context of Elizabethan progress entertainments, he asserts that 'whoever designed and wrote the "shows" of an entry, the very circumstances of the event ensured that control over the ultimate meaning was preponderantly in the grasp of the monarch' ('Something Nasty in the Wilderness', p. 53).

⁷⁵ Knowles, p. 186.

entertainments could be important propaganda for one party should not efface their significance for others. This thesis therefore seeks to understand authorship in occasional entertainments as an unstable and shifting category which is always a contested field, intrinsically linked to the negotiations of power taking place.

Musical Backgrounds

If I may I mind to come in a masque, brought in by the nine muses,
whose music, I hope, shall so modify the easy softened mind of her
Majesty as both I and mine may find mercy.

(Arthur Throgmorton to Robert Cecil, 1595)⁷⁶

Part of what this thesis is seeking to understand is what patrons and artists involved in occasional entertainments were trying to achieve when they included music in their plans. This encompasses the meanings of music not only as a heard phenomenon, but also visually, verbally and textually. The cultural significance of these strands of meaning was shaped by a long tradition of discussion and categorisation in writings on music from antiquity onwards.⁷⁷ This tradition has important implications for the significance of music in courtly and non-courtly entertainments.

Despite the deep-rooted conceptual division between theory and practice in writings on music for most of Western history, the point of interest for this thesis is the link between the two. Although theories of harmony and its role in the composition of the universe were based in mathematics rather than music, it this so-called ‘speculative’ music, that described cosmic harmony, and the human reception to it, that generated the potentialities which gave music much of its perceived significance. This perception, in

⁷⁶ *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Honourable the Marquis of Salisbury: Preserved at Hatfield House*, ed. by S.R. Scargill-Bird and others, 24 vols (London: HMSO, 1883-1976), v, 99.

⁷⁷ Much of my discussion of the tradition of writings on music is heavily indebted to James Hutton’s useful article, ‘Some English Poems in Praise of Music’, although he focuses much more on the implications for music as a literary trope rather than a staged element of performance (*Essays on Renaissance Literature*, by James Hutton, ed. by Rita Guerlac (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1980), pp. 17-73).

turn, had the power to shape the response to music of the listener embedded within this particular culture.

Most famously, it was Boethius who divided music into three distinct areas: *musica mundana*, *musica humana*, and *musica instrumentalis*. This categorisation was enormously influential, defining the terms of the debate for well over a thousand years. *Musica mundana* was the term used by Boethius to refer to what is often described as the ‘music of the spheres’, the mythical sounds created by the planets as they go through their course in the sky.⁷⁸ Although it was a contentious topic for theorists over the centuries,⁷⁹ the exact nature of this music is not really of concern to this thesis. What is of interest is the way in which this influences people’s attitudes towards music.

Once it had been established that the ratio 1:2 determined the relative pitch of an octave (a discovery traditionally attributed to Pythagoras), a long tradition of musical theory had built upon the idea that whole-number ratios were the basis for musical sounds.⁸⁰ Music thus offered proof of an orderly, mathematically-constructed universe, in which whole-number ratios were the governing principle of creation. The beauty of these ratios was that, by their very nature, they could be applied in all contexts, from the human body or the string of a musical instrument, to the orbits of planets or the design of the entire cosmos, as in Plato’s *Timaeus*.⁸¹ This versatility also meant that the ratios of music could be applied, or at least be said to apply, in almost any field. Dance slotted

⁷⁸ Boethius’s treatise is not extant in its complete form. What remains has been translated by Calvin M. Bower (‘Boethius’s “The Principles Of Music”: An Introduction, Translation, and Commentary’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, Peabody College for Teachers of Vanderbilt University, 1967)). See also Henry Chadwick, *Boethius: The Consolations of Music, Logic, Theology and Philosophy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), pp. 81-2, and Claude V. Palisca, ‘Boethius in the Renaissance’, in *Studies in the History of Italian Music and Music Theory*, ed. by Claude V. Palisca, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), pp. 168-88.

⁷⁹ For example, whether each planet emitted a single tone or a range of notes is never agreed upon.

⁸⁰ The fact that these ratios did not quite conform to practice does not seem to have made much difference to the popularity of this theory.

⁸¹ *Timaeus* in *The Dialogues of Plato*, trans. by B. Jowett, 4th edn, 4 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953), IV, 631-780 (pp. 721-722).

easily into a musical framework because it was accompanied by music, but art and architecture also made use of the ideals of proportionality.⁸²

The second of Boethius's categories, *musica humana*, describes the relationship of the human body and soul in terms of such ratios. This idea of proportionality offered a link between human consciousness and the Platonic world-soul, enabling theorists to synthesise philosophies, and to analogise the human body with harmony. For example, Thomas Lodge invokes these connections in his reply to Gosson's *Schoole of Abuse*:

looke uppon the harmonie of the Heavens? hange they not by Musike? doe not the Spheares move? the primus motor governe. Be not they inferior a corpora affected quadam sumpathiae and agreement? howe can we measure the debilitie of the patient but by the disordered motion of the pulse? is not man worse accompted of when he is most out of tune?⁸³

The convergence of concepts of body, harmony, political state and universe permeates musical discourse. For instance, the dedication to the 1613 virginal book *Parthenia* states 'Harmony is the Soule thereof multipliciously varied of fowre bare notes as the Body is of the fowre Elements'.⁸⁴ This analogy could be extended to practically any other physical entity because, as noted above, the same ratios could be applied to anything and everything, thereby creating a satisfyingly totalising doctrine of connectedness and affinity between all things.

It is noticeable that there is little mention of heard music in this theoretical account. This constitutes the third of Boethius's categories, *musica instrumentalis*, which includes any kind of practical music, produced either by the human voice or by musical

⁸² See Rudolph Wittkower, *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism* (London: Tiranti, 1962).

⁸³ Thomas Lodge, [*A Reply to Gosson's Schoole of Abuse*], also titled *Protogenes Can Know Apelles by his Line...* (London: 1579). J. Dover Wilson has argued persuasively that, despite the title page being missing from both extant copies, we can be confident that this was the work entitled *Honest Excuses* referred to by Gosson in his *Apologie for the Schoole of Abuse* later in 1579. The work is catalogued in the STC under the opening words of the text, however. See J. Dover Wilson, 'The Missing Title of Thomas Lodge's Reply to Gosson's *Schoole of Abuse*', *Modern Language Review*, 3 (1907-8), 166-8.

⁸⁴ Byrd, William, John Bull and Orlando Gibbons, *Parthenia* (London: 1613), no pagination.

instruments. Boethius thus makes clear a division between the theoretical harmony which governed the universe, and what we would probably think of now as the primary definition of music: a particular type of sound. The means to bridge this division and link actual music with theoretical is located in the idea of proportionality, and it is this notion of affinity which is of most importance to this study.

Although the music of the spheres was supposedly inaudible to human ears, theorists reasoned that the human body and soul had a similar, proportional relationship to this divine harmony. Heard music exploits this affinity by means of its own harmonious proportions, reminding the soul of its origins in divine grace, and stimulating it through its own resonance with divine harmony. As Macrobius explained, ‘when stringed instruments had been adjusted [...] when one was struck with a plectrum another, though set off at a distance, yet numerically attuned, might sound forth at the same time’.⁸⁵ Just as the harmonics of a string resonated in sympathy when a nearby string was plucked, so too could audible, man-made music have a sympathetic relation to the music of the spheres.⁸⁶ The sounds of the motions of the planets could therefore be reflected through music to channel their astrological influence.

John Case argued in his 1588 *Apologia pro Musices* that ‘if there be a sweet concord in the power, number, movement, ordering, figure and beauty, if, I say, there be this in the entire essence (if I may so speak) of things’, then ancient philosophers must have been right in thinking that ‘Man’s mind arose from the First Cause and from music, that it is wonderfully captivated by music in its mortal journey and life, and that

⁸⁵ Macrobius, *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*, trans. by William Harris Stahl (London: Columbia University Press, 1966), pp. 187-8.

⁸⁶ S.K. Heninger, *Touches of Sweet Harmony: Pythagorean Cosmology and Renaissance Poetics* (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1974), p. 103.

in the end it is perfected and blessed when returned to the First Cause and to Music'.⁸⁷ Case outlines music's place in the universe as part of the neoplatonic route to enlightenment. Through a Ficinian contemplation of beauty, the wise philosopher can improve his mind.⁸⁸ Music is present at all stages in this scheme, by virtue of its resonant relationship to the transcendental fabric of the universe.

Not only does this offer an explanation for the kinds of response music excites from its listeners, it also provides the basis for coordinating certain types of response to corresponding types of music.⁸⁹ The evidence for this musical 'affect' is provided in several key exempla which are repeated throughout the literature on the subject.⁹⁰ One of the most common is the fable of Alexander the Great's reaction to the playing of the legendary Timotheus. On hearing a military tune, the commander is said to have jumped up ready for battle, only to be soothed back into calm by the playing of a different strain. This type of story recurs in both ancient and early modern writings on music as proof of the direct and focused way that music can manipulate its listeners.

This has several implications, one of which being that music is often promoted as a very important element in education. John Dowland's 1609 translation of Ornithoparchus's *Musice active micrologus* includes the original's commentary upon music's importance in an orderly society, with particular emphasis on its effect upon

⁸⁷ Case, John, *Apologia pro Musices tam Vocalis Quam Instrumentalis et Mixtae*, trans by Dana F. Sutton <<http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/music/>> [accessed 1 December 2005].

⁸⁸ See Frances A. Yates, *The French Academies of the Sixteenth Century* (London: The Warburg Institute, 1947; repr. Liechtenstein: Kraus, 1973), pp. 77-85.

⁸⁹ Quintilian, for example, ascribes a calming effect to 'spondaic measure' as used by Pythagoras, and asserts that 'different emotions are roused even by the various musical instruments' (*The Institutio Oratoria of Quintilian*, trans. by H.E. Butler, 4 vols (London: Heinemann, 1931), pp. 171-5). Even if specific modes and emotions are not invoked, the general principle is taken as read, as when Augustine states that 'all the diverse emotions of our spirit have their various modes in voice and chant appropriate in each case, and are stirred by a mysterious inner kinship' (St Augustine, *Confessions*, trans. by Henry Chadwick (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 207).

⁹⁰ See Oliver Strunk, *Source Readings in Music History From Classical Antiquity to the Romantic Era* (London: Faber, 1952). His examples from the Renaissance period nearly all include features of the 'laus musicae' described by James Hutton.

dissolute youths.⁹¹ Dowland reproduces his source's concern for the wayward youth of Germany, hoping to recall them 'by the honest delights of Musicke from unlawfull attempts, and so by little and little stirre them up to vertuous actions' (B1^r).

He repeats three times the assertion that music 'composeth men to good fashion', and claims that music not only promotes 'law and reason', but can literally implant it into the 'motions of the minde' (B1^v). This view of music's invasive nature was derived from Ficino, who, as D.P. Walker has pointed out, provided a rational explanation for the legends of music's powers.⁹² In his commentary on Plato's *Timaeus*, Ficino sets out his reasoning for the particular affectiveness of music compared to other media when he notes that

Musical consonance occurs in the element which is the mean of all [...] As regards sight, although visual impressions are in a way pure, yet they lack the effectiveness of motion, and are usually perceived only as an image, devoid of reality; normally, therefore, they move the soul only slightly. Smell, taste and touch are entirely material, and rather titillate the sense-organs then penetrate the depths of the soul. But musical sound by the movement of the air moves the body: by purified air it excites the aerial spirit which is the bond of body and soul: by emotion it affects the senses and at the same time the soul: by meaning it works on the mind: finally, by the very movement of the subtle air it penetrates strongly [...] by its nature, both spiritual and material, it at once seizes, and claims as its own, man in his entirety.⁹³

Music thus works through a kind of penetrative process, by insinuating itself into the human body through the ear, and thereby gaining access to the soul by means of a transference of spirit.

⁹¹ Both Dowland's translation and the Latin original are available in *A Compendium of Musical Practice: Musice active micrologus by Andreas Ornithoparchus; Andreas Ornithoparcus his Micrologus, or Introduction, Containing the Art of Singing, by John Dowland*, ed. by Gustave Reese and Steven Ledbetter (New York: Dover Publications, 1973). Further references to this edition are given as sigla after quotations in the text.

⁹² D.P. Walker, 'Ficino's *Spiritus* and Music', p. 147.

⁹³ Cited in D.P. Walker, 'Ficino's *Spiritus* and Music', p. 137 (Walker's translation).

This brings us to another implication of music's affective power. If, as is alleged, music can be used to manipulate listeners into engaging in approved behaviour, then, conversely, it is presumably also possible to use music to persuade them to act in morally reprehensible ways. Music thus becomes a rather dangerous rhetorical tool. This only adds to the consternation of anti-music polemicists, whose arguments form an alternative, parallel tradition to the claims of music's promoters, (or, perhaps more accurately, apologists).⁹⁴

One of the principal arenas of musical controversy was the role of music within church.⁹⁵ Neoplatonic experiments in exciting spiritual ecstasy in an effort to bring consciousness closer to God were one thing,⁹⁶ but the playing of musical instruments in churches, including organs, or the singing of anything other than unaccompanied psalms were problematic, to say the least.⁹⁷ St Augustine, for example, was famously ambivalent about music. He acknowledged that hymns helped to sustain the morale of his congregation, and recognised that music could bring 'the weaker mind [...] towards the devotion of worship', but he finds himself too susceptible to music's power. He admits that sometimes 'the music moves me more than the subject of the song' and thus draws him to 'sin unawares' because he finds himself concentrating on the music rather than God.⁹⁸ Thus, Augustine's writings could be invoked by both music's supporters and its detractors. He also emphasised the importance of the words in defining the

⁹⁴ As James Hutton comments, it may be the case that invective against music is what prompts the praise of music in the first place (James Hutton, p. 23).

⁹⁵ For more on the Elizabethan settlement and its impact upon music in churches, see Peter Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England, 1549-1600* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1967), especially pp. 31-56. For the relationship between puritanism and music more generally, see Percy Scholes, *The Puritans and Music in England and New England: A Contribution to the Cultural History of Two Nations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1934).

⁹⁶ For a discussion of Pontus de Tyard's theories of the progression of the soul, see Yates, *French Academies*, pp. 77-85.

⁹⁷ Campaigns against organs and bells in church were well under way during Elizabeth's reign. See Margaret Aston, 'Puritans and Iconoclasm, 1560-1660', in *The Culture of English Puritanism*, ed. by Christopher Durston and Jacqueline Eales (London: Macmillan, 1996), pp. 92-121 (p. 99).

⁹⁸ *Confessions*, pp. 165, 207.

meaning of music, stating that, ideally, one should be 'moved not by the chant but by the words being sung'.⁹⁹ This suspicion of the non-referential quality of music without words persists right through to the period under consideration.¹⁰⁰

Furthermore, music, especially in popular forms, had always been associated with disorder, drunkenness, and sexual laxity.¹⁰¹ Stubbes sums up the argument when he notes that 'sweet Musick, at the first delighteth the eares, but afterward corrupteth and depraveth the minde, making it weake, and quasie, and inclined to all licenciousnes of lyfe whatsoever'.¹⁰² Stubbes's opinion is an extreme example, but the association between music, drink and sex is reproduced elsewhere. For instance, Thomas Becon sounds almost conciliatory when he declares 'the wyseman doeth not condemne Musicke nor wyne, so that the use of them be moderate and excedethe not measure', but he goes on to warn against 'the fylthy and trifelinge songes of droncken Musicians, which rather provoke unto fleshelye fantascis than unto vertuous exercises'.¹⁰³

The examples above demonstrate that it would be impossible to attempt to describe a singular consensus on music in the period (an Elizabethan and Jacobean world picture of music, so to speak), because the opposing positions are wildly divergent. Instead, it was this very conflict itself which formed the intellectual environment in which music sounded. Performed music, therefore, took place within a nexus of contradictory associations, with far-reaching consequences for the listener. If heard music did indeed

⁹⁹ *Confessions*, p. 207.

¹⁰⁰ D.P. Walker discusses the importance of the primacy placed on the text by humanist theorists, and its impact upon musical experimentation in a series of articles reproduced as 'Musical Humanism in the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries' in *Music, Spirit and Language in the Renaissance* (pagination is as in the original articles: pp. 1-14; 111-21; 220-7; 288-308; 55-71).

¹⁰¹ For a useful summary of the arguments repeatedly invoked by anti-music polemicists, see Mary Pennino-Baskerville, 'Terpsichore Reviled: Antidance Tracts in Elizabethan England' in *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 22.3 (1991), 475-494.

¹⁰² *Philip Stubbes's Anatomy of the Abuses in England in Shakspeare's Youth*, ed. by Frederick J. Furnivall (London: New Shakspeare Society, 1877-79).

¹⁰³ Thomas Becon, *The Jewel of Joye* (London: 1550), F4^v-F1^r; F3^r. The work was reprinted in Elizabeth's reign as part of *The Worckes of Thomas Becon* (London: 1564).

establish a resonating connection with the music of the spheres, then the auditor might achieve spiritual refinement and purification. On the other hand, it was argued equally strongly that music would induce the listener to engage in lewd and drunken behaviour, resulting in a debased state of moral turpitude.

The link between music, drink and sexual immorality is not denied by music's defenders, however. Instead, they either assert a distinction between good and bad music, or good and bad listeners. For example, Dowland differentiates between proper music and 'those bawbles, which make Art to be so vilely reputed of' (B1^{r-v}). The writer of *The Praise of Musicke* (sometimes attributed to John Case) on the other hand, uses the opposite tactic, claiming that 'the fault is not in musicke, which of it selfe is good: but in the corrupt nature and evill disposition of light persons, which of themselves are prone to wantonnes'.¹⁰⁴

Thus, courtly music has to be sure to situate itself and its listeners on the desirable side of this moral divide. This was made more difficult by the association of the effects of 'bad' music with dancing and drinking – elements that also featured in most courtly entertainments.¹⁰⁵ These negative associations were, above all, linked to concerns over sexual laxity and perversion, allegations that 'soft' music might make the hearers 'soft' and effeminate, or create the conditions for adultery and fornication. It is unsurprising, therefore, that references to music in court entertainments can sometimes be characterised by a tone of pre-emptive defensiveness, especially in the court masque.

¹⁰⁴ *The Praise of Musicke* (London: 1586), p. 58. Thomas Wright also ascribes responsibility for the affect of music to the moral quality of the listener: 'Let a good and a godly man heare musicke, and he will lift up his heart to heaven: let a bad man heare the same, and hee will convert it to lust' (Thomas Wright, *The Passions of the Minde In Generall*, ed. by Thomas O. Sloan (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1971)). See Lindley, *Shakespeare and Music*, pp. 46-9.

¹⁰⁵ For a view of the relationship between banqueting and court entertainments, see C. Anne Wilson, 'The Evolution of the Banquet Course: Some Medicinal, Culinary and Social Aspects', in *Banqueting Stuffe: The Fare and Social Background of the Tudor and Stuart Banquet*, ed. by C. Anne Wilson (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991), pp. 9-35.

Despite Boethius's careful distinction between practical and theoretical music, discussions about music, including debate over what kinds of music are appropriate for use in church, by young people, and for the good of society as a whole, were infused with the ideas and terms governing celestial music (of which, theoretically, the music produced on earth is only a poor reflection). The oft-cited stories of music's quasi-magical 'affect' in writings on music also prompted many theorist-musicians in the sixteenth century to attempt to recreate the legendary music which could charm its listeners and produce the startling reactions described in fable.¹⁰⁶ Howsoever they attempted this, it was nevertheless held as fact that music had in the past achieved miraculous results along the lines of the ancient stories, and in terms of a Christianised neoplatonic spiritual elevation.

The study of the meanings of music in this period is complicated by the fact that contemporary concepts of music were undergoing profound change. The modern understanding of the nature of sound and the mechanics of hearing was in the process of superseding earlier paradigms.¹⁰⁷ This does not mean, however, that the mythical status of music evaporated. The legends of music's power were, at this period, being translated from the status of being regarded as part of the realm of knowledge into the realm of myth, and as myth, these ideas retain what Hollander recognises as poetic power.¹⁰⁸ The fact remains, therefore, that contemporary understandings of music form a crucial ideological context for this thesis.

¹⁰⁶ These efforts were most notably undertaken in France by Baïf's Academy and in Italy by the Florentine Camerata. On the French Academy, see Yates, *French Academies*, and also D.P. Walker 'The aims of Baïf's *Académie de Poésie et de Musique*', *Journal of Renaissance and Baroque Music*, 1 (1946), 91-100. For an overview of both, see Walker, 'Musical Humanism'.

¹⁰⁷ Penelope Gouk, 'The Role of Harmonics in the Scientific Revolution', in *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, ed. by Thomas Christensen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 223-45.

¹⁰⁸ Hollander, *The Untuning of the Sky*, p. 333.

Chapter 2: Elizabethan Progress Entertainments

But what shall I need to take upon me to repeat all and tell what houses the Queen's Majesty hath? sith all is hers, and when it pleaseth her in the summer season to recreate herself abroad and view the estate of the country and hear the complaints of her poor commons injured by her unjust officers or their substitutes, every nobleman's house is her palace, where she continueth during pleasure and till she return again to some of her own [...] The court of England, which necessarily is holden always where the prince lieth, is in these days one of the most renowned and magnificent courts that are to be found in Europe. For whether you regard the rich and infinite furniture of household, order of officers, or the entertainment of such strangers as daily resort unto the same, you shall not find many equal thereunto.¹⁰⁹

As William Harrison asserts, Elizabeth's travels on her summer progresses enabled her to see and hear something of the state of the realm, and ensure that it was being administered to her satisfaction. Harrison's observations also highlight the importance of the very public visibility of the Queen's peregrinations. Her attendance implies that she is motivated by a sense of justice and a desire to make contact with the common people. Elizabeth's physical presence is thus a potent mechanism for portraying herself as possessed of inner virtue.

This heightened visibility was not restricted to the Queen herself, as Harrison's comments show. Wherever the prince went, so did the court, and a visit from the monarch brought a national and international spotlight into the households of her hosts, attention which brought rewards as well as responsibilities. Their provision of 'rich and infinite furniture', board, lodging and diversions for the court could be cripplingly expensive, but it projected an image for the host of wealth and sophistication that in some senses was self-sustaining. Wealth was as much a performance on the part of the hosts as princely majesty was on the part of the Queen.

¹⁰⁹ William Harrison, *The Description of England*, ed. by Georges Edelen (Washington: Folger Shakespeare Library, 1968; repr. New York: Dover, 1994), p. 227.

One of the principal ways of signifying such wealth and sophistication was the presentation of lavish entertainments for Elizabeth and the court during their stay. These entertainments featured all sorts of expensive spectacle, and the music and musical resources employed by hosts for these entertainments were no exception. This chapter seeks to understand how music's audibility contributed to the meaning of the entertainments, and how its visibility also held significance by examining the thematic similarities between some of the major entertainments of the period in their use of music. In doing so, this chapter investigates what kinds of statement are made possible by music in these circumstances, and how music relates to the self-consciously courtly mode of address of the progress entertainments.

To begin with, three of the external factors which shaped the way the progresses were planned, executed and received need to be considered. The first of these is the importance of expectations generated by traditions of hospitality and class. The second is the presence of Elizabeth herself, and the third is a mode of presentation which used the fantastic to translate the social relationships articulated by these entertainments into an idealised narrative.

This chapter then investigates a particular textual problem specific to the 1575 Kenilworth entertainment. There follows a discussion of music's roles in entertainments, as an aural cue, signalling transitional moments, and in terms of investigating the importance of the type of instruments and personnel employed during the entertainments. The use of echo devices as a sub-genre which is particularly associated with court entertainments is then examined. The chapter then discusses the importance of musical mythology for the progress entertainments, and ends with a consideration of the use of dance in the progresses.

The progress entertainments share certain common factors in their provenance and a vocabulary of praise on which they draw, but each one is also shaped by idiosyncratic factors such as landscape, the host's status, the host's standing with the Queen, and the availability of practical resources (both in terms of personnel such as actors, musicians and artificers, as well as raw materials). The entertainments start with a similar set of potentialities, but their varying circumstances mean they arrive at differing realisations. The literary texts which are largely all that remain of these extravagant events are thus to be read both in terms of the conditions of their production, and as evidence of those conditions. This chapter situates the progress entertainments' use of music within their individual contexts as far as is possible, and explores the implications that the music has for those contexts.

Traditions of Hospitality

Despite complaints of its decline,¹¹⁰ hospitality was still essential to the social dynamics of early modern society, due to a mixture of a sense of moral obligation and the prospect of social advancement, as Heal has shown.¹¹¹ The relationship of hospitality to social advancement is complex, however, because the display of wealth and social superiority at an entertainment was part of the maintenance of that wealth and social superiority. In this sense, a progress entertainment articulates the ideal extent of the host's current social standing, at the limit of its credibility. Furthermore, this quantification of social status is conflated with the host's moral worth.

This sense of the externalisation of the host's personal quality is more pronounced and more urgent in the case of a visit from the Queen. Receiving the monarch placed the host in a very different situation to the usual models of hospitality outlined by Heal,

¹¹⁰ Such complaints were axiomatic in the period (for example Harrison, p. 202).

¹¹¹ Felicity Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), p. 140.

disrupting the normative model of the host-guest, as Cole has noted.¹¹² The irritable response of Elizabeth to the Lady of the Lake's address at the 1575 Kenilworth entertainment is a prime example of the way that the power relations expressed by the entertainments were being continually negotiated. Having apparently been offered the lake on the estate as a gift, the Queen replied tartly 'we had thought indeed the Lake had been ours, and doo you call it yourz noow?',¹¹³ thus reminding Dudley and everybody else present of her dominion over all property.¹¹⁴ The Queen's reply also referred to the fact that she had presented the estate to Dudley herself in 1563.¹¹⁵ The comment reverses the position of host and guest, implying that Dudley occupies the estate only because Elizabeth allows him to.

According to Cole, Elizabeth visited over 400 homes in all during the course of her reign.¹¹⁶ It does not seem, however, that elaborate entertainments were staged at every house, especially not of the dramatic kind I will be discussing in this chapter. Although many critics concentrate on the great burden of expense that a royal visit entailed,¹¹⁷ as Cole points out, the principle of decorum was an effective restraint on the level of expenditure required of hosts.¹¹⁸ Lavishness was only expected if the host could afford it, and so the entertainments I will be discussing were really the preserve of top-ranking aristocrats. For instance, in August 1597, Michael Hicke, patronage secretary to Lord

¹¹² Mary Hill Cole, *The Portable Queen: Elizabeth I and the Politics of Ceremony* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999), p. 65. The Queen's gender further disrupted the host-guest model.

¹¹³ *Robert Langham: A Letter*, ed. by R.J.P. Kuin (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1983), p. 41. Further references to this edition are given as page numbers after quotations in the text.

¹¹⁴ As noted by Harrison (see above, p. 45).

¹¹⁵ M.E. Hazard, 'Leicester, Kenilworth, and Transformations in the Idea of Magnificence', *Cahiers Elisabethains*, 31 (1987), pp. 11-35 (p. 18).

¹¹⁶ Mary Hill Cole, 'Religious Conformity and the Progresses of Elizabeth I', in *Elizabeth I: Always Her Own Free Woman*, ed. by Carole Levin, Jo Eldridge-Carney and Debra Barrett-Graves (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), pp. 63-77 (p. 63).

¹¹⁷ See, for example, Bergeron, *English Civic Pageantry*, p. 9. The ruinous cost of the visits has probably been overstated by Bergeron and Lawrence Stone (*The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558-1641* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967)). Complaints about purveyance show that the visits did annoy local communities, but they also show that the burden of victualling and supplying did not fall solely upon individual hosts.

¹¹⁸ Cole, *The Portable Queen*, p. 72.

Burghley, was preparing for a visit from Elizabeth. As a relatively humble host with limited financial resources, he feared that his hospitality would be inadequate, and wrote to the Lord Chamberlain for advice. The Lord Chamberlain's secretary replied, noting that

I tooke occasion to tell his Lordship that [...] I conceived it did trowble you that you had noe convenient place to entertaine sum of hir Majesties necessary servants. His awnsweare was that you weare unwise to be at anie such charge but onlie to leave the howse to the Quene: and wished that theare might be presented to hir Majestie from your wief sum fine wastcoate, or fine ruffe, or like thinge, which he said would be acceptablie taken as if it weare of great price.¹¹⁹

Nevertheless, the consequences of an ill-judged level of hospitality could be serious, as exemplified by the fate of a Mr Rookwood, who hosted Elizabeth in August 1578. Suspected of being a recusant anyway, the 'discovery' of an effigy of the Virgin Mary on his property during Elizabeth's stay eventually resulted in the loss of his estate.¹²⁰ This is despite the fact that Rookwood had, according to Marcus, signed a declaration of loyalty to Elizabeth well before the visit. Marcus sees Rookwood as a victim of 'one of Richard Topcliffe's ingenious public dramatisations of the Catholic menace'.¹²¹ Palmer, on the other hand, points out that Topcliffe's letter emphasises Rookwood's failings as a host as well as his papistry.¹²²

The risks of not meeting the expectations of hospitality were thus far more concrete and life-changing than the possible advantages to be gained by acquitting oneself well. The benefits of hosting a progress entertainment should not, therefore, be understood in

¹¹⁹ *Original Letters Illustrative of English History*, ed. by Henry Ellis, series 1, 3 vols (London: Harding, Triphook and Lepard, 1824), II, p. 276. Cole discusses the letter, but misrepresents its content and authorship (*The Portable Queen*, p. 68).

¹²⁰ Nichols, *Elizabeth*, II, 129, 216-7.

¹²¹ Leah S. Marcus, *Puzzling Shakespeare: Local Reading and its Discontents* (London: University of California Press, 1988), p. 84.

¹²² Daryl W. Palmer, *Hospitable Performances: Dramatic Genre and Cultural Practices in Early Modern England* (West Lafayette: Purdue Research Foundation, 1992), p. 124.

terms of accruing positive reward. Rather, they entail the maintenance of an existing state. For example, the success of Lord Montague, another Catholic host, is that he was *not* pursued for his recusancy in the same way as the unfortunate Mr Rookwood (see below, pp. 88-9).¹²³

The social status of top-ranking aristocrats demanded the greatest expenditure on entertainments because their status in itself implied that they could, or should afford it, regardless of their actual financial situation.¹²⁴ This expectation of great works from great personages on great occasions was an application of the Aristotelian virtue of magnificence. As the ideal mean between niggardliness and vulgar extravagance, magnificence in Aristotelian terms consisted of the appropriate expenditure of large sums of money upon a suitable occasion.¹²⁵ As Thomas Elyot explained,

liberalitie, in a noble man specially, is commended, all though it somewhat do excede the termes of measure; yet if it be well and duely employed, it acquireth parpetuall honour to the giver, and moche frute and singuler commoditie therby increaseth.¹²⁶

For the hosts of progress entertainments, magnificence had to be carefully balanced according to the shifting terms of progress etiquette. A crucial aspect of such self-presentation is the absence of self-interest, as demonstrated by Peck.¹²⁷ Peck quotes Thomas Lodge's translation of Seneca's *De Beneficiis*: 'a man must tread all profit

¹²³ The diverse social class of the two hosts was also clearly a factor in their differing fates.

¹²⁴ Stone, p. 209.

¹²⁵ Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, trans. by Martin Oswald (Indianapolis: The Liberal Arts Press, 1962), pp. 89-93. For more on magnificence see Hazard, and Hugh MacLachlan, "'In the Person of Prince Arthur": Spenserian Magnificence and the Ciceronian Tradition', *University of Toronto Quarterly*, 46 (1976), 125-46.

¹²⁶ Thomas Elyot, *The Boke Named the Governour* (London: J.M Dent, 1907), p. 160. The importance of creating a lasting monument in Elyot's definition of magnificence will be discussed further in Chapter 6.

¹²⁷ Linda Levy Peck, 'Benefits, Brokers and Beneficiaries: The Culture of Exchange in Seventeenth-Century England', in *Court, Country and Culture: Essays on Early Modern British History in Honour of Perez Zagorin*, ed. by Bonnelyn Young Kunze and Dwight D. Brautigam (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 1992), pp. 109-27.

under foot [...] It is no benefit that hath reference to fortune, or hope of interest'.¹²⁸ To be a real benefit, hospitality cannot, therefore, advertise any expectation of reward. From the initial giver's perspective, reward must be unlooked for, hidden and arbitrary. This sense of the disinterestedness of giving is at the heart of progress entertainment rhetoric; in order to deserve reward the host must disavow any desire for it.¹²⁹ It is clear that entertainments do not make obvious appeals for specific rewards.¹³⁰ Indeed, few, if any, of the entertainments I will be considering can be said to have achieved concrete gain.¹³¹

All of these factors – magnificence, benefit, hospitality, and reward – feed in to the calculus of what is appropriate for an occasion, and what, therefore, is expected of the host. These traditions interact with more specific factors in the immediate circumstances of the entertainments discussed in this chapter, for example, factors such as favour or lack of it (for the Earl of Hertford's entertainment at Elvetham), or religious allegiance (for Viscount Montague's entertainment at Cowdray). The interplay between the wider context of traditions of courtly hospitality, and the very specific situation of a particular host, family and estate generated a set of expectations that the devisers of entertainments could not but have been aware of. This expectation, as Hicke's panic shows, could be a heavy burden, but as with other forms of expectation,¹³² it could be manipulated to the host's advantage. This, it has been argued by Bright, was Hertford's tactic in the entertainment of Elizabeth at Elvetham in 1591. Hertford's spending at this

¹²⁸ Peck, p. 112.

¹²⁹ This rhetorical strategy is articulated in the address by the Mayor of Norwich to the Queen on her entry to the city, where all notion of reward is disavowed, presenting Elizabeth's generosity as so bountiful and well-adjusted that, if her subjects truly need anything, she will grant it before they have the chance to ask for it.

¹³⁰ There were, however, financial rewards for the performers. For example, Elizabeth bestowed a 'gracious larges' upon the dancers and musicians who performed on her last day at Elvetham (p. 450).

¹³¹ Alexandra F. Johnston argues that Lady Russell planned the Bisham entertainment with the goal of acquiring places as Maids of Honour for her two daughters, and that she was ultimately successful ('"The Lady of the Farme": The Context of Lady Russell's Entertainment of Elizabeth at Bisham, 1592', *Early Theatre*, 5.2 (2002), 71-85).

¹³² Those induced by genre, for example, or references to other texts.

small country estate exceeded the expectations of Elizabeth and the rest of the court. This violation of decorum was a calculated factor in the impression given by the entertainment.¹³³

The feat of successfully navigating the expectations of the court was, therefore, to produce an entertainment which fulfilled the conflicting criteria of flattery and self-promotion. The challenge of deciding what these expectations were, and precisely how to meet them, was articulated within a discourse which had much to say about the dire consequences of getting this calculation wrong, but very little concrete guidance on how to get it right. Elyot's advice on magnificence is full of moral precepts and warnings against prodigality, but gives no indication of, for example, what would be the appropriate manner to greet a monarch, or what kinds of entertainment fit particular kinds of occasion.¹³⁴ For this, a prospective host had little to turn to but precedent. Entertainments of a certain scale, and especially ones which generated written accounts of their ingenuity, tended, therefore, to become exemplary, and consequently began to exert their own pressures upon subsequent occasions, pressures which had implications for the kinds of music that was presented at progress entertainments.

Elizabeth

The Queen's presence is the most obvious common factor in the entertainments. In some senses, one could say that the Queen herself was the protagonist of the entertainments, playing a role that was shaped by the dramatic vignettes presented to her, and by considerations of protocol and personal preference. This impression, however, effaces the presence of other audiences at these events (and other readers of

¹³³ Curt Breight, 'Realpolitik and Elizabethan Ceremony: The Earl of Hertford's Entertainment of Elizabeth at Elvetham, 1591', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 45 (Spring 1992), 20-48 (p. 26).

¹³⁴ Elyot, pp. 158-61.

the texts which commemorate them), simplifying our understanding of the way in which a progress entertainment interacted with its audience. A recognition of the multiple audiences of the entertainment and its corresponding text is vital to understanding the multiple levels of meaning possible within a single show.

The issues of concern here are also those articulated by Butler in relation to the court masque – the proliferation of interests and audiences which Jonson and other masque writers had to negotiate and which we, as readers, must now acknowledge if we are to have the fullest possible understanding of the form.¹³⁵ To allege, as Suerbaum does, that, despite the involvement of large numbers of people in preparing, performing and attending a progress entertainment like the shows at Elvetham, ‘in essence [...] the whole is a process of communication between just two people, the Queen and the Earl of Hertford’ is to deny the entertainment most of its potential impact and thus its value for either the royal court or the host household.¹³⁶

Cole has argued that one of the advantages of the progresses from Elizabeth’s point of view was that they ‘diminished ministerial interference’,¹³⁷ enabling Elizabeth to avoid seeing the world only through her advisors. The advantages of this aspect of a progress were potentially considerable for Elizabeth, but they were not confined to her alone. Hosts had an opportunity, for a short time, to gain relatively unfiltered access to the Queen, in a way that was not possible in the network of presence chambers in

¹³⁵ Martin Butler, ‘Private and Occasional Drama’, in *The Cambridge Companion to English Renaissance Drama*, ed. by A.R. Braunmuller and Michael Hattaway (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 127-159 (p. 138). This will be discussed further in relation to masques in Chapter 4.

¹³⁶ Ulrich Suerbaum, ‘Performing Royalty: The Entertainment at Elvetham and the Cult of Elisa’, in *Word and Action in Drama: Studies in Honour of Hans-Jürgen Diller on the Occasion of his 60th Birthday* (Trier: Wissenschaftlicher, 1994), pp. 53-64 (p. 57). Suerbaum claims that ‘Elizabeth is the ‘sole audience as far as the text is concerned’ (p. 58), but the commemorative text for this entertainment, as for other entertainments, does not present itself as addressing Elizabeth.

¹³⁷ Cole, *The Portable Queen*, p. 1.

London.¹³⁸ Furthermore, access to influential courtiers was also heightened, and, as Cole notes, the host family could, at the same time, ‘shine in their county’, impressing their neighbours with their apparent influence and honour.¹³⁹ If Elizabeth had a public profile to maintain, then so did other aristocrats, especially on their own estates where the visits were taking place.

An illuminating example of the different audiences and different locations of interest in a progress entertainment can be found in the 1591 entertainment at Elvetham. The text describes how, on the afternoon of Elizabeth’s arrival, the host, the Earl of Hertford, assembled his retinue in the park. There he gave an address which reiterated how he wished his intentions to be represented:

hee put them in mind, what quietnes, and what diligence, or other duetie, they were to use at that present: that their service might first work her Majesties content, & thereby his Honor, and lastlie their own credite, with increse of his love and favour towards them.¹⁴⁰

It is clear that the primary relationship here is between Hertford and his retinue. As Bright points out, Elizabeth is merely an enabling cipher in an exchange of loyalty between Hertford and his men.¹⁴¹

Bright places the Elvetham entertainment in the long-term context of Hertford’s position in the debate over succession to the crown, both at the beginning and the end of Elizabeth’s reign. The issue is not so much Hertford’s relationship to Elizabeth, but his feudal obligations, lineage and noble status. The entertainment is not a private matter between Elizabeth and Hertford, but part of the latter’s effort to continue to uphold his

¹³⁸ Cole, *The Portable Queen*, p. 65.

¹³⁹ Cole, *The Portable Queen*, p. 71.

¹⁴⁰ *The Honorable Entertainement given to the Queenes Majestie in Progresse, at Elvetham in Hampshire*, in *The Complete Works of John Lyly*, ed. by R. Warwick Bond, 3 vols (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1902), 1, pp. 431-52 (p. 434). Further references to this edition are given as page numbers after quotations in the text.

¹⁴¹ Bright, p. 35.

own reputation in the hope of his sons' claims to the throne being recognised.¹⁴² The entertainment thus takes in a far wider audience than Elizabeth herself or even those present at the event. The prominent positioning of Hertford's coat of arms on the title page of the printed text is, to Breight, a clear indication that its main concern is to promote Hertford, rather than the Queen.¹⁴³

Despite her apparently dominant position in the signification of entertainments and their texts, Elizabeth's role is often limited by those very texts, which construct her as a passive auditor. Even when Elizabeth is called upon to act in a progress entertainment, her options are heavily circumscribed, and the reporting of those actions is shaped by the priorities of the text. For instance, the second day of her visit to Elvetham featured a large water-borne battle which was eventually halted in Elizabeth's name. Despite the impression of her influence this act gives, it is imposed upon her. The text omits the words said on her behalf, merely noting that '*Nereus* parted the fray with a line or two, grounded on the excellence of her Majestyes presence, as being alwaies friend to peace, and ennemy to warre' (p. 446). Elizabeth's role is merely summed up by the printed text, and therefore given less prominence than it would have had at the event. The Queen's options are limited in this situation, and her wishes are not consulted.

Later on the same day at Elvetham, Elizabeth's active participation was required when she was asked to bestow a name upon a boat. Boyle's conjecture that Elizabeth was told in advance to name the vessel the *Bonadventure* is unlikely,¹⁴⁴ as the end of Neaera's speech does not refer to the name given at all, which suggests that no name in particular was expected by the writer. Elizabeth thus appears to have independent input

¹⁴² Breight, p. 26.

¹⁴³ Breight, p. 25. For the argument that the entertainment represents the interests of Charles Howard, Hertford's brother-in-law, see Harry H. Boyle, 'Elizabeth's Entertainment at Elvetham: War Policy in Pageantry', *Studies in Philology*, 68 (1971), 146-66 (p. 165).

¹⁴⁴ Boyle, pp. 157-8.

into the entertainment's meaning, but her role is, in fact, largely irrelevant. The name is a generic one for a ship in response to Neaera's request for a '*prosperous name*' (p. 446), rather than a specific reference loaded with significance.

Another text which deliberately minimises Elizabeth's participation is Sidney's *The Lady of May*, where Elizabeth was invited to choose between two suitors for the Lady's hand. In this case, Elizabeth was invited to make a more significant level of input on the occasion than in naming the ship at Elvetham, but even less of it is reproduced by the text. Declining to give the reasons for what may have been a deliberately perverse choice on the part of Elizabeth,¹⁴⁵ the description notes 'it pleased her Majesty to judge that Espilus did the better deserve her but what words, what reasons she used for it, this paper, which carrieth so base names, is not worthy to containe'.¹⁴⁶ The narrator is aware of what the Queen said, but uses a thin pretext of modesty to excuse himself from having to be beholden to her words. Her interpretation of the scenario differs from his own, and therefore cannot be admitted to the text.

Elizabeth seems to have been more successful in asserting her presence when responding to the 'notable consort of six Musitions' who entertained her after dinner on the first day of her stay at Elvetham (p. 440). The text gives some indication of the type of music played when it describes the Queen's enthusiastic response. She showed her approval by renaming one of the Pavans that the group played: 'Their Musicke so highly pleased her, that in grace and favour thereof, she gave a newe name unto one of their Pavans, made long since by Master *Thomas Morley*, then organist of Paules

¹⁴⁵ There are various interpretations of the symbolism of this entertainment. See, for example, Edward Berry, 'Sidney's May Game for the Queen', *Modern Philology*, 86 (1989), 252-64, and Alan Hagar, 'Rhomboid Logic: Anti-Idealism and a Cure for Recusancy in Sidney's *Lady of May*', *ELH*, 57 (1990), 485-502.

¹⁴⁶ 'The Lady of May' in *Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. by Katherine Duncan-Jones (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), pp. 5-13 (ll. 282-4). Further references to this edition are given as line numbers after quotations in the text.

Church' (p. 440). By renaming the Pavan, Elizabeth asserted her ownership of it and of the occasion itself. The fact that this is reported by the text, however, is contingent upon Elizabeth's conformity to the entertainment's objectives. It is noticeable that the name she bestowed is not recorded, whereas the quality of the music, and the name of the prestigious composer associated with it, is. Where the Queen's response reflects favourably on the host and the entertainment, it is preserved by the text, but where it does not contribute to, or even conflicts with the entertainment's portrayal of the host's personal quality, it is obscured as far as possible.

Thus, it may appear that Elizabeth is the essential animus of the progress entertainments, because her very presence causes them to be commissioned and she is indeed projected by them as the ultimate receptacle for their meaning. Control over that meaning, however, remains a site of contestation within the entertainments, and is even further from Elizabeth's control in their textual representation.

Modes of Representation

The progress entertainments combined features of several contemporary modes of addressing and representing Elizabeth. For instance, scholars such as Roy Strong have identified a set of images which form a recurrent vocabulary for depictions of Elizabeth.¹⁴⁷ Elements of this vocabulary are often invoked in entertainments, for example, Elizabeth's exemplary virginity. Furthermore, the way that Elizabeth's relationship to her court is often presented in terms of courtly love¹⁴⁸ can also be traced in entertainment texts,¹⁴⁹ as can pastoral themes.¹⁵⁰ The entertainments themselves,

¹⁴⁷ Roy Strong, *The Cult of Elizabeth: Elizabethan Portraiture and Pageantry* (Hampshire: Thames and Hudson, 1977).

¹⁴⁸ Catherine Bates, *The Rhetoric of Courtship in Elizabethan Language and Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

¹⁴⁹ Most noticeably in Sidney's 'The Lady of May'.

¹⁵⁰ For example in the encounter with the Savage at Kenilworth (see below, p. 77).

however, are always in the midst of the process of creating and modifying such mythologies, participating in them rather than being simply produced by them.

These modes of representation provided entertainments with a discourse flexible enough to articulate the concerns of the real world within an idealised fantasy, whilst simultaneously fulfilling the obligations of hospitality. The allegorical dramatic devices which constitute the entertainments for the Queen figure current affairs in ideal terms. As Palmer puts it, the progress ‘appropriates community life and submits it to narrative’ which ‘produces imaginary resolutions of real contradictions between class, economic, and political interests’.¹⁵¹

The descriptive text then re-presents this representation with its own bias – the audience has shifted, and the message and the way of promulgating it shift accordingly. For instance, at Elvetham, as at most big country houses, the promotion of the host’s benevolence was achieved ‘on the ground’ by providing an abundance of food for the court and local residents. In the text, by contrast, this conventional act becomes subsumed into a declaration of false modesty. The narrator declares:

Were it not that I would not seem to flatter the honorable minded Earle: or, but that I feare to displease him, who rather desired to expresse his loyall dutie in his liberall bountie, then to hear of it againe, I could heere willingly particulate the store of his cheare and provision, as likewise the carefull and kind diligence of his servantes, expressed in their quiet service to her Majestie and the Nobility, and by their loving entertainment to all other, frends, or strangers. (p. 440)

The event and text use different strategies to maximise the impression of the Earl as a good host. At the event the host’s relationship to his guests and tenants was a performance, figured in terms of traditional hospitality. In the text, concealment replaces the openness of the event as the more effective mode of self-promotion. We are

¹⁵¹ Palmer, p. 126.

left to imagine the abundance of foodstuffs and beverages, having been invited, through the text's implication, to supply these details ourselves.

This process of textual re-presentation can help to smooth over inconsistencies within the entertainment's performance, or even blunders. For example, one of the accounts of the 1575 Kenilworth entertainment describes how George Gascoigne, performing the character of a Savage man accidentally endangered the Queen by startling her horse.¹⁵² The episode is not mentioned at all in *Princely Pleasures*, Gascoigne's 'official' description of the entertainment and no wonder, as it was obviously embarrassing for all concerned. Thus the text constitutes a more perfectly realised account of the entertainment than the performance itself, one in which the fantastic myth of the pageant world is not challenged or threatened by reality.

As Suerbaum points out, 'eulogies in the mythological mode are unassailable, because they are patently "feigned". You can be as hyperbolic as you like without being guilty of untruth or absurdity'.¹⁵³ Not only did the poetic mythology of the Elizabethan court enable these entertainments to create ingenious and entertaining worlds for themselves, it also provided the potential for a re-imagining of social hierarchy in the figurative representations of the entertainment. This re-imagining suggested a more flattering view of the host's place in the social order, a view which was reflected back into reality by the printed text of the entertainment.

The Authorship of *Langham's Letter*

As noted in the Introduction (pp. 22-9), the evidence for the progresses can be problematic. One of the sources of the 1575 Kenilworth entertainment is, however, unusual enough to require separate consideration here: a description of the

¹⁵² *Robert Langham: A Letter*, p. 46.

¹⁵³ Suerbaum, p. 63.

entertainment from the point of view of the audience. This document is an invaluable aid for examining the entertainment's performance, but it presents its own set of problems concerning authorship and intention, which must be considered first.

For many years, the document was referred to as 'Laneham's Letter', following the narrator's reference to himself by that name, although he also refers to himself as Langham; Ro.La.; and R.L. Each rendering of the name occurs only once in the text. Kuin established the identity of a Robert Langham, who was, as the narrator of the letter declared himself to be, a member of the Mercers' Company and holder of the post of Keeper of the Privy Council Chamber Door. Kuin found records relating to Langham's yearly stipend of ten pounds for his role as Keeper, beginning in 1573 and ending with a payment to his widow in 1580.¹⁵⁴ Although it is certain that there was a real Robert Langham who was intended to be identified as the author of the text, the veracity of the narrator's self-presentation has been questioned by several critics.

This is mainly because of an impression that the hyperbolic conceit and vanity displayed by the narrator is too overblown to be genuine. Langham is lampooned as an upstart fool in the letter, and it is difficult to believe that anyone could pen such a self-portrait without realising the unflattering effect it has.¹⁵⁵ The leading candidate for the author of the lampoon is William Patten, a former Teller of the Exchequer who, having been dismissed in disgrace in 1568 following allegations of embezzlement, was appealing to scholarly patronage to sustain his family.¹⁵⁶

Brian O'Kill argues for Patten's authorship on a number of grounds, including similarities of style, spelling and vocabulary between the Letter and other texts

¹⁵⁴ R.J.P. Kuin, 'Robert Langham and his "Letter"', *Notes and Queries*, n.s. 25 (1978), 426-7.

¹⁵⁵ Such a lack of self-awareness would be a refreshingly unsuccessful example of self-presentation in an age of such conscious self-fashioning.

¹⁵⁶ Peter Sherlock, 'Patten, William (*d.* in or after 1598)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.wam.leeds.ac.uk:80/view/article/21573>> [accessed 1 Dec 2004].

attributed to Patten, as well as the Letter's engagement with issues that were known to have been concerns of Patten, for example, numerology.¹⁵⁷ The Letter's idiosyncratic orthographic system is shared with a relatively small number of other texts, three of which are known to be by Patten.¹⁵⁸

The most compelling piece of evidence for Patten's authorship is the existence of an abject and grovelling letter he wrote to William Cecil, dated 10 September 1575. The matter he is apologising over is referred to as 'the book', (and unfortunately never described in any more specific manner), which 'waz too be supprest for that Langham had complayned upon it, and ootherwize for that the honorabl enterteinment be not turned intoo a jest'.¹⁵⁹ Patten gives details of the measures he has taken to suppress the book's distribution, and describes his regret that Langham 'takez it so noow'. David Scott considers that, in this correspondence, Patten 'implicitly confesses to authorship' of Langham's Letter,¹⁶⁰ although Patten only really refers to himself as the distributor of the offending book. Nevertheless, it seems that there was indeed a publication in the late summer of 1575 which dealt with a court entertainment and which offended Robert Langham. Clearly, the Letter is the prime candidate for such a document.¹⁶¹

Even if we accept that the suppressed book was indeed a printing of Langham's Letter, several puzzling questions remain, not least why the author of the letter, whether it was Patten or an associate of his, wished to attack Langham in such a public way. In doing so, he risked falling foul of Langham's patron, Robert Dudley, and other

¹⁵⁷ Brian O'Kill, 'The Printed Works of William Patten (c.1510-c.1600)', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 7 (1977-80), 28-45 (pp. 36-8).

¹⁵⁸ R.J.P. Kuin, 'The Purloined Letter: Evidence and Probability Regarding Robert Langham's Authorship', *The Library*, series 6, vol. 7 (1985), 115-25 (p. 124).

¹⁵⁹ The letter is transcribed in full in David Scott, 'William Patten and the Authorship of "Robert Laneham's Letter"', *ELR*, 7 (1977), 297-306 (p. 301).

¹⁶⁰ Scott, 'William Patten', p. 298.

¹⁶¹ Kuin posits the existence of another account of the 1575 progress, attested to by the preface to the 1577 edition of *Princely Pleasures*, which denigrates a book called *The Pastime of the Progress* (Kuin, 'The Purloined Letter', p. 124n).

influential people named in the Letter, including the Queen. In 1572 Patten had petitioned her (in Latin verse copied out by his ten-year-old son for added pathos) to investigate further the allegations that had led to his dismissal from service, and to take pity upon his reduced circumstances. No record exists of any response from the Queen.¹⁶² Patten's letter to Cecil, however, suggests that he may still be hopeful of a return to fortune, as he ends in pathetic style: 'beseching the continuauns of yoor favoor, whearof my poor estate hath so mooch need of, God healp me'.¹⁶³

O'Kill sees this as an indication of Cecil's complicity with Patten in a plot to undermine Leicester. Jealous of the lavishness of the Kenilworth entertainment compared to his own efforts that summer at Theobalds, Cecil sought to 'expose the absurdity of the extravagant entertainments provided by Leicester, and to discredit his rival's judgement by revealing the folly of his protégé Robert Langham'.¹⁶⁴ When Langham protested, O'Kill reasons, Cecil could not protect Patten for fear of exposing his own role in the ruse. The likelihood of Cecil embarking on such a foolhardy venture merely to make Leicester look silly, however, seems rather slim.

A puzzling factor which the lampoon theory does not quite manage successfully is the nature of the Letter itself. Even though there certainly are passages which make the narrator look foolish, these only occur in the last few pages of a document of well over eighty pages, as Woudhuysen points out.¹⁶⁵ The rest of the document remains a convincingly detailed account of the progress. It is possible that Patten could have been present at the entertainments as he is credited in *Princely Pleasures* with having written some verses to be 'fixed over the gate in a frame' on the approach to the castle (p. 95).

¹⁶² Sherlock, 'Patten, William'.

¹⁶³ Scott, p. 301.

¹⁶⁴ O'Kill, p. 41.

¹⁶⁵ H.R. Woudhuysen, 'Langham, Robert (c. 1535-1579/80)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <<http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.wam.leeds.ac.uk:80/view/article/16002>> [accessed 23 Nov 2004].

Scott considers that the Letter, as well as being a practical joke, also constitutes an 'attempt to be scrupulously factual' in the reporting of the entertainments themselves.¹⁶⁶ But the two purposes are surely conflicting. If the letter was intended to discredit Burghley's closest rival, then its writer would hardly have invested so much effort in commemorating Leicester's magnificence – the Letter contains, for instance, a long description of the amenities of Kenilworth Castle and its situation (pp. 36-8). Even if the Letter was intended to embarrass Langham rather than Leicester, these digressions are rather oddly placed.

The truth of the matter is, without further evidence coming to light, unknowable. The two extant editions of the printed Letter contain no indication of date, printer or location. At the risk of adding further irresolution, I offer a combination of the two theories. My belief is that most of the Letter is probably indeed by Langham, but was published surreptitiously by Patten, and perhaps added to by him. Langham's protests were perhaps a genuine version of the oft-feigned reluctance to print shown by many writers, any alterations made by Patten making such objections more potent. In this scenario, Langham succeeded in having the book suppressed in 1575, but after his death in 1580, Patten or another printer reissued the book anonymously.¹⁶⁷

The letter provides us with much interesting information about life at court during a progress, including the importance of music. In a passage that describes the private performance to a group of courtiers by a minstrel who did not, in the end, get his chance to perform for the Queen, the narrator portrays an idealised courtly scene, which is either meant to impress his reader with the sophisticated milieu within which he is moving, or to emphasise his desire to impress in such a way. Music and its appreciation

¹⁶⁶ Scott, p. 305.

¹⁶⁷ Evidence for the date of the printing of the extant editions of the Letter is discussed by O'Kill, p. 43.

is portrayed as an integral part of the social life of a homogeneous courtly community. It is surely no coincidence that the portion of the minstrel's song quoted is a passage from Malory which portrays Arthur's 'Coourt riall' (p. 63), obviously mirroring the idealised characteristics of the 'woorshipfull company' that 'Langham' considers himself part of (p. 59).

The narrator's rather snobbish description of the minstrel's performance exemplifies the way that musical appreciation intersects with social class. 'Langham' mocks the performer's uncouth behaviour by telling us that as he prepared to sing, he 'cleerd hiz vois with a hem and a reach, and spat oout withall, wyped hiz lips with the hollo of hiz hand, for fyling hiz napkin' (pp. 62-3). He concedes that had the matter 'cum to the sheaw, I think the fello woold have handled it well inoogh' (p. 64), remarking that even this 'ridiculous devise of an auncient minstrell' was justified at the visit because 'all endevoour waz too moove mirth and pastime' (p. 59).

Conversely, his own singing ability is presented as a popular element of the courtly in-crowd's social life:

then carroll I up a song withall, that by and by they cum flocking about me lyke beez to hunny: and ever they cry, anoother good Langham anoother. Shall I tell yoo? when I see Misterz—(A, see a mad knave, I had allmost tolld all) that shee gyvez onz but an ey or an ear: why then, man am I blest [...] And too say the truth: what, with mine eyz, az I can amorously gloit it, with my spanish sopsires, my french heighes, mine Italian dulcets, my dutch hovez, my doobl releas, my hy reachez, my fine feyning, my deep diapason, my wanton warblz, my running, my tyming, my tuning and my twynkling, I can gracify the matter az well az the prowdest of them (pp. 78-9).

This passage is a clear candidate for evidence of the Letter being a lampoon, but either way, it emphasises music's role in the career of a successful courtier. Such skills were valued and seen to be valued at court, even if this is presented in satirical terms (either exposing Langham as a deluded exaggerator, or the court as a place where this type of

fool is praised). The Letter, therefore, shows that music is understood as part of the type of self-portrayal and self-promotion that the entertainment itself participates in.

If Langham's Letter is indeed a joke, then the valuable insights it offers into court life and customs, the experience and reception of the entertainments by those present, and the understanding of magnificence and hospitality, become complicated, but not necessarily invalidated. Whether a hoax or not, it seems to have also been a vehicle for a discourse upon the nature of the progress entertainments (as well as other issues, such as the numerology noted above). The Letter clearly seeks to present a picture of the court experience, and its printing and circulation made it available for a reading public which did not normally have access to that experience. The Letter publicises Leicester's liberality in a way which reinforces, rather than undermines, his status – whatever it did to Langham's reputation.

Music in the Progresses

Music had important roles to play both in the sheer lavishness of an entertainment, and as a significant part of an entertainment's symbolism. As discussed above, the progress entertainments projected a fantasy in which the host, his/her social standing, his/her relationship to the Queen, and contemporary political contexts were presented in an idealised alternative reality. Music's role was not merely to enhance this alternative reality, but also in some senses to create it.

One of the most noticeable functions for music in royal entertainments is that of drawing attention to transitional moments. This could be, for example, the Queen's arrival or departure from an estate, the moment at which a device started or finished, or when some new element was to be introduced within the course of a dramatic piece. This use of music as a cue was not restricted to progress entertainments, since, as the

many payments to bell ringers and trumpeters show, fanfares and ringing of bells often signalled the approach of the sovereign in urban contexts.¹⁶⁸

On Elizabeth's arrival at Kenilworth in 1575, the usual ceremonial fanfare of the welcome was writ large, literally, by giant trumpeters. Gascoigne's account makes clear how this worked:

HER Majesty passing on to the first gate, there stode in the Leades and Battlementes therof, sixe Trumpeters hugelie advaunced, much exceeding the common stature of men in this age, who had likewise huge and monstrous Trumpettes counterfettet, wherein they seemed to sound: and behind them were placed certaine Trumpeters who sounded in deede at her majesties entrie (p. 92).¹⁶⁹

This use of music illustrates the duality of music's presence as both spectacle and sound. The real trumpeters provided the requisite fanfare for the Queen's approach, while the outsize models impressed onlookers.

This duality is emphasised by Gascoigne's description of the spectacle as a 'dum shew' (p. 92). This is obviously not an indication of a lack of sound, but instead refers to the way in which spectators were expected to understand the symbolism of the visual display. Gascoigne explains that because men had been 'of that stature' in the time of King Arthur, the presence of giants on the gate showed that Kenilworth was still maintained by '*Arthurs* heires and their servants' (p. 92). Within the context of Elizabeth's apparent sensitivity over the estate's ownership, Gascoigne's phrasing in the text is itself cleverly ambiguous. It could be understood to mean that Elizabeth and her immediate ancestors are the heirs of Arthur, with courtiers like Leicester as their servants, but it could also imply that Leicester himself is one of the 'heirs', and his

¹⁶⁸ See for example, Nichols, *Elizabeth*, I, 530: II, 431.

¹⁶⁹ This use of fake musicians could be a relic of a technique of religious drama, where, according to Rose, actors playing angels would appear holding musical instruments whilst musicians would play 'off-stage' (Adrian Rose, 'Angel Musicians in the Medieval Stained Glass of Norfolk Churches', *Early Music*, 29 (2001), 186-217, (p. 191)).

retinue, including the large number of people involved in the entertainment, are his servants. The traditional use of music to announce the Queen's entry is thus manipulated to provide a scenario which enables different levels of implication and interpretation.

A musical element was also present in the welcoming of Elizabeth to Elvetham in 1591, introduced by a Poet commanding six nymphs to '*sing sweet triumphal songs, | Fill wayes with flowrs, and th'ayr with harmony*'. The nymphs, the Poet explains, represent the Hours and the Graces. These figures led the way to the house, 'strewing the way with flowers, and singing a sweete song of sixe parts' (p. 439). As Wilson points out, the text's explanation that the Hours and the Graces were 'fained to be the Guardians of Heaven's gates' reinforces the idea that Elizabeth's presence has transformed Elvetham into heaven.¹⁷⁰ This paradisaical vision is completed by the music, as it effects the change of atmosphere and advent of pleasure that reifies the heavenly.

The lyrics sung by the Graces and Hours offer Elizabeth joy and describe the spontaneous reaction of nature to her presence. This reaction is presented as a musical one in the third stanza, where it is proclaimed that

*Now birds record new harmonie,
And trees doe whistle melodie:
Now everie thing that nature breeds,
Doth clad it selfe in pleasant weeds.
O beauteous Queene of second Troy,
Accept of our unfained joy* (p. 439).

A magical energy enlivens all things as Elizabeth approaches. There are visual signs described in the song – the '*verdure newly dight*' in stanza 2, for example – but music is presented as the main vehicle for the expression of this magical energy. Furthermore, it

¹⁷⁰ Jean Wilson, *Entertainments for Elizabeth I* (Woodbridge: D.S. Brewer, 1980), p. 162, n. 40.

enables evidence of this magical effect to be enacted as well as described, as music really does fill the air in the course of the song.

In contrast to the previous examples, the Cowdray entertainment was able to manipulate the expectation of music at the Queen's approach by negating it. Elizabeth arrived on the estate at about 8 p.m. on 14 August 1591, when 'upon sight of her Majestie, loud musicke sounded, which at her enteraunce on the bridge suddenly ceased' (p. 88).¹⁷¹ The music started up as usual, to mark Elizabeth's entrance, but as soon as she set foot on the bridge it abruptly stopped, in what must have been an arresting departure from usual practice. An explanation for this startling cessation was soon forthcoming, however. A Porter delivered a speech explaining that 'the walles of Thebes were raised by Musicke: by musick these are kept from falling'. This, the Porter goes on, is owing to a prophecy which foretold that the walls of the house would be unstable until 'the wisest, the fairest and the most fortunate of all creatures, should by her first steppe make the foundation staid' (p. 88).

The music here fulfils a number of functions. Firstly, it provides the magical framework for the scene, helping to establish its setting as outside the real world, within an alternative set of conventions and explanations, thus enabling the transition into fantasy, as at Kenilworth and Elvetham. Secondly, the fabled role of music in the legendary raising of the walls of Thebes helps to generate a kind of equivalence between the household and the prestigious myth of the musically-generated city. Thus, at the very beginning of the Queen's stay, an oblique claim to the importance of the household is already being laid. Its immovability helps to discourage any idea of its vulnerability to anti-Catholic policy, yet that immovability is presented as entirely due

¹⁷¹ References to the Cowdray entertainment are taken from Jean Wilson's composite text in *Entertainments for Elizabeth I*, pp. 88-95. Further references to this edition are given as page numbers after quotations in the text.

to Elizabeth's grace. This skilfully asserts the family's resistance to attack without appearing defensive. Thirdly, and most obviously, the musical myth enables a compliment to be paid to Elizabeth. Her presence takes the place of music, endowing her with a royal charisma that encompasses past, present and future, and is effected effortlessly by her mere presence, because it is part of her essential nature.

Another of the functions of music in progress entertainments was the way it drew attention to the wealth that the host could afford to lavish on his/her guest. For sheer volume of music, the Elvetham entertainment was by far the most extravagant. Music helped to fill out the Earl's claims to the lavish hospitality and resources befitting to his station and his own self-image. Hertford's resources in this area may have been more extensive than most hosts as his family as a whole seems to have had a strong interest in music. In the late 1530s, according to Price, Hertford's father, the Lord Protector Somerset, had engaged in a 'Mogul-like buying of instruments'. This included, amongst other things, several lutes, hoboyes, and two sets of viols.¹⁷² These instruments cannot all have been for the use of Somerset himself and his immediate family, and suggest a professional or semi-professional musical element in his household.¹⁷³

A further example of musical prestige is the way that style could indicate an awareness of fashion and musical trends. This is more difficult to quantify, however. For example, it has been pointed out by Brennecke that the welcome song at Elvetham discussed above is very similar to a lyric ('This sweet and merry month of May') from *The First Sett of Italian Madrigals Englished*, in two different musical settings by Byrd,

¹⁷² David C. Price, *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 122.

¹⁷³ Price also documents Hertford's own interest in his providing his sons with a musical education (Price, p. 122). These findings are also supported by Hulse's research into musical patronage. See L.M. Hulse, 'The Musical Patronage of the English Aristocracy, c.1590-1640' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, King's College, 1992), p. 135.

one for six and one for four voices.¹⁷⁴ The difficulty with this evidence is that the lyrics in the Elvetham text are in three stanzas of six lines each, whereas the lyrics for the musical settings are in one 8-line stanza. They are clearly related, however, by the similarity of the concluding couplets. The Elvetham text has ‘*O beauteous Queene of second Troy, | Accept of our unfained joy* (p. 439), and the text from the musical settings has ‘*O beauteous Quene of second Troy, | Take well in worth, a simple toy*’.¹⁷⁵

Since *The First Sett of Italian Madrigals Englished* was published in the year preceding the Elvetham entertainment, it is possible that Byrd and Watson collaboratively altered the six-part version for use as the six-part welcome song at the entertainment. As Brennecke points out, however, it is very difficult to reconstruct how such an altered version might have sounded.¹⁷⁶ The song as we have it now is completely unsuitable for the lyrics given in the Elvetham text. For instance, the first line in the musical version includes a quaver figure based around the repetition of ‘merry’, thus adding two syllables to the line. The lyrics in the Elvetham text are difficult to bend around this rhythm. Additionally, in the top four parts, the first two syllables are set apart with a gap between the second and third syllable. This emphatic rhythm is quite appropriate for ‘This sweet – and’, but obviously unsuitable for setting ‘With frag – rant’, which are the first three syllables of the Elvetham lyrics. Nevertheless, although the specific song as sung at the entertainment is unrecoverable, the genre can be established as an early example of the English madrigal.¹⁷⁷ It is

¹⁷⁴ Thomas Watson, *The First Sett of Italian Madrigals Englished* (London: 1590), number 8.

¹⁷⁵ *ibid.*

¹⁷⁶ Brennecke, p. 39.

¹⁷⁷ Dart describes the two versions of ‘This sweet and merry month of May’ in Watson’s 1590 collection as ‘the first true English madrigals ever published’ (*William Byrd: Psalms, Songs and Sonnets, 1611*. The English Madrigalists, 16, ed. by Edmund H. Fellowes, rev. by Thurston Dart (London: Stainer and Bell, 1963), p. ii).

therefore an indication of the way that the Elvetham entertainment used the latest vocal musical style.

These songs by Byrd also link one of the sixteenth century's most prestigious composers to the Elvetham entertainment. Renowned today as one of the most skilful of English composers, Byrd had a similarly elevated reputation in his own day. A poem by John Baldwin dated 1591 praises Byrd at length as a composer of international quality and renown, 'Whose greater skill and knowledge dothe excelle all at this tyme | And far to strange countries abroade his skill dothe shyne'.¹⁷⁸ Thus Hertford's projection of his own wealth and sophistication took in the very best in European musical talent. In addition to Byrd, Brennecke's investigation of the music for this entertainment has revealed the involvement of such musicians as Thomas Morley, Francis Pilkington, and Edward Johnson as composers.¹⁷⁹

A similar sense of the cachet attached to the employment of a renowned musician seems to have been a factor in the performance of John Dowland at Sudeley in 1591. Diana Poulton asserts that the 'Do.' abbreviation in the printed version of the Sudeley entertainment stands for Dowland, speculating that his participation enabled him to present a suit to the Queen. She supports her theory of Dowland's authorship of the song with stylistic evidence based upon the surviving setting by Dowland of the song in question. This is 'My heart and tongue were twinnes' which appeared as number 18 in Dowland's 1612 collection *A Pilgrimes Solace*, but with the final couplet altered in a way which makes the poem less occasional in its meaning.¹⁸⁰ According to Poulton, this setting is consistent with his early style, showing 'none of the characteristics of his later

¹⁷⁸ For an account of Byrd's reputation and a selection of praises of him by contemporary musicians, see Boyd, pp. 80-5. Baldwin's poem is given as an appendix by Boyd, pp. 310-12.

¹⁷⁹ Brennecke, pp. 34-5.

¹⁸⁰ For a discussion of the way occasional songs are often altered for general publication, see above, pp. 27-9.

work', and is therefore probably the one used at Sudeley.¹⁸¹ The circumstantial evidence certainly makes Dowland's contribution to the 1592 entertainment seem likely. In this way, Lord Chandos was able to demonstrate his ability to engage a composer and performer already described in the 1588 *Apologia pro Musices* as one of the foremost of the time.¹⁸²

Hence, progress entertainments used skilled and celebrated composers and performers to enhance the host's prestige. In doing so, they brought these musicians and their techniques into contact with one another, setting up the possibility of fruitful cross-fertilisations of styles. This is illustrated by the instrumental configuration of the mixed (or 'broken') consort. The mixed consort genre is thought to have been developed by Edward Johnson at Hengrave in the 1560s, and Peter Holman suggests that the loan of this musician to Leicester may have enabled this new form to be heard at the 1575 entertainment.¹⁸³ Holman argues that the musicians at the English court tended to be based in ensembles made up of instruments of the same family.¹⁸⁴ The music of a consort, therefore, provided the opportunity not only to intrigue an audience with new and unusual sounds, but also to display the host's taste and awareness of fashionable and sophisticated new trends.

The mixed consort is specifically described in the Elvetham text. It provided the musical background of the entertainment, and was at Elizabeth's disposal during the visit, to play at any time she wished. It also accompanied the dance of the Fairy Queen, and in the textual description, the instruments involved are carefully enumerated: 'the

¹⁸¹ Diana Poulton, *John Dowland* (London: Faber and Faber, 1972), p. 311.

¹⁸² Dowland had probably already contributed to a royal occasion by composing the song sung by Robert Hales, a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, at the 1590 Accession Day Tilt (Poulton, p. 28).

¹⁸³ Peter Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court, 1540-1690* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 133.

¹⁸⁴ Holman describes 'the instrumental sets or families as alternatives on a musical menu, rather than as ingredients in a single dish' (p. 131).

Fairy Queene and her maides daunced about the garland, singing a song of sixe partes, with the musicke of an exquisite consort; wherein was the Lute, Bandora, Base-violl, Citterne, Treble-violl, and Flute' (p. 450).

This list constitutes the first instance where the instruments of this particular ensemble are precisely named, suggesting a desire to ensure that the quality of the entertainment is properly emphasised. The group is not enumerated in such detail in the Kenilworth texts, but the presence of the mixed consort at Kenilworth in 1575 is accepted by music historians as one of the first, and certainly the most public, early manifestations of this distinctive group of instruments. Gascoigne's reference to 'a Consort of Musicke' (p. 104) is the earliest recorded example of the use of the English word 'consort' in a musical sense.¹⁸⁵

The preciseness of the list in the Elvetham text is evidence of a sense of competitiveness with the 1575 Kenilworth entertainment. As a much smaller estate than Kenilworth, Elvetham would not have been expected to host the same scale of event, but Hertford's lavish spending made up for the estate's defects.¹⁸⁶ For instance, where Kenilworth Castle had a pre-existing pond, Elvetham had an artificial lake created especially for the occasion, with water inhabitants performing songs, processions and acrobatics. Musical resources were one prominent area in which the relative quality of the hospitality of the entertainment could be displayed, and one in which, as we have seen, Hertford may have felt he had an advantage. As Hulse notes, musical instruments

¹⁸⁵ See Warwick Edwards, 'Consort', *Grove Music Online* ed. by L. Macy (Accessed 20 April 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>. Gascoigne's 1575 usage predates the earliest examples cited in *OED* by over a decade. The term 'consort' on its own without any prefix seems to have implied a group comprised of different types of instruments (David D. Boyden, 'When is a Concerto not a Concerto?', *Musical Quarterly*, 43.2 (Apr 1957), 220-32 (pp. 228-9)).

¹⁸⁶ See Bright, p. 26. Hertford's additions to the estate are carefully listed in the text, and included, amongst other things, a spicery, an extra larder, several extra kitchens, and a new wine cellar.

were both practical tools for providing ceremonial and recreational music, and also ‘conspicuous examples of the patron’s wealth, social status, and artistic taste’.¹⁸⁷

The same configuration of instruments as noted at Elvetham was specified in Morley’s 1599 publication *The First Booke of Consort Lessons*, and this publication, coming as it did nearly 25 years after the first textual reference to a ‘consort’, was the first printed book specifically for this group.¹⁸⁸ Progress entertainments therefore utilise developments in musical style to advertise the prestige of their hosts. In doing so, they provide demand for new forms and thus have a distinctive impact upon the development of those trends.

Echo

Another feature which appears to be associated with court entertainments, and progress entertainments in particular, is the figure of Echo. According to Ringler, the earliest example in English is Gascoigne’s device for the 1575 Kenilworth entertainment.¹⁸⁹ Subsequent examples of the form all seem to be associated with the court in some way – for example, an eclogue from Sidney’s *Arcadia* (*Old Arcadia* no. 31); Peele’s *Arraignment of Paris*, which was performed at court in the early 1580s; several of Jonson’s masques, including *The Masques of Beauty* and *Blackness*; a scene from *Cynthia’s Revels*, performed before Elizabeth in January 1601; and echo devices at the progress entertainments at both Bisham and Elvetham.¹⁹⁰ By the end of James I’s reign, it seems that the device had become rather less popular at court, but it was

¹⁸⁷ Hulse, ‘Musical Patronage’, p. 115.

¹⁸⁸ Thomas Morley, *The First Booke of Consort Lessons* (London: 1599).

¹⁸⁹ William A. Ringler, *The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), p. 402.

¹⁹⁰ F.L. Lucas, in his edition of *The Complete Works of John Webster*, 4 vols (London: Chatto & Windus, 1927), II, 195-6, gives a more comprehensive list of echo passages, along with the warning that this ‘literary by-way’ usually proves ‘a blind alley’.

revived by Milton for a song in his 1637 masque at Ludlow castle (usually known as *Comus*).

In their analysis of the significance and effect of an echo technique, critics generally ignore the humorous possibilities of the form. For example, William Shullenberger asserts that echo song is constituted by ‘selective repetition of a previous statement’ which, through highlighting ‘a secret or latent message in the already spoken’, can be used ‘to intensify pathos, fatality, or unforeseen providential possibility.’¹⁹¹ Sternfeld’s interpretation of echo songs also focuses on their melancholy side, claiming that they are most often used as part of a love lament, which, whether playful or sincere, usually invoked Petrarchist images of death.¹⁹²

These interpretations are plausible enough, but it is the satiric, or at least humorous aspects of the form that make it so appropriate for entertainments like the one staged at Kenilworth. Progress entertainments required diversions which would occupy the leisure hours of the Queen and retinue, but also portray both the royal visitor and, more importantly, the host, in as flattering a light as possible. This is primarily achieved by creating a sense of ingenuity, and it is precisely that sense of wittiness that makes the echo so appropriate to the courtly setting in which it first emerged as a literary trope in English. Gascoigne’s use of echo, as we shall see, enabled him to fulfil all of these criteria in an amusing and ingenious way.

Lathrop P. Johnson’s analysis of later German poetry is useful for this context. In discussing German writers’ own prescriptions for the echo poem, he notes that ‘simple repetitions are acceptable, but good echoes are either repetitions in which the sense or the syntactical function is changed, or when the final words are split up and only a part

¹⁹¹ William Shullenberger, ‘Tragedy in Translation: The Lady’s Echo Song’, *ELR*, 33 (Autumn 2003), 403-23 (p. 408).

¹⁹² Sternfeld, p. 36.

is repeated'.¹⁹³ The alteration of syntactical function is merely par for the course in the obsessively punning linguistic culture of Elizabethan poetry, but it is worth pointing out the extra emphasis that the echo's repetition places on homonyms and double meanings. Such a mode of expression is particularly appropriate to the highly politicised context of courtly entertainment. The echo draws attention to the malleability of meaning, and the ingenuity that can take advantage of this instability.

The exchange with Echo at Kenilworth took place on the second day of the entertainment, when Elizabeth was on her way back from an evening of hunting. As she was returning by torchlight through the chase, a Savage Man emerged from the wood to greet her (*Princely Pleasures*, p. 45). This character presents himself as a hermit with limited contact with the outside world, and ignorant of the identity of the grand visitor. Having noticed the visit's effect upon the landscape of the castle and grounds, however, he proclaims himself anxious to discover who is visiting. Getting no answer from his audience, he appeals to Echo as a friend who will not fail him and whose answers can be trusted.

Notwithstanding his professed ignorance, the Savage's interrogation of Echo goes over the welcoming events of the previous day, the answers to his questions being contained in the final one, two or three syllables of his line, which are repeated by Echo. For example, at one point, the Savage asks 'But wherefore doe they so rejoyce? | is it for King or Queene?', to which Echo, of course, replies 'Queene' (p. 95). The device's function within the visit is, therefore, reiterative, recalling the splendours of the previous day and restating their intended import. This subject-matter plays on the nature of echo, of course, but it also draws attention to the echo-device's own status as a

¹⁹³ Lathrop P. Johnson, 'Theory and Practice of the Baroque Echo Poem', in *Daphnis: Zeitschrift für Mittlere Deutsche Literatur*, 19 (1990), 189-221 (p. 193).

display which contains certain encrypted messages for observers to decipher. Its decoding of the meaning of the previous day's events offers its audience an example of how to respond to its own gnomic statements.

This self-consciousness is enhanced by the emphases that the echo device enables. These can be rather over-egged: the Savage, for example, asks Echo how he might know the Queen 'from the rest, | or judge her by her grace?', to which Echo replies 'her grace' (p. 100). A more subtle effect is achieved, however, by the careful deployment of the only echo which is a proper pun rather than just a straight repeat. This occurs when the Savage describes the gifts that had been left out for the arriving guests the previous day, and asks for their meaning. In response, the name of Robert Dudley as patron and gift-giver is declared by Echo, promoting him as the benefactor and animating force behind the entertainment:

Gifts? what? sent from the Gods? as presents from above? Or pleasures of provision, as tokens of true love	
<i>Eccho</i>	True love
And who gave all those gifts? I pray thee (Eccho) say? Was it not he? who (but of late) this building here did lay?	
<i>Eccho</i>	<i>Dudley</i> (p. 99).

One fictive option – the idea that the gifts have magically appeared as expressions of divine approval of Elizabeth's visit – is discarded in favour of emphasising the role of Dudley in providing and hosting. The gifts are not 'presents from above', but provisions deliberately set out to make a statement on behalf of the entertainment's host. This is all veiled behind a literary device which renders such choices necessary, an echo which supposedly accidentally reflects the sounds which produce these assertions.

The entire sequence is thus an elaborate construction of artful ‘naturalness’. The Queen, returning from hunting, ‘accidentally’ comes across the wild man. Dressed in ivy, he is a stereotypical antithesis of courtly sophistication, a savage living close to nature and away from the corrupting influences of civilisation. Lit by torchlight, the effect must have been striking. Even in this, however, the idea of illusion is foregrounded. The Savage speaks in verse and introduces a highly contrived dialogue, through Echo. The more the Savage’s assertions are constructed as transparent, truthful, and above all natural, the more obvious becomes their carefully constructed nature.

The use of the echo in this instance is correctly identified by Joseph Loewenstein as ‘an elaborate modesty topos’, in which the speaker can convey the necessary information to the audience by appearing ignorant of it himself.¹⁹⁴ This obvious constructedness does not, however, undermine the entertainment, as Loewenstein suggests. The introduction of Dudley as the provider of the entertainment operates precisely within ‘the social protocols of royal festivity’ which Loewenstein claims Gascoigne’s authorial intention ‘denies’.¹⁹⁵ The foregrounding of the fictive nature of the entertainment emphasises the care, resources and taste that went into preparing it, especially on the part of the patron. The invocation of Dudley by his family name rather than title is a feint which uses false humility to reinforce the social connections of the entertainment’s patron, displaying a sense of intimacy and familiarity between himself and the Queen.

The success of the echo at Kenilworth in 1575 in portraying the host as exemplary seems to have made the device itself an exemplar, as it reappeared at the entertainment

¹⁹⁴ Joseph Loewenstein, *Responsive Readings: Versions of Echo in Pastoral, Epic, and the Jonsonian Masque* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), p. 73.

¹⁹⁵ Loewenstein, *Responsive Readings*, p. 73.

at Bisham in 1592, when Elizabeth was again greeted by a Wild Man.¹⁹⁶ In a speech which seems to refer directly to the entertainments at Kenilworth in 1575, he gives an account of hearing magical music (represented, it seems, by the 'Cornets sounding in the woods' that were heard as Elizabeth approached).¹⁹⁷ Like Gascoigne's Savage, the Wild Man asks desperately for an indication of who has caused this frightening and awesome noise, and, similarly, gets no answer from anyone but Echo. The difference is that the Bisham encounter with Echo takes place offstage, so to speak, and is conveyed in reported speech by the Wild Man in his address to the visiting party. He says 'I, it may bee, more stout than wise, asked, who passed that way? What he or she? None durst answer, or would vouchsafe, but passionate Eccho, who said Shee'.¹⁹⁸ This repeats part of Gascoigne's encounter with Echo seventeen years previously.

Binnie observes that 'the voice of an echo giving aid or answers to the speakers became a dramatic convention' by the time Jonson was writing his masques.¹⁹⁹ This indeed holds true in terms of the non-musical manifestations of Echo in performance, but the echo device as used at Elvetham is constituted very differently. This entertainment took place sixteen years after Gascoigne's performance as the Savage at Kenilworth, and a year before its recapitulation at Bisham. The most significant and obvious difference is that the Elvetham entertainment conveyed echoes in music rather than speech. The reputation of the Kenilworth entertainment, therefore, may have been an influence in the selection of the echo as a device at Elvetham, but in terms of living up to its grandness and cost rather than replicating its rhetorical strategy.

¹⁹⁶ Richard Braithwait, fifty years later, saw the Kenilworth entertainments as the absolute height of Elizabethan hospitality, describing them as 'the greatest state that ever I did hear of in an Earles house' (cited in Hazard, p. 11).

¹⁹⁷ *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*, ed. by John Nichols, 3 vols (London: John Nichols, 1823) III, 131.

¹⁹⁸ Nichols, *Elizabeth*, III, 131.

¹⁹⁹ George Peele, *The Old Wives Tale*, ed. by Patricia Binnie (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1980), p. 60n.

At Elvetham, the echo song displayed the self-conscious artistry so evident at Kenilworth, but its use of music established a different register of fictionality. It dispensed with the pretence of a natural echo as the groups of musicians were in full view, situated in different vessels on the pond. The text describes how ‘three voices in the Pinnacle sung a song to the Lute with excellent divisions, and the end of every verse was replied by Lutes and voices in the other boate somewhat afarre off, as if they had beene Ecchoes’ (p. 443). The text, therefore, with its qualifying ‘as if’, emphasises the theatrical nature of the performance. The players could have been concealed, but the point of this echo device was not to do with creating the impression of the aural effect itself, but with declaring the host capable of creating such elaborate entertainment.

The fictive frame is supplied by Nereus’s introduction of the song as a gift from Thetis to please the Queen. The song, therefore, is more direct in its praise of Elizabeth. Furthermore, it is presented with a special emphasis on its status as a specifically musical gift, when Nereus states ‘*White footed Thetis sends her Musicke maydes, | To please Elisaes eares with harmony*’ (p. 443). Its musicality displays expense and status in a much more direct way than the dishevelled, ivy-clad Savage and his word-play. Instead of the emphasis on artifice that was displayed at Kenilworth, the echo song at Elvetham accentuates its performativity, and its status as a song.

The song does use the dialogue form of the Kenilworth echo exchange, except that the dialogue takes place within the main verse itself, rather than between the verse and echo. The echo, instead of being the focus of interrogation, is a compositional device, forming a refrain of the last three to four syllables of the two-line responses. The music eliminates the need for even weak syntactic variation as the echoes here become merely emphatic. The music renders ingenious lyrics redundant as the echoic interest is supplied by the melody, and variation on the melody. Indeed, the text comments upon

the ‘excellent divisions’ of the lute in the pinnacle, which describes the practice of the lute making variations upon the basic melodic structure (although this could have been throughout the song rather than just in the echoed lines).

The positioning of the musicians at Elvetham is also of interest. Within the main vessel sat three cornet players, along with ‘three excellent voices, to sing to one lute’. There were also ‘two other boats hard by’ with ‘other lutes and voices to answer by manner of Eccho’ (p. 441). This clever use of spacing enhanced the impression of the echo by combining it with the aural technique known as *cori spezzati*. This involved dividing the choir into different groups to heighten the antiphonal character of the music, and the practice was at the height of its popularity across Europe in the 1580s and 1590s.²⁰⁰ Usually reserved for grand ceremonial religious occasions, the influence of the idea is apparent here. Such sophisticated musical techniques advertised the complex level of organisation and coordination that the host was capable of commanding, as well as his discerning taste. The echo song thus co-opts the musical vocabulary of the grand occasion to enhance the status of the Queen’s visit to this particular host.

The influence of Kenilworth as the progress entertainment par excellence is clear in the way that the two later entertainments adopted aspects of its artistic strategies. While the entertainment at Bisham offers a straightforward repeat of Kenilworth’s use of the echo, the Elvetham entertainment reconfigures the echo device to suit its own purposes. The Elvetham song is an acknowledgment of its predecessor at Kenilworth, but it also invokes associations of continental forms of entertainment and music-making. At Kenilworth, the audience was invited to admire the contrivance of a verbal device which advertises the possibility of double meanings. At Elvetham, it was a display of musical

²⁰⁰ Gustave Reese, *Music in the Renaissance* (London: J.M. Dent, 1954), pp. 372-374. See also Denis Arnold, ‘The Significance of “Cori Spezzati”’, *Music and Letters*, 40 (1959), 4-14 (pp. 6-12).

virtuosity which sought to impress. Whereas Kenilworth projected a kind of knowing artlessness, the echo device at Elvetham was characterised by a self-conscious artfulness which aimed to set it apart from the earlier entertainment that it imitates.

Musical Myths

As discussed in the Introduction, the prestige and status of musical myths was altering in the period under consideration. Such myths, however, retained their capacity to enhance and decorate, in the same way as any variety of classical or indigenous myth could be used to augment a poet's invention in the fictive settings of a progress entertainment. Music also, therefore, had a role in progress entertainments as an abstract quality to be invoked as part of the vocabulary of eulogy. Harmony, for example, is often invoked, and Elizabeth is often characterised as bringing musicality with her, making the idea of music emblematic of social orderliness and submission.

At Bisham, during her approach to the estate, after encountering the wild man, Elizabeth encountered a scene of Pan attempting to woo two virgins. Pan clearly represents worldly music here, declaring 'I cannot tickle the sheepes gutts of a Lute, *bydd, bydd, bydd*, like the calling of Chickins; but for a Pipe that squeeketh like a Pigg, I am he'. His attempts to woo the virgins provide them with cues for witty and wise replies, which flatter Elizabeth's unmarried status. Elizabeth's power over worldly music is then displayed when Pan, promising to make her stay a pleasant one, states 'and heare I breake my Pipe, which Apollo could never make me doe; and follow the sound which follows you'.²⁰¹ The traditional association of Pan with worldly and popular music, and Apollo with speculative and sophisticated music is here mapped onto Pan's male-figured irrational bodily desires and Elizabeth's female-figured chastity

²⁰¹ Nichols, *Elizabeth*, III, 133-5.

and superiority of mind. This demonstration of the subjugation of male lust to rational female chastity is followed up by a song at the bottom of the hill from Ceres. She offers up her crown of wheat to Elizabeth, who, it is implied, paradoxically combines both fruitfulness and chastity. Thus, musical conventions are combined with the conventions of hospitality (the welcome and the giving of the gift) to stage an elaborate compliment to the Queen by allowing her fictionalised ideal nature to encompass contradictory ideals and to refigure gender stereotypes.²⁰²

Such musical myths need not be restricted to complimenting the Queen, however, as an example from the Elvetham entertainment shows. When she arrived at the estate, she was met by a poet who delivered a long Latin oration. The text emphasises that the Poet was ‘*veridicus vates*, a sooth saying Poet, nothing inferior for truth, and little for delivery of his mind, to an ordinarie Orator’ (p. 435). His costume is also clearly meant to signal his status as more than a mere rhymmer, as he wears a laurel garland ‘to expresse that *Apollo* was patrone of his studies’, and boots which ‘betoken that hee was *vates cothurnatus*’ (p. 435). The link with Apollo, the assertion that he is on a mission from the Muses, not to mention the fact that the Oration is given in Latin, all position the Poet in the sphere of the skills of classical rhetoric, and places what he is about to say within a tradition of pseudo-mystic truth.

This is precisely the kind of role outlined for the poet in George Puttenham’s *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589), which presents ancient poets as musicians. Their ‘maner of utterance and language of extraordinarie phrase’ is that most suitable for ‘the high mysteries of the gods’ as well as the deeds of princes and monarchs. These subjects were, in the time of the ancients, according to Puttenham, ‘tempered [...] with the

²⁰² This articulation of the compliment to Elizabeth in progressive stages as she approached the house is also a feature of Campion’s Caversham entertainment for Queen Anne in 1613.

exercise of a delectable Musicke by melodious instruments'.²⁰³ The Elvetham Poet in his oration deliberately adopts the pose outlined by Puttenham as his role, that of the mystic religious figure whose utterances relate to high status subjects and which confer that importance upon those objects. Whilst he does not engage in the exercise of music himself, he nevertheless harnesses its prestige for the host from the beginning of the event. Not only is Elizabeth worthy of being addressed by this type of language, but Hertford's purposes are worthy of being couched in it. References to musical myth within the entertainments can, therefore, co-opt for the host a prestige ostensibly directed at his royal guest.

The musical myths encountered at Wanstead in 1578 engage with music's ability to represent. As noted above, Elizabeth is called upon in this entertainment to resolve the conflict between the two suitors for the Lady's hand. This is played out in a contest of music. Each competitor sings two verses of six lines each, in which a debate is enacted about music's relationship to what it represents. Espilus argues for a literal correspondence of sound and meaning in which a higher pitch represents higher intentions: 'Tune up, my voice, a higher note I yield: | To high conceits the song must needs be high' (ll. 143-4). Therion's reply counters this exactly, asserting music's capacity to represent indirectly and obliquely by claiming that 'The highest note comes oft from basest mind, | As shallow brooks do yield the greatest sound' (ll. 149-50). The episode recalls mythical musical competition, such as that between Apollo and Marsyas, an impression emphasised by a reference to Midas, whose ass's ears are invoked by a supporter of Therion as appropriate to listen to the opposing side's 'drivel' (l. 182). Musical appreciation then, is dependent upon the listener's ability to 'read' the meaning

²⁰³ *The Arte of English Poesie*, ed. by Gladys Doidge Willcock and Alice Walker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936), pp. 6-9.

of the music, hearing beyond the surface factors of pitch and volume. Only subtle listeners, it is implied, will understand its true import. Elizabeth's choice of Espilus over Therion, therefore, implies a rejection not only of the oblique designs of the entertainment which are expressed through music, but also the ability of music to be expressive in such terms. The text's minimisation of Elizabeth's agency in this instance, therefore, is also an attempt to maintain the validity of an esoteric mode of musical signification. The ease with which this is denied by Elizabeth exposes its dependency upon the consent and compliance of external, extra-musical factors and participants.

Dance

Dancing was one of the court's favourite pastimes. Along with hunting, it can safely be said to have taken place at most of the visits Elizabeth made. It features 'casually', along with incidental music, as a diversion which could serve to pass the time not occupied by planned spectacles or court business. For instance, Langham's Letter reports that on the first Sunday afternoon of the Kenilworth visit, the time was spent 'in excellent Musik, of sundry sweet instruments, and in dauncing of Lords and Ladyez, and oother woorshipfull degreez' (p. 43). The timing of this merriment may have been controversial, however, in that it took place upon the Sabbath. The narrator comments that the morning had been 'occupied (az for the Sabot day) in quiet and vacation from woork, and in divine servis and preaching at the parish church' (p. 43). The pious tone here is an obvious attempt to offset the ungodly activities of the afternoon.

Dance was also a spectator activity and as such could feature as part of the shows laid on for Elizabeth and the court as audience. At Kenilworth, 'a lyvely morisdauns, according to the auncient manner, six daunserz, Mawdmarion, and the fool' (Langham's Letter, p. 50). This display of dance also took place on a Sunday – the one following

that described above. Langham presents it as part of festivities intended 'in woorship of this Kenelwoorth Castl, and of God and saint Kenelm, whooz day forsooth by the calendar, this waz' (p. 49). Again, the fact that this dancing took place on a Sunday is potentially controversial, but the idea that it was performed in celebration of the day's saint is even crypto-Catholic. Kuin interprets this as an indication of a lack of religious conviction on the part of Leicester, whom he describes as 'the Puritan party's leader', and considers this allowance of dancing on the Sabbath as evidence that Leicester's religious affiliation was a political rather than a sincere one.²⁰⁴ I would argue that this should instead be interpreted as a manifestation of a more moderate Protestantism that accorded with Elizabeth's own preferences.²⁰⁵

Morris dancing in and of itself has been presented as the focus of Puritan reprehension. Lowe, for example, draws attention to the anonymous tract *The Beehive of the Romish Church*, which links watching morris displays with corrupting effects induced by witnessing Catholic ceremonies.²⁰⁶ This type of complaint is really rather unusual, however. Most concern with morris dancing in the Elizabethan period was caused when it was conducted during the hours of church services, or in the churchyard.²⁰⁷ This is demonstrated by Emmison's analysis of a sample of presentations for such offences.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁴ Kuin, pp. 88-9n.

²⁰⁵ Simon Adams's assessment of Leicester's religious activity portrays a moderate Puritan. Simon Adams, *Leicester and the Court: Essays on Elizabethan Politics* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), p. 231.

²⁰⁶ Barbara Lowe, 'Early Records of the Morris in England', *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society*, 8.2 (1957), 61-82 (p. 68).

²⁰⁷ As an example of anti-morris action, Michael Heaney points out Archbishop Edmund Grindal's visitation articles of 1571 for York, in which he sought to prosecute morris dancing in church precincts ('Kingston to Kenilworth: Early Plebeian Morris', *Folklore*, 100 (1989), 88-104, (p. 102)).

²⁰⁸ Frederick Emmison, 'Tithes, Perambulations and Sabbath-breach in Elizabethan Essex', in *Tribute to an Antiquary: Essays Presented to Marc Fitch by Some of his Friends* (London: Leopards Head Press, 1976), pp. 177-215 (pp. 201-2).

The appearance, manner and class of the participants were also important factors in the interpretation and effect of dance. For instance, the description in Langham's Letter mockingly highlights the diverse costumes of the motley crew marshalled to celebrate the 'brydeale' and dance before the Queen at Kenilworth in 1575. Michael Heaney highlights the 'cultural gap' that this exposes between the Kenilworth dancers and 'some categories of audience'. He interprets this as a factor which enabled the morris dance to represent a nostalgic vision of Englishness by distancing the audience from the spectacle being enacted.²⁰⁹ According to Jane Garry, morris did indeed become 'something of a literary conceit by the late 1500s', used to evoke the 'festivity and merrymaking with which it was by then universally associated'.²¹⁰

I would hesitate to apply the nostalgic analysis of the dance to the Kenilworth context, however, as the locals' perceived crudeness and ineptitude are clearly meant to provide a kind of comic entertainment for the sophisticated courtly audience. Langham's Letter does describe the dance as conforming to 'the auncient manner' (Langham's Letter, p. 50), but in this context this is not a positive signifier.²¹¹ By 1575, morris was a decidedly popular form.²¹² To flatter the participants, dance needed to be urbane and fashionable, not countrified and traditional. The dance display at Kenilworth instead flatters the spectators by signalling their social superiority.²¹³

²⁰⁹ Heaney, pp. 101-2.

²¹⁰ Jane Garry, 'The Literary History of the English Morris Dance', *Folklore*, 94 (1983), 219-228 (p. 220).

²¹¹ 'Auncient' does become a flattering term when applied to powerful institutions, such as the trade guilds, which seek to portray themselves as an indelible and integral part of society. See Ian Anders Gadd, 'Early Modern Printed Histories of the London Livery Companies', in *Guilds, Societies and Economy in London, 1450-1800*, ed. by Ian Anders Gadd and Patrick Wallis (London: University of London, 2002), pp. 29-50 (pp. 32-33).

²¹² Lowe's research has shown that morris dancing had originated in court revels in the late fifteenth century (Lowe, p. 66). See also Ronald Hutton, *The Stations of the Sun: A History of the Ritual Year in Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 264-6.

²¹³ As we shall see in Chapter 4, codes of movement also differentiated social groups within the masque.

Country dance is presented in a completely different way, however, at the entertainment at Cowdray in 1591. On the day before her departure, the Queen was entertained by ‘the countrie people’ who ‘presented themselves to hir Majestie in a pleasant dance, with taber and pipe: and the Lord Montague and his Lady among them, to the great pleasure of all the beholders, and gentle applause of hir Majestie’ (p. 95). The instrumentation here is standard, and as such was not so different from the display at Kenilworth sixteen years previously. The key, and intriguing, difference here is the participation of the Montagues.

This was obviously no impromptu rendition of any old country dance.²¹⁴ The context here seems to have been an intention to show the solidarity of the host and his family with the loyal inhabitants of Sussex, and to display his influence and importance within the county, and thus as an important ally of Elizabeth. Dance and music take centre stage here as part of a carefully choreographed demonstration of the importance and social status of the host. It represents in miniature the self-portrayal of the host that the entirety of the visit seeks to enact.

The day of this display, Thursday, is neutral, but its appeal to nostalgia in the context of the estate of a known Catholic is not. Curt Bright sees the joining of Lord and Lady Montague in a dance with local commoners as symbolising the solidarity of a religious minority in a strongly Catholic area. He raises the possibility that the dance itself could have specifically signified Catholicism, either to its participants alone or to its audience, perhaps through an association of dance activity with traditional Catholic holidays.²¹⁵

²¹⁴ Presumably the participants had been carefully selected and coached.

²¹⁵ Curt Bright, ‘Caressing the Great: Viscount Montague’s Entertainment of Elizabeth at Cowdray, 1591’, *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, 127 (1989), 147-66 (pp. 157, 165n).

When viewed in these terms, this display forms an intriguing analogue with an earlier display of country dance – the anti-Catholic propaganda exercise enacted on the estate of Rookwood in 1578. Topclyffe's letter describes how an effigy of the Virgin Mary had been found by the agents of the crown, hidden in a hayloft on the estate. Then,

after a sort of cuntree daunces ended, in her Majesty's sighte the idoll was sett behinde the people, who avoyeded: She rather seemed a beast, raysed upon a sudden from Hell by conjewringe, than the Picture for whome it hadd bene so often and longe abused. Her Majesty commanded it to the fyer, which in her sight by the cuntrie folks was quickly done, to her content, and unspeakable joy of every one but some one or two who had sucked of the idoll's poysoned mylke.²¹⁶

Whether or not the Montagues had heard of Rookwood or the circumstances of his arrest, their adoption of popular dance practices to symbolically enact ties of allegiance provides an interesting gloss for the earlier occasion. The dance on the Rookwood estate, like the later communal dance at Cowdray, was a display of community and solidarity, but this was spectacularly broken by the hoisting of the effigy and by its burning.

At Cowdray, the Montagues retained control of the dance's signification, and also of its textual representation. In this case, the associations of the country dance were enlisted in the interests of the host and family, making their interpretation completely different. Dance therefore, like music, is flexible enough to be co-opted to several purposes. It can flatter and entertain its courtly spectators, at the same time as it can flatter and assert the host.

²¹⁶ Nichols, *Elizabeth*, II, p. 217.

This consideration of the progress entertainments has shown that in a variety of ways on different occasions, the music in progress entertainments was crucial in bringing to life the mythical world that the entertainment sought to establish. Music drew the attention of its auditors to statements being made as part of the entertainment's fictionalising strategies, and alerted them to the need for interpretation of those fictions, whilst also operating as a visual symbol in its own right, conveying its own emblematic meanings.

This chapter has also shown that the entertainments' visibility and memorability is fundamental to their participation in the articulation of their sponsors' reputations and public standing. These very qualities of visibility and memorability also necessitate each entertainment's consciousness of previous examples of the ways in which hospitality has been provided on such occasions. The entertainment at Kenilworth in 1575 established a precedent in terms of the display of wealth through musical resources, and the types of display presented before the Queen.

Music itself has been shown to gain meaning from the ways in which it had previously been used. Its usual ceremonial function of announcing the Queen's arrival was often exploited and expanded so that music operated as an aural cue in other ways. It also impressed and delighted its audience with new forms of entertainment, such as the mixed consort and the madrigal. Thus, music's role in entertainments derived its strength from opposing impulses. The first depends upon the way in which music had accrued meaning from its continued use in the same manner, upon continuing tradition; the second depends upon the importation of new trends, upon the fashions of the moment. Hence, music in these contexts has a dual ability to both absorb and project signification.

This enables it to take on the shape of what can be described as the entertainment's 'narrative' of itself. As Yoch notes, the progress entertainments stage an externalised version of the host's conventional emotional response to the Queen's visit. At the most basic level this comprises joy at her arrival and sorrow at her departure.²¹⁷ These are the moments at which music is most often heard, or recorded as being heard, during a visit. The heard music of a welcome or farewell song is an externalisation of the feigned or expected emotional arc which the host undergoes during the visit. Within the course of a visit from the Queen on one of her summer progresses, the music's accompaniment of the formal structure of beginnings and endings also articulated this inner structure of emotional response.

As we have seen, music is a crucial part of the way that progress entertainments created a narrative of and for themselves, and the way that they shaped their reception. The use of music to articulate the structure of an event is also characteristic of the other types of entertainment considered by this thesis, where it signals to both onlookers and participants not only where they are in the proceedings and what was about to happen, but also how they were expected to respond. The next chapter will show how Elizabeth's royal entry to Norwich featured music which exemplifies precisely this role.

²¹⁷ James J. Yoch, 'Subjecting the Landscape in Pageants and Shakespearean Pastorals', in *Pageantry in the Shakespearean Theater*, ed. by David M. Bergeron (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1985), pp. 194-219 (p. 201).

Chapter 3: Norwich, 1578

The entertainments staged for Elizabeth during her six-day visit to Norwich in 1578 have many similarities with the entertainments she witnessed at private country-houses, particularly in terms of music. There are two full-length accounts of the Norwich visit. One is by Bernard Garter, and the other by Thomas Churchyard.²¹⁸ The accounts are generally complementary, supplying different devices which were performed at different points of the visit. This chapter will set out the ways in which we can read the implications of this evidence regarding music.

It will firstly describe the ways in which music functioned in Norwich as a structural marker within the displays staged for the visit, before examining how this functionality is affected and effected by factors of positioning and instrumentation. After a brief discussion of music's role within the texts' engagement with issues of knowledge and interpretation, the chapter then places the entertainments within local and national political contexts, showing that an assertion of music's connection with emotion and sincerity enhanced their political statements.

As in country house entertainments, one of the main roles of music in the entertainments at Norwich was to mark moments of transition and liminality. For example, Elizabeth's entry to the city through St Stephen's Gate was 'cheerefully and melodiouslye' accompanied by the town waits with 'loude Musicke' (Garter p. 254).

²¹⁸ These texts have both been published as an appendix in *R.E.E.D. Norwich 1540-1642*, pp. 247-330. References to this edition are given in parentheses within the text.

This implies that the waits played their wind instruments, which almost certainly included shawms – an appropriate selection for an outdoor performance.²¹⁹

Elizabeth's exit from the main part of the city at St Benet's Gate the following Friday was also marked by music. After Garter himself delivered a speech mourning her departure, a song put the final touches to his part of the entertainments, with its unremittingly miserable words echoing the gloomy tone of 'frowning Friday' (Garter, p. 247). No wonder Churchyard 'resolved to do somewhat might make the Queene laugh' with an extra device within a short distance of the town (Churchyard, p. 327). The fact remains, however, that the planned ending of her visit required music for it to be properly 'rounded off'. The doleful song operated as a musical signal, indicating to all involved that it was the end of the device, and time for the Queen and her train to get moving.

Churchyard's Philosopher in his device of Venus and Cupid (on the fourth day of the visit) acknowledges music's structural role in the entertainments:

We stay, save that, some Musicke commes, to knitte in order
due,
 The substance of thys sillie Shew, that we present to you
(Churchyard, p. 312).

The implication that the show is about to end is, however, at odds with the fact that, after the four Maids of Chastity have sung the finalising song that the Philosopher is referring to, one of them gives a further spoken address, explaining their presence.

The Philosopher's speech may seem to be misplaced, therefore, something which, together with other oddities in Churchyard's account could imply that the text is corrupt. I would suggest that such apparent infelicities can instead be understood as a

²¹⁹ As Woodfill notes, waits were by this point so frequently associated with the shawm that they had become synonymous with it, since the instrument was often referred to as a 'wait-pipe' (Walter L. Woodfill, *Musicians in English Society from Elizabeth to Charles I* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953), p. 84).

consequence of the way the printed text was put together. It is apparent from the way that the devices are presented that the text is a patchwork of the material devised for the entertainments, stitched together with extra explanations to aid understanding. For each device, Churchyard gives an account of the action that took place (in the past tense), and summarises the idea behind it. The speeches themselves then follow separately, with occasional indications of the action (in the present tense). In the above example, for instance, the text prefaces the Philosopher's speech with the note that:

the Coatch softly commes on, with such Musicke as is devised, and sings not, untill the Coatch be before the Queue [sic], in the meane while the Philosopher speaketh (Churchyard, p. 312).

It seems likely that parts of the text like this were compiled from Churchyard's plans or instructions for the device – his foul papers, in effect. The descriptions summarising the devices and the event as a whole, were added later, in preparation for publication, as is suggested by Churchyard's insistence that 'before you reade the partes, you must throughly note what my discourse thereof hathe bin' (Churchyard, pp. 305-6).²²⁰ This hypothesis makes Churchyard's text far easier to decipher.

The timing of the Philosopher's speech may have been due to the necessity of having something to entertain during the entry of the four Maids and their coach. The seeming incongruity of the Philosopher's pronouncement is resolved if we understand music's function to 'knitte in order due' as not simply to signal the end or beginning of something, but to make sense of the material that has preceded it and that is about to come. Music articulates the progression of an entertainment, which, as well as points of ending and beginning, includes, as in this case, internal transitions of changes in subject and development in tone.

²²⁰ This practice seems to have been more or less the norm for professional writers of entertainments. Presumably they needed a quick turnaround from performance to printed text to fulfil their commission.

The show of Venus and Cupid had, up to this point, largely dealt with the adventures of a disgraced Cupid, stripped of his status as a god. After being lectured by both Chastity and the Philosopher, Cupid finds comfort with Wantonness and Riot, under whose guidance he falls into beggary. This tale has a clear affinity with popular drama, both in the dialogue between Cupid and the Philosopher, and the characters who lead Cupid into destitution.²²¹ After the departure of Cupid, the entrance of the four Maids brings the entertainment into a different register, and the words of the song engage with the politicisation of the preaching of chastity. Earlier in the entertainment, it had been explicitly stated to the Queen that the ‘chast life is thus thy choyce’ (Churchyard, p. 307), seemingly a fairly conventional way of flattering the Queen. The song goes further than this, however, when the four Maids contrast the chaste with the lewd life, and assert that

Chast life may dwell alone,
 and find few fellowes now,
 And sitte and rule in regall throne,
 and search lewd manners throw
 (Churchyard, p. 313).

Elizabeth’s capacity as a ruler, this implies, would be compromised by marriage – a significant assertion to make in the context of the French marriage negotiations that were in the process of resurfacing.²²² This allusion to the current political situation is what shifts this entertainment from quasi-morality play into quasi-courtly tableau, and it

²²¹ For example, the plight of Mankind at the hands of New Guise, Nought, Nowadays and Mischief in *Mankind*. See *Three Late Medieval Morality Plays: Mankind, Everyman, Mundus et infans*, ed. by G.A. Lester (London: Black, 1990).

²²² According to Neale, negotiations for a marriage to Henri III’s younger brother, Francis did not really become serious until January 1579, when Simier arrived to woo on his behalf. Nevertheless, as Wernham notes, the end of the fifth French War of Religion in September 1577 meant that Francis was now again open to offers. See J.E. Neale, *Queen Elizabeth* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1934), pp. 238-9, and R.B. Wernham, *The Making of Elizabethan Foreign Policy, 1558-1603* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), p. 52.

is music which negotiates this transition.²²³ Music functions here as both the medium for the politicisation of the core of the device, and as the signal for this change in register.

Music was also used to articulate the transitions between different pageants set up through the city to welcome the Queen on the day of her arrival. Elizabeth's route through the city took her to the market place, where a number of devices were staged. A fourteen-foot gate with two 'Chambers' mounted on smaller gates on either side and a stage area above had been specially erected for a device featuring Norwich and four worthy historical women at the entrance to the marketplace (Garter, p. 256). It is these chambers, 'replenished with Musicke' which harbour the 'Musitians' (presumably not the waits this time).²²⁴ This elevated positioning of the musicians is typical of civic pageantry, as it enables them to see the approaching train and sound a welcome accordingly. They 'used their loude Musicke' to accompany the procession, this time playing from 'the first sight of the Prince, and till hir Majesties comming to the Pageaunte' (Garter, p. 256). The music thus guides the procession to the show, accompanying the Queen's approach. It captures the attention of the onlookers, helping to ensure a graceful and uninterrupted beginning to the device, and sets the right atmosphere for the addresses from Norwich and four worthy women (Debora, Judeth, Hester and Martia) which follow. For instance, Norwich's first line refers to Fame's 'thundring Trump, which rends the ratling skeis' (Garter, p. 256). The music here helps

²²³ Revealingly, this reference comes directly after the Philosopher has asserted the symbolic nature of 'trifles' such as this show, claiming that through 'hollow wayes, and crooked pathes, appears the playnest ground' (Churchyard, p. 312).

²²⁴ Holman argues that the waits must have been supplemented by outside musicians at other points in the visit, because of the requirements of the mixed consort (p. 134). It is indeed hard to see how a band of only five musicians, even supplemented by apprentices, could have accompanied all of the pageants on the day of the entry. It is clear, therefore, that other musicians must have taken part in the entertainment. Hulse's account of the relative status of itinerant musicians and waits shows that noble patrons, at least, certainly did employ non-liveried independent musicians on occasion as well as waits (Hulse, pp. 88-103).

to enhance this declaration in advance, exemplifying through its actual sound the representation of Elizabeth's status and importance.

The description of the placing of the musicians is also interesting. They are described as being 'close in the Chambers' (Garter, p. 256), a phrase echoed later in the account when, on Elizabeth's departure, the musicians are arranged 'in a close place' on St Benet's Gate, 'made thereon for the purpose' (Garter, p. 276). This sense of enclosure may seem rather strange – after all, completely obscuring the musicians would be very unwise acoustically. Perhaps the phrase conveys a sense of a lack of visibility for most onlookers, emphasising their exclusion from the event. This may well be true, but 'close' also carries the sense of proximity to the action, and I would argue that this refers to the unique space that the musicians occupied in relation to the spectators.

The musicians, cloistered in an upper chamber, are safely out of the way of the path of the procession and any risk of being trampled by enthusiastic onlookers. But whilst the musicians are not on the ground, they are not exactly 'on-stage' either. On the day of Elizabeth's arrival, the chamber where they played was placed below the platform on which was staged the tableau of worthy women. The musicians are not part of the fictive scene on display, nor the audience, but instead occupy a liminal space between them. Although the music is incidental in relation to the display in the tableau, it does pertain to the narrative structure of the pageant as a whole by straddling the boundary between viewing and display. The musicians accompany not only the staged tableaux prepared for display to the Queen, but also the Queen and her train, prepared for display to the people of Norwich. The musicians negotiate these multi-directional gazes, directing the view of all categories of onlooker and indicating when this shifts.

As Elizabeth passed through the archway supporting the tableau, Garter's description indicates that the musicians changed tack. Having the Queen so nearby provided an opportunity for a different, more intimate sort of music: 'the Musitions within the gate upon their softe instruments used broken Musicke, and one of them did sing' (Garter, p. 261). The music's change of register indicates a shift in the pageant gaze. The loud music which had been played immediately before had announced Elizabeth's arrival at this part of the pageant, directing attention towards her approach. The speeches which followed are declamatory, addressing Elizabeth in the formal, public mode that is familiar from the rest of the pageant, and focusing attention upon her. The soft music redirects the focus to the pageant itself, and the words of the 'Dittie' which it accompanies describe a dream vision of Elizabeth, experienced by an unnamed persona in the first person singular. This subjective mode, speaking through song, is in a much more private and intimate register than the usual tenor of public speech and public music.

The combination of the dream vision with the use of 'broken' music and soft instruments in an outdoor procession raises several interesting issues. Firstly, as noted, the mode of address changes. Unlike the previous speeches by Norwich, Debora, Judeth, Hester and Martia, the song is delivered by an unnamed musician, not a fictional character. The words of the song describe a dream in which Elizabeth is presented as combining all of the virtues of the pagan gods. This descriptive mode is significantly different from the declamatory tone of the previous speeches, whose speakers described themselves, their myths and how their stories related to Elizabeth in explicit terms.

In terms of its poetic technique, however, the song is actually very similar to at least one of the earlier speeches. The broadly iambic pentameter is arranged into a stanza rhyming ABABCC. This is the same as the speech delivered by Hester. An

alliterative style is also shared by both. For example, Hester's speech begins 'The fretting heads of furious foes have skill' (Garter, p. 259), and the dream song begins 'FRom slumber softe I fell a sleepe, | From slepe to dreame, from dreame to depe delight' (Garter, p. 261).

It is the music which is the stylistic difference which marks the change in register from public declamation to intimate (musical) address. Garter's reference to the 'soft' instruments establishes that there was a striking contrast to the 'loud musick' mentioned earlier. It was the 'loud' music that was the usual instrumentation for outdoor performances, especially processions like this one, for obvious reasons.²²⁵ The reference to soft instruments denotes the kind played on indoor, and therefore more intimate, occasions – instruments such as stringed instruments, and perhaps flutes and voices.

Originating in medieval European courts, this distinction between indoor and outdoor, soft and loud, 'haut' and 'bas', had, by this stage, clear social implications.²²⁶ As Hulse points out, being an indoor musician brought a low-ranking servant into contact with the powerful, and resulted in a higher rate of pay than for other, similarly ranked, retainers.²²⁷ The nearer to the personage, the higher the status of the professional musician.

The soft music for Elizabeth at Norwich does not imply any change in status for her, rather, it implies a sophistication upon the part of those offering it, that is, the corporate body of the city, asserted in the texts as a unified, collective will represented by the entertainments. Whilst Elizabeth is outdoors, on the streets of Norwich, she is

²²⁵ Robert L. Weaver highlights the practicality of such performance conventions in 'Sixteenth-Century Instrumentation', *Musical Quarterly*, 47.3 (July 1961), 363-78 (p. 363).

²²⁶ Christina Bashford, 'Chamber Music', *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 14 March 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>. Keith McGowan discusses the medieval origins of the distinction and its European development in 'The Prince and the Piper: *Haut, Bas* and the Whole Body in Early Modern Europe', *Early Music*, 27.2 (May 1999), 211-32 (see especially pp. 211 and 225-6).

²²⁷ Hulse, p. 297.

also indoors, within the temporary arch. Whilst a multitude is represented, a single voice speaks their unified thoughts through song. Whilst describing the fantasy of gods and goddesses, the truth of Elizabeth's virtues is revealed. Ostentatious in its very lack of ostentation, the soft music is explicitly for Elizabeth's ears alone. In being so, it advertises the town's closeness to the Queen at this moment. The musicians, playing the soft music of the intimate chamber, embody the town, representing its multitude as the court musician granted privileged proximity to the monarchical body.

So far, we have discussed music's functionality as a cue for managing the logistical and thematic transitions of the Queen's entry into the city. These practical signals also, as we have seen, brought with them connotations of class, status and situation which can serve as indications of the ways in which the entertainment's organisers and sponsors conceived of their project and the ways in which they could portray themselves. This understanding can be furthered by examining the ways in which music also operated as an emotional cue, for both courtly and civic spectators.

The song of lamentation performed at Elizabeth's departure appeals to the residents of Norwich in heightened emotional terms:

WHAT vayleth life, where sorrowe soakes the harte?
 Who feareth Death that is in deepe distresse?
 Release of life doth best abate the smarte
 Of him, whose woes are quite without redresse.
 Lend me your teares, resigne your sighes to me,
 Helpe all to waile the dolor whych you see.

What have wee done, shee will no longer stay?
 What may we do to holde hir with us still?
 Shee is oure Queene, wee subjectes muste obey.
 Graunt, though with grieffe to hir departing will.
 Conclude wee then, and sing with sobbing breath,
 God length thy life, (oh Queene ELIZABETH)
 (Garter, pp. 277-8).

The song demands the emotional input of the civic spectators. They are asked to contribute the vocalisations of sighs, sobs and wails, as well as tears, to supplement the inadequacy of the singer's efforts to express grief at Elizabeth's removal. The song is an act of ventriloquy in which one singer articulates the assumed feelings of the city's population at losing the Queen's presence.²²⁸ Music's expressiveness is thus implicitly enlisted in the task of communicating the emotional response of the city to the Queen. This response is a recurring theme throughout Garter's description of the pageants and is presented as denoting the extent and sincerity of the city's loyalty to Elizabeth.

This concern also features in Churchyard's description. In the first song in his account, music is both a temporal and emotional cue:

[...] let frutefull heartes I saye,
at Drumme and Trumpet sound
Yeelde that is due, shew that is meete
to make our joy the more
(Churchyard, p. 298).

This lyric articulates the importance of music and its proper response. The drums and trumpets alert onlookers to the arrival of the procession, but they are also portrayed as helping to both stimulate and enact a demonstration of inner feeling. Thus, music is a mechanism which has the power to unlock the secrets of the heart and enable them to be poured forth at the appropriate moment.

The sense that the entertainment grants Elizabeth access to the true inner feelings of her subjects permeates both writers' presentations of the event. This is exemplified in Churchyard's declaration of modesty at the beginning of his account. He asserts that he has not produced the text because 'it merits anye greate memorie, nor claymeth credite. but onely that myne honest intente may bee thereby expressed, and my friendes maye

²²⁸ The ways in which pageant music ventriloquises the response of spectators will be discussed in further detail in Chapter 6 on Chester.

see how glad I am to honor God, my Prince, and my Countrey' (Churchyard, p. 297). His text of the entertainment can thus embody his political beliefs and 'true' feelings to a sympathetic audience.²²⁹

It is not only his own emotional state that Churchyard seeks to portray in his account. In his address to the reader of his text, Churchyard asserts that 'a generall consent of duetie and obedience was seene thorough the whole Countrey' (Churchyard, p. 294). The welcomes that Elizabeth experienced during her travels through Suffolk and Norfolk were not 'feyned ceremonies', he asserts, but the expression of true humility. Churchyard highlights Norwich in particular as a place where properly respectful gestures were observed by the common people, and in doing so, he offers an insight into the way that progresses and public appearances were understood. Churchyard decries the 'stiffnecked behaviour of some places' where the 'proude people will passe by many of the Nobilitie, withoute moving eyther cappe or knee'.²³⁰ In contrast to this shocking behaviour, the people of Norfolk and Suffolk show proper reverence. Throughout the progress, 'the inwarde affections of the people was playnely expressed by their outward apparance, and manifest curtesies' (Churchyard, p. 294).

This claim that outward appearances give an unfettered and transparent insight into the true feelings and beliefs of individuals and social groups is one which is repeated throughout the texts of the Norwich entertainments. The events themselves are presented as external evidence of the loyalty of Elizabeth's subjects. The assertion of

²²⁹ One of Churchyard's sympathetic listeners is, he later asserts, Elizabeth herself. Churchyard's description of the brief appearance of Mercury at Elizabeth's window ends by citing Elizabeth's approval, saying 'happe was so good, and the gracious favour of the Prince, that all was well taken, and construed to the best meaning of the Devisor' (Churchyard, p. 303).

²³⁰ This bears an interesting resemblance to the sixteenth-century Venetian insult 'stiff-backed', which described someone lacking the appropriate social graces of the ceremonious political arena. See Peter Burke, *Venice and Amsterdam: A Study of Seventeenth-Century Elites*, 2nd edn. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994), pp. 79-80.

the entertainments as expressive in this way is an indication of the way that progresses were understood within Elizabethan epistemology.

The Elizabethan regime, based as it was upon a renewed assertion of divine will, required the demonstration of loyalty from all, especially in the form of religious conformity. Part of the importance of the progresses was that they enabled the political regime to carry out surveillance.²³¹ Churchyard's list of those who were visited by Elizabeth on this progress certainly does seem to contain a high proportion of people who suffered later for Catholic sympathies of varying degrees.²³² The emergence of the term 'church papist' in the early 1580s, as charted by Alexandra Walsham,²³³ indicates a growing awareness of the potential disjunction between outward conformity and inner dissent. The pageant descriptions deny this uncomfortable unknowability, and insist upon their ability to convey, without fear of deception, the inner feelings of the people.

The progresses were a type of revelation of the monarch's power, displaying a visible manifestation of an authority that was usually exercised at a distance and by proxy. The texts demonstrate how an entry to a city shows not only Elizabeth to her subjects, but also her subjects to Elizabeth. Just as the private householders who hosted Elizabeth and her retinue had to display their loyalty, so too did the city. The pageant also displays the loyalty of the population to those very people themselves, reminding

²³¹ Cole in particular looks at the relationship between the progresses and religious policy in 'Religious Conformity and the Progresses of Elizabeth I' (op. cit.).

²³² The most obvious example here is Philip Howard, Earl of Surrey, who hosted Elizabeth twice during the progress, and who was eventually imprisoned in the Tower of London for his Roman Catholicism. Sir William Cordall (or Cordell), who was one of the earliest hosts on this progress had been Solicitor-General under Queen Mary, and a member of her privy council. This perhaps explains the lavishness of his expenditure when he hosted Elizabeth – according to Churchyard, he 'did lighte such a Candle to the rest of the Sheere, that many were glad bountifully and franckly to follow the same example, with such charges and cost. as the whole trayne were in some sort pleased therewith' (Churchyard, p. 296). Other hosts cited by Churchyard include Sir Thomas Kitson, who faced constant accusations of Catholicism for most of his life, despite his professed conversion.

²³³ Alexandra Walsham, *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England*, Royal Historical Society Studies in History, 68 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1993).

them of what they should think, and demanding their participation in it. Thus, the multifocal pageant gaze also looks in upon itself, as evinced by the self-reflexive assertions of transparency in the text.

The issue of knowability is at the very heart of pageantry, which uses emblematic representation as its primary means of conveying meaning. This sense of a paradoxical ability to show the unshowable is often part of the textual description of the event, a product of consideration after the fact. Yet it also surfaces during the performance in the speeches of the fictional devices on show. This has been discussed in relation to Churchyard's device of Venus and Cupid, where the Philosopher's speech examined ways of knowing, and it was also present in the masque written by Garter, referred to him as 'an excellent Princely Maske [...] of Gods & Goddesses' (Garter, p. 271). This took place on the night before Elizabeth's departure. It featured a procession of gods and goddesses, each carrying a symbolic gift for Elizabeth. The characters came forwards in pairs to present their gifts to the Queen, each delivering a short verse oration explaining the meaning of the gift. For example, Jupiter explains that the 'small and slender wand' he presented signifies that Elizabeth does not need to use harsh chastisement to maintain order (Garter, p. 272).

This sense of the esoteric meaning hidden in ordinary objects may seem like a precursor of the hermeneutics of Jonson's masques, but a closer analogue is the emblem book. In discussing Geoffrey Whitney's 'normative model' of the emblem, Michael Bath identifies a tripartite structure in which the 'emblem presents us with an epigram which resolves the enigmatic relation between motto and picture by appealing to received meanings which its images have in established iconographic systems of Western

culture'.²³⁴ Bath cautions against describing pageant devices as 'emblematic',²³⁵ but in the maske's case, its combination of visual symbol and textual explication does provide us with an emblematic pageant. The gifts presented the spectators with a visual enigma, which was then resolved by the explanatory speeches.²³⁶ The intertextuality of the emblem, as highlighted by Bath,²³⁷ clearly plays its part in the meanings of the maske at Norwich where three-dimensional emblems interact with their setting and context as well as the verse and visual presentation.

A further dimension is added to the spectacle by its use of music. The maske procession includes what Garter describes as 'a consort of Musicke. viz sixe Musitions' (Garter, p. 271), and which scholars have interpreted as another use of the mixed consort.²³⁸ The sounding of music during the entrance and processions of the characters thus brought with it the associations of sophistication and high social class discussed in the previous chapter (pp. 72-4). Not only that, but the presence of music also provides a suggestion of the kinds of musical esotericism that accounts for the arcane connectivity between symbol and meaning that the entertainment appeals to.²³⁹

Furthermore, music features more directly in the symbolism of the maske when Apollo presents Elizabeth with 'an Instrument called a Bandonet' (Garter, p. 274). Instead of speaking his lines, Apollo sings to the Queen, accompanying himself on the bandonet, before presenting it to her.

²³⁴ Michael Bath, *Speaking Pictures: English Emblem Books and Renaissance Culture* (London: Longman, 1994), p. 74.

²³⁵ Bath, p. 24.

²³⁶ This sense of secret knowledge is also very suggestive of Javitch's approach to the allegorising tendencies of court poetry. He cites Whitney's 1586 *A Choice of Emblemes*, where Whitney defines emblems as 'having some wittie devise expressed with cunning workemanship some thing obscure to be perceived at first, whereby, when with further consideration it is understood, it maie the greater delight the beholder' (Daniel Javitch, *Poetry and Courtliness in Renaissance England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978, p. 79).

²³⁷ Bath, p. 31.

²³⁸ Ian Harwood, for example. I am grateful to Ian Harwood for allowing me to read his work in progress. See also Holman, p. 134.

²³⁹ See Introduction above, pp. 35-44.

IT seemeth straunge to see such strangers here,
 Yet not so straunge, but straungers knows you well:
 Your vertuous thoughts to Gods do plaine appeare.
 Your acts on earth bewraies how you excell:
 You cannot die, Love here hath made your lease,
 Whiche Gods have sent, and God sayeth shal not cease
 Vertuous desire desired me to sing,
 No Subjects sute, thoughe suters they were all,
 APOLLOS gifts are subjects to no King,
 Rare are thy gifts, that did APOLLO call,
 Then still rejoyce, sithens God and Man say so,
 This is my gift, thou never shalt have woe (Garter, p. 274)

The wordplay of this song is itself centred around ideas of knowing, for example the references to strangers in the first two lines. The punning itself draws attention to the multiplicity of potential meaning. When Apollo disavows any intention to bring a 'Subjects sute' to the Queen, he refers to supplication in general, but also, surely, to the possibility of a French marriage for Elizabeth. In asserting that 'suters they were all', Apollo portrays the marriage suitor as a feudal suter, that is, a retainer, or follower.²⁴⁰ The implication is clear: Elizabeth has no suitors worthy of her. This is confirmed by several other moments in the maske, including Cupido's gift of a gold arrow with the declaration that 'Thoughe some deserve, yet none deserve like you' (Garter, p. 276). The confluence of modes of signification in wordplay, music and emblem heighten the sense of the layers of possible meaning.

Elizabeth, by contrast, Apollo's song suggests, is 'plaine', her virtue is obvious and unavoidable. The evidence of this virtue is also supplied by the song, which claims that the gods have access to her 'vertuous thoughts'. Mere mortals, on the other hand, can read these inner thoughts through her 'acts on earth', action being, it is suggested, the transparent evidence by which the true nature of a person's inner being can be known. The song asserts Elizabeth's knowability, and the transparency of the signs of her inner

²⁴⁰ Listed as sense 2 of 'suitor' in the *OED*.

virtue at the very moment when esoteric, hidden meaning and its doubleness is being foregrounded.

If Elizabeth is 'plaine', then misunderstanding her is not possible and therefore an act of wilful malice. This works both ways, however, and Elizabeth's response to the pageants is charted by both writers. Garter recalls how the Queen paid the Master of Norwich Grammar School, Stephen Limbert, special favour after his Latin oration, allowing him to kiss her hand. The significance of this seal of approval is clear from the fact that Limbert's oration (helpfully provided with an English translation in Garter's account) ends with a declaration of loyalty in specifically military terms. Bearing this in mind, Garter's account begins to seem rather pointed, especially when he notes that 'Immediatly after the beginning of the Oration, hir Majesty called to hir the Frenche Embassadors, wherof there were .iiij. and divers English Lords, & willed them to harken' (Garter, p. 271). The entertainment text stresses the national and international resonance of its meanings, and Elizabeth's response not only ratifies this sense of self-importance, but also validates it through her correct interpretation of the worth of the oration. Not only is Elizabeth an exemplary text, therefore, she is also an exemplary reader.

Both accounts of the entertainments at Norwich deliver anti-marriage sentiments. Churchyard goes further than Garter when, in his Venus-Cupid device, Chastity explicitly states the 'chast life is thus thy choyce' and asserts that Elizabeth has an impenetrable, stone heart (Churchyard, p. 307). The triumph of Chastity over Cupid, and by extension, the argument for the Queen's continuing unmarried status, is presented in the entertainments as an instance of the Queen's autonomy winning out over the desires of courtly advisers for her to marry. For instance, in addition to the emphasis upon Elizabeth's 'choyce', Churchyard's figure of Chastity also asserts that

the Queen's 'heart is free from bondage yoke'. This kind of rhetoric could only make justifying the French marriage more difficult. Garter's Cupido in his maske makes very clear that the agency regarding the marriage belongs to Elizabeth. The arrows of others, he asserts are merely wood and gilt, and only Elizabeth is entitled to the truly golden arrow. 'Many here woulde crave' this gift, Cupido tells her, 'Yet none, but thou, this golden Shaft maye have' (Garter, p. 276).

A more immediately local concern than this wider political context, however, was the continuing controversy over the taxation of the wool trade and cloth industry. The so-called 'new draperies' manufactured in Norwich, initially by Dutch and Walloon refugees, since the mid-1560s had been exempt from the taxation imposed upon traditional cloth.²⁴¹ Their success had saved the cloth-making industry in Norfolk, which had come close to collapse in the economic crisis of 1551.²⁴² By the mid-1570s, however, two enterprising gentlemen pensioners had spotted the anomaly and were preparing an application for letters patent allowing them to collect the tax known as aulnage on the new draperies.²⁴³ On 22 July 1578, less than a month before Elizabeth's arrival in Norwich, William Fitzwilliam and George Delves were appointed as aulnagers for a term of seven years, a measure that met with considerable opposition in Norwich.²⁴⁴ On 15 May 1580, the city succeeded in getting the remaining five years of patent transferred to two aldermen, who promptly invested the rights in the city itself.

²⁴¹ The new draperies were cheaper, lighter and smaller than the traditional cloths manufactured in East Anglia during the earlier part of the century (G.D. Ramsay, *The English Woollen Industry, 1500-1750* (London: Macmillan, 1982), p. 14).

²⁴² Peter J. Bowden, *The Wool Trade in Tudor and Stuart England* (London: Macmillan, 1962), p. 6. See also John E. Pilgrim, 'The Cloth Industry in East Anglia', in *The Wool Textile Industry in Great Britain*, ed. by J. Geraint Jenkins (London: Routledge, 1972), pp. 252-68 (p. 253).

²⁴³ Aulnage had originated as a quality control measure to ensure that cloth met statutory dimensions. According to Ramsay, the rate in this period was 4d. per broadcloth (Ramsay, p. 58).

²⁴⁴ K.J. Allison, 'The Wool Supply and the Worsted Cloth Industry in Norfolk in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Leeds, 1955), Part 2, pp. 612-3.

At this point, the city authorities ceased their legal objections to the tax, and began to set about collecting it.²⁴⁵

The disputes over aulnage set the city of Norwich against the interests of individual courtiers, but the city authorities were also engaged in a similar dispute with their counterparts in London. In 1576, the London Lord Mayor had tried to force the cloth merchants of Norwich to store their goods under the supervision of the London authorities, for which they would be charged hallage. Needless to say, the Norwich authorities objected strongly and in 1577 the Norwich Assembly forbade the payment of such hallage. The row was still going on during the summer of 1578.²⁴⁶

It is in the midst of these controversies that the Norwich authorities staged the display of weaving described by Bernard Garter in his account of the royal entry. When a boy who ‘represented the Common welth of the Citie’ declared that ‘In this small shewe, our whole estate is seene. | The welth we have, we finde procede from thence’, Elizabeth is specifically invoked as their supporter. She is described as the town’s ‘cheife defence’ and the speech ends with the assertion that ‘Thus through thy helpe and ayde of power devine, | Doth NORWICH live, whose harts and goods are thine!’ The dependence of the town upon the cloth industry is emphasised at every possible point (Garter, p. 255).

The entertainments at Norwich thus present themselves as going above the intermediaries of the court, appealing to Elizabeth directly, both in terms of the local concerns about the cloth trade, but also in terms of national policy. The controversies over the hallage fees were eventually settled by the Privy Council,²⁴⁷ rather than the

²⁴⁵ This was by no means the end of the saga, however, as wrangling over the patent continued into James’s reign. Allison’s thesis is the only detailed account of the affair (Allison, p. 612 ff).

²⁴⁶ Allison, pp. 591-3.

²⁴⁷ In 1579, the Privy Council ruled that the Norwich merchants could store their cloths in warehouses of their own choosing.

Queen directly, but the entertainment presented the case as part of a special appeal to Elizabeth herself. Just as the country house entertainment could assert a special relationship between the host and the Queen, so too did these entertainments assert a special relationship between the Queen and the people of Norwich. As we have seen, it was the musical elements of the entertainment that enabled the pageant to put forward this collective agenda, and to assert the unified, homogenous character of that collectivity.

Chapter 4: The Jacobean Masque Part 1, Dance

Dance was central to the masque. It was the vehicle for the genre's blending of fiction and reality, negotiating the moment when the fictional universe of the masque was integrated with the world of the court. Dance enabled the masquers to retain their fictional personae whilst actively engaging with the real world, embodying simultaneously both their disguised persona and their actual social identity. Indeed, the revels demanded this simultaneity of identity in that both masquing roles and elevated social roles were essential for their enactment.

The revels emphasised the performativity of identity itself. A masquer's fictional persona masked his or her 'real' identity, yet that identity was constituted in social acts which placed the individual within the highly hierarchised social grouping of the court. The masque was thus a heightening of a pre-existing performativity. Dance was peculiarly appropriate for enacting this hybridity, because in social dances like the revels, the dancer was neither wholly performer nor spectator, but a participant who engages in both activities.

Dance formalises and symbolically enacts social, sexual, and hierarchical relationships. It enabled the masque to exercise a coercive social conservatism by casting its participants in the role of enacting the responsibilities that the masque aimed to project onto them. This sense of the educative 'affect' of dance may not fully live up to its magical claims, but enacting a version of their imposed or chosen social role can have an affirming influence upon participants.²⁴⁸ The execution of complex

²⁴⁸ This can be seen in Spencer's theory of dance as social control. He cites the example of eighteenth-century debutantes who, at their first public appearances, had to perform a minuet in front of the assembled company (Paul Spencer, 'Introduction: Interpretations of the Dance in Anthropology', in *Society and the Dance*, ed. by Paul Spencer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 1-46 (p. 8)).

codes of movement both denotes and exemplifies conformity to a set of arbitrary social rules. In this way, courtly dance was a central part of the masque's didactic strategy.

In contrast to its display of social conformity, dance also provided the opportunity for the virtuosic display of individual distinction. By a strategic combination of superlative ability in the usual configurations of steps with the skilful interpolation of new variations, an individual could elevate their identity within that of the group. The dance is thus an analogue for the complex manoeuvres of social mobility at court.²⁴⁹ That dance was particularly appropriate to this combination of conservatism and transformation can be seen from the philosophical and aesthetic preferences which shaped the dance of the court masque, as articulated through two key concepts: variety and restraint.

The first section of this chapter will focus on the ways in which masque texts present dance, and their attempts to shape the response to dance both in performance, through dialogue and lyrics, and in the text's afterlife, through description. This section will firstly examine the traditions and myths upon which masques based their representations of dance. It will then consider the way that moral censure of dance produced defensive strategies in those representations. Finally, the aesthetics of Jacobean courtly dance, and the importance of variety and restraint will be discussed in order to place masque dance within its immediate cultural context.

The second section will discuss the practical manifestations of dance in the masque. It will examine the different ways dance was employed in antimasques, 'main' masques and the revels respectively, discussing the ways in which these different manifestations

²⁴⁹ It also replicates categories of gender, in that, within dance conventions, opportunities of virtuosic display were more readily available to men.

of dance interacted with the masque's projection of social hierarchy. The chapter will end by briefly considering the presentation and practice of dance together.

The absence of written choreographies for English masque dance has resulted in far less scholarly attention being paid to this area of dance than, say, French court ballet. Although there is little information given in individual masque texts regarding precise choreography, it is nevertheless possible to gather the references to dance together to build up an impression of the functions and importance of practical dance in the masque. The information gleaned is not just made up of the stage directions or descriptions in masque texts, but also what can be inferred from the speeches and songs of the characters in the masques. This can then be compared with extra-textual material such as information from eyewitness reports of the occasion, and financial accounts. Through analysis of this information, this chapter illuminates the relationship between the stated purpose of the dances in the masque and the significance of their actual characteristics.

The presentation of dance in the masque

Dance Myth and Tradition

The most obvious model for masque portrayals of dance is Lucian's *The Dance* (originated AD 162-165). This was, ostensibly, an apologia that justified dancing because of the precedent set at the creation of the universe when an orderly dance of the heavens had replaced chaos. Earthly dance is thus morally sound because it replicates this planetary harmony in microcosm. The theme of this text is not necessarily entirely serious, however. Crato's references to the intoxicating song of the Sirens when he expresses his determination to listen to Lycinus's arguments in favour of dance, alert us

to the dangers of both music and rhetoric.²⁵⁰ Crato's initial objections that dancing is 'effeminate' and an 'unworthy' substitute for time spent reading philosophy (p. 211), are swept aside by the end, to the extent that Crato asks Lycinus to save him a seat at the theatre the next time there is a dance performance. Crato's wholehearted conversion to Lycinus's point of view by the end of the dialogue is probably, therefore, ironic. Furthermore, *The Dance* deals with a kind of pantomimic dancing which acted out the song-narrative that accompanied it. This is clearly vastly different to the abstract courtly dance of the masque. Nevertheless, neither of these factors seems to have discounted its arguments for later writers, and many of the themes of Lycinus's defence of dancing recur in later writing.

Perhaps the single English work which is most indebted to the influence of *The Dance* is Sir John Davies's poem *Orchestra* (1595). Davies borrows much from Lucian, and also has his own unreliable speaker, the suitor Antinous, whose attempts to persuade Penelope to dance constitute the poem's subject-matter. Davies elaborates Lucian's portrayal of dance's primordial role, constructing it as order itself. Love charms the disparate elements into forming the universe, filled with the planets whose 'movings doe a musick frame, | And they themselves, still daunce unto the same' (19.6-7).²⁵¹ Love later puts quarrelling humanity into social order, in a reflection of the dance of the planets and stars.

The primordial nature of dance and its role in Creation is referred to in *The Masque of Beauty*, when it is declared in song that it is 'motion' (l. 269) which Love teaches the newly-concordant elements at the moment of creation. Another example of Lucian's

²⁵⁰ Lucian, 'The Dance' in *Lucian*, trans. by A.M. Harmon, 8 vols (London: Heinemann, 1913-1967), v (1936), 209-289 (pp. 215-9). Further references to this edition are given after quotations in the text.

²⁵¹ Sir John Davies, 'Orchestra', in *The Poems of Sir John Davies*, ed. by Robert Kreuger (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), pp. 87-126 (p. 95). Further references to this edition are given as stanza and line numbers after quotations in the text.

influence stems from his portrayal of Orpheus as, first and foremost, a dancer and founder of mystery cults (*The Dance*, p. 229). This is most clearly reflected in the Orpheus of Campion's *The Lords' Masque*, who acts as a kind of impresario, directing and controlling the music and its effects.

As well as these mythical and mystic precedents for the prestige of dance, another influential argument provided by *The Dance* is the idea that dance has educative benefits both for the performer and the observer. For the performer, it is the 'best balanced of gymnastic exercises' since it builds strength as well as suppleness and the ability 'to be adroit in shifting' (p. 275). For the beholder, the dance not only delights, it also teaches moral lessons through the stories that dancers narrate in their mime, using a 'magic that works its spell through the eye and ear alike' (p. 275). Lycinus describes dance as a universal sign language of gesture, giving the anecdote of a barbarian who, being only 'half Hellenised' (p. 269) could not understand the Greek of the song words accompanying the dance, but was able to understand the meaning through the dancer's movements.

Despite the very clear differences between this view of dance as narrative and the abstract quality of a Renaissance courtly dance, the physical and spiritual educative power of dance is readily accepted by later commentators. The educative efficacy of dance is based upon the neoplatonic understanding of musical harmony and its assertion of the connectedness between micro- and macrocosm through proportional similarities (see Introduction, pp. 35-44). Through the doctrine of affinity, music and dance become not merely metaphorical representations, but also magical facilitators for the thing(s) they signify, drawing out the soul and restoring it to its divinity, or calming the

disorders of the body and the state.²⁵² They are emblems which, because they represent connectedness, *are* connected, giving them a mystical, magical level of influence and power.

The earliest Renaissance dance treatises exercised great care to justify their art through the same neoplatonic theories which supported music's reputation as a quasi-magical force. For instance, the fifteenth-century choreographer Guglielmo Ebreo da Pesaro (also known as Giovanni Ambrosio), begins his *On The Practice or Art of Dancing* by invoking musical myths such as those relating to Orpheus and Apollo. He attaches their prestige to dance by saying 'the virtue of dancing is an external demonstration of spiritual *movimenti* which corresponds with the orderly arranged and perfect consonances of the harmony'.²⁵³ This tradition of linking dance to neoplatonic cosmic harmony continued in later treatises. Fabritio Caroso's *Nobiltà di Dame* (first published in 1600 as a revised version of his 1581 *Il Ballarino*), for instance, included a diagram purporting to explain how the dance entitled *Contrapasso Nuovo* follows 'perfect theoretical and mathematical principles'. A diagram showed the floor pattern traced by the dancers with steps claimed to be based upon the meter of Ovid's verse.²⁵⁴

It is this tracing of significant shapes or letters in the choreography that is the location for most masque claims for the neoplatonic efficacy of dance. Masque texts present these symbols as evidence that the dance is an esoteric emblem from which its participants and spectators will learn profound truths. This learning process is by no means automatic, however, as can be seen from Jonson's uses of the term 'curious' to describe the dances of the courtly masquers. It is by far his most common way of

²⁵² Yates, *French Academies*, pp. 36-76.

²⁵³ *Fifteenth-Century Dance and Music: Twelve Transcribed Italian Treatises and Collections in the Tradition of Domenico da Piacenza*, trans. by A. William Smith, 2 vols (New York: Pendragon Press, 1995), I, p. 126

²⁵⁴ *Nobiltà di Dame*, trans. and ed. by Julia Sutton and F. Marian Walker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 42-44.

describing the masquers' dances, and is a way of praising both the performance of the dancers and the skilfulness of the choreography. For instance, Jonson notes in *The Haddington Masque*, that the masquers' dances were '*all full of elegancy and curious device*', (l. 297) and in *The Masque of Queens* that the first two masque dances were '*right curious and full of subtile and excellent changes*' (ll. 490-491). 'Curious' suggests an elaborate intricacy which invites a closer gaze, and holds the possibility of a hidden meaning within its patterns. Thus, Jonson treats dance as being part of the same mysterious sphere of knowledge as music, the experience of which exercises beneficial influence upon both spectators and observers.

Jonson explicitly relates dance to number, and through that to the doctrine of proportion and harmony used to support music's status as the most important member of the medieval quadrivium. In *Mercury Vindicated*, the masquers' first dance is constructed as expressing the numerical basis of the harmony of the universe when the Chorus introduce it by calling on the masquers to 'come forth, prove all the numbers then | That make perfection up' (ll. 184-5). In the description of *The Masque of Queens*, the notion is even more plain. After having said of the masquers' third dance that '*a more numerous composition could not be seen*' (ll. 505-6), Jonson goes on to declare that the dancers' '*motions were so even and apt and their expression so just, as if mathematicians had lost proportion they might there have found it*' (ll. 508-10). Dance can thus translate numbers into action, representing in an abstract form the righteous action that harmonious thinking produces. Dance becomes an emblem in motion, with the speeches and songs around it serving as exegesis.

Daedalus' speeches in *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue* make the educative power of dance clear when he claims that it '*Not only shows the mover's wit, | But maketh the beholder wise*' (ll. 241-2). This passage attempts to pre-define the audience's response

to the dance they are about to see, especially considering a caveat at the end of the passage which warns that dance only makes the beholder wise ‘As he hath power to rise to it’ (l. 243). It places the responsibility for the nature of the dances’ affect upon the beholder themselves. They must engage seriously with the moral emblems being played out, and make an effort to exercise reason to truly understand and benefit from the neoplatonic affect of the dance.

This is why the term ‘curious’ features so prominently in Jonson’s descriptions of masque dance. It, along with other common words such as ‘labyrinth’ and ‘knot’, testify to a sense of meaningfulness in the patterns traced by the dancers’ movements across the floor, but which is a kind of meaning located in the obscure and arcane. The discernibility and understandability of these symbols is minimised because it is this very difficulty of understanding which endues them with the air of significance established by mystic and literary traditions of dance.

Moral Censure and Defence

The influence of myths and theories of dance provided the metaphysical terms in which it was described. But the moral claims made for dance also reflect an awareness that dance was openly condemned by religious commentators. Described as ‘the vilest vice of all’ by John Northbrooke, the main objection to dance seems to have stemmed from the fact that it licensed contact between members of the opposite sex.²⁵⁵ Northbrooke opines that ‘although honest matrimonies are sometime brought to pass by dauncing, yet much more often are adulteries and fornications wonte to follow of these daunces’.²⁵⁶ Dance at court is rarely, if ever explicitly criticised, however. Thomas

²⁵⁵ John Northbrooke, *A Treatise Against Dicing, Dancing, Plays and Interludes*, ed. by J. Payne Collier, (London: Shakespeare Society, 1843), p. 159.

²⁵⁶ Northbrooke, p. 171.

Lovell comes closest to it in his 1581 verse dialogue between Custom and Verity. Custom declares that Christmas, at least, is an appropriate time for dancing, and that the evidence for this is that

Wee se it with some gentlemen,
a common use to be:
At that time to pruide [sic] to have,
some pleasant minstrelsie.

Verity's scathing reply notes that the vice of dancing has indeed been 'highly esteemed', but that 'men of countenance and welth' should provide preachers and sermons at Christmas, not 'heathnish dauncing in their house' and 'a sea of vice'.²⁵⁷

The fate of William Prynne, writing rather later under Charles's rule, gives an indication of the risks involved in being seen to criticise royal or court activity.²⁵⁸ In the Jacobean period, rather than explicit criticism of the masque, there seems to have been more of an uneasy sense of defensiveness amongst its practitioners.²⁵⁹ Masque writers engage with the concerns of moralists in several ways in their attempts to shape the response of spectators and readers to the events they witnessed or read about. Whether successful or not, these strategies can offer an insight into the social dynamics of dance in the masque.

The requirements of self-justification were to become central to Ben Jonson's development of the masque. Without a moral backbone, the masque was a degenerate

²⁵⁷ Thomas Lovell, *A Dialogue Between Custom and Veritie Concerning the Use and Abuse of Dauncing and Minstrelsie* (London: 1581), no pagination (EEBO image 19/34).

²⁵⁸ Prynne was accused of targeting the Queen in his denunciation of women appearing on stage in *Histrion-mastix* in 1633, and was punished by having his ears mutilated. Further controversy resulted in the complete amputation of his ears in 1637. William M. Lamont's account of the affair places it in the context of Prynne's struggle with Laud (*Marginal Prynne: 1600-1669* (London: Routledge, 1963), pp. 28-40).

²⁵⁹ Jonson's desire to 'write | Things manly', rather than his previous 'idolatrie' expressed in his Epigram 'To My Muse', stems from the same discomfort at being associated with the masque as Francis Bacon's famous dismissal of them as 'but Toyes', before he goes on to specify in detail how a masque should be done (*The Poems of Ben Jonson*, ed. by Bernard H. Newdigate (Oxford: Blackwell, 1936), p. 20; Francis Bacon, 'Of Masques and Triumphs', in *A Harmony of the Essays of Francis Bacon*, ed. by Edward Arber (London: English Reprints, 1971), pp. 539-40 (p. 539)).

form which did nothing more than congratulate its participants. At first, Jonson's attempts to teach through praise in the masque seem part of a desire, expressed in the preface to *The Masque of Blackness* (1605), to forge his place in the poetic tradition of preserving the reputation of noble people for posterity. As the optimism of the new reign faded into cynicism, Jonson's masques took on an educative urgency, as illustrated by Jonson's dedication to Prince Henry in the Quarto edition of *The Masque of Queens* (1609), where he looks forward to the great deeds of Henry's future.²⁶⁰

Jonson's masques develop the idea of the persuasive influence of the poetry of praise through their strategy of causing the masquers to enact the behaviour expected of them. This is exemplified by the verbal use of 'figure' in *Love Restored*. Cupid introduces the dances by declaring that the intention is 'to figure the ten ornaments | That do each courtly presence grace' (ll. 241-2). In this way, he makes the masquers embody the ten ornaments, or ideal features, of the courtier. This is achieved through dance in that the dance displays these features in a 'figure', or visual display, but it also 'figures' the masquers themselves, fashioning or re-fashioning them into self-fulfilling moral exemplars. Through a combination of music, dance, and language, the masquers figure forth speaking pictures which actively and invasively re-figure their participants and spectators.

Hymenaei (1606) also uses dance to mingle political and moral lessons with entertainment.²⁶¹ Within the world of the masque, any sense of disruptive factionalism is defeated by a harmonious blending, wherein dance is shown to have the power to temper a disordered society. Reason commands that the troublesome Humours and Affections, personated by eight male masquers, be put in their dancing places by Order:

²⁶⁰ Ben Jonson: *The Complete Masques*, pp. 478-9.

²⁶¹ See D.J. Gordon, 'Hymenaei: Ben Jonson's Masque of Union', in *The Renaissance Imagination: Essays and Lectures by D.J. Gordon*, ed. by Stephen Orgel (London: University of California Press, 1975), pp. 157-184.

And rank them so, in several traces,
 As they may set their mixed powers
 Unto the music of the hours (ll. 251-3).

The dance will combine the disruptive Humours and Affections with the female masquers personifying the virtuous powers of Juno, bringing the rebellious element under control, and human society into unity. Jonson's notes make explicit the affinity-based connection between disorder in the body and in the state.

First, as in natural bodies, so likewise in minds, there is no disease or distemperature but is caused either by some abounding humour or perverse affection; after the same manner, in politic bodies (where order, ceremony, state, reverence, devotion are parts of the mind) by the difference or predominant will of what we metaphorically call *humors* and *affections* all things are troubled and confused.²⁶²

Thus, the realignment of disordered bodies through the ordered motion of dance represents the reform of troubled elements of the state through proper ceremony. Dance is both the appropriate medium to demonstrate this ceremonial remedy and the means of effecting it.

The masque's sense of morality was also achieved through Jonson's development of the antimasque. Jonson notes in the text of *The Masque of Queens* that he had already experimented with a contrasting induction section in *The Haddington Masque* (1608) but as he himself recognises, the 'foil or false masque' (l. 12) requested by Queen Anne for *The Masque of Queens* refined the genre. The demonically dancing hags of the antimasque represented the opposites of the virtues of the main masquers.²⁶³ This established the most common pattern for the structure of masques, based around an antithetical opposition which required either abolition of the forces of contention, or

²⁶² Jonson's note to line 100, see 'Appendix' in Orgel, *Ben Jonson*, pp. 509-554 (p. 516).

²⁶³ See pp. 141-3 below for a consideration of the categories of dance movement involved in this masque.

their realignment in support of the virtuous nobles of the main masque.²⁶⁴ The shape these contentious forces took was not necessarily presented as hostile to the virtuous and exalted masquers. As the frolics of the satyrs in *Oberon* (1611) reveal, difference could be presented in comic terms as well. With the masque itself being a form which underwent continual refinement and redefinition, the role of the differing elements of its composition shifted in relation to the masque's changing didactic strategies.

In *Oberon* it is the bawdiness and irreverence of the satyrs which is banished by the arrival of the masquers, whereas the satyrs themselves remain, refined and restricted by the main masque.²⁶⁵ In this instance, however, dance is not enough on its own to ensure the necessary moral transformation. Silenus is required to explain to the satyrs that they must 'fall or fly' in the presence of the King. His presence in itself is not enough, therefore, to guarantee this reaction. Furthermore, the dance of the lesser fays is prefaced by the Sylvan's command to them to

Tread subtle circles that may always meet
 In point to him, and figures to express
 The grace of him and his great empress;
 That all that shall tonight behold the rites
 Performed by princely Oberon and these knights,
 May without stop point out the proper heir
 Designed so long to Arthur's crown and chair (ll. 278-84).

The purpose of the dances is explicitly laid out, but not without a certain sense of ambiguity. The images of circles and points draw attention to the struggle that the text undergoes to explain such occult hieroglyphics satisfactorily, revealing the arbitrary nature of the symbols involved precisely because they require the supply of an interpretation. The Sylvan's speech also risks implying that the figures need a reassuring guarantee that they will indeed express grace in order to do so. Exhortations

²⁶⁴ Although, as we shall see in Chapter 5, this structure was by no means universal.

²⁶⁵ Stephen Orgel, 'Introduction', in *Ben Jonson: The Complete Masques*, ed. by Stephen Orgel (London: Yale University Press, 1969), pp. 1-39 (p. 14).

of this kind frequently introduce the masquers' dances in other masques, and, as Ravelhofer points out, the use of modal verbs in passages such as the one above and lines 253-268 of *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue* lend an ambivalence to the claims they make for the inherent readability of moral messages expressed in dance.²⁶⁶

Writers like Prynne would have prohibited all dancing 'be it of men, or women, either on the Stage or elsewhere' because it is 'a dangerous incendiary of lust',²⁶⁷ but most anti-dance writers do acknowledge that there are acceptable forms of dance, because of the precedent set by Biblical dancers, such as Judith, Miriam and David. Pennino-Baskerville describes how writers establish a rhetorical opposition between the examples of dance described in the Bible, and contemporary dancing.²⁶⁸ John Northbrooke's terminology is, in this respect, particularly telling. His description of acceptable dancing in his treatise rests on the authority of Plato, and relates to war dances and to *choreia*, which he defines as 'a certayne testification of joye'.²⁶⁹

Choreia, Plato's word for dancing, is contrasted by Sparshott with *orchesis*, the word used by Lucian for the pantomime described in *The Dance*. *Choreia*, as Sparshott asserts, connotes religion and duty.²⁷⁰ Northbrooke characterises Biblical dances as *choreia*, and therefore irrelevant to contemporary dance, which is 'onely for pleasure and wantonnesse sake'.²⁷¹ Phillip Stubbes uses the same argument when he claims in a

²⁶⁶ Ravelhofer, "“Virgin Wax” and “Hairy Men-monsters”", pp. 245-246. See also Ravelhofer, *The Early Stuart Masque: Dance, Costume and Music*. This book was published too late for this thesis to take full account of it.

²⁶⁷ William Prynne, *Histrionomastix* (London: 1633), pp. 224-5.

²⁶⁸ Pennino-Baskerville, pp. 482-4.

²⁶⁹ Northbrooke, p. 145.

²⁷⁰ Francis Sparshott, *Off the Ground: First Steps to a Philosophical Consideration of the Dance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), p. 85.

²⁷¹ Northbrooke, p. 145.

marginal note to his *Anatomy of Abuses* that ‘the dauncing of our Forfathers mai not be called a dauncing, but rather a Godly triumphing & rejoycing in heart for joy’.²⁷²

Masque texts present the dancing of the masquers within this legitimising category of *choreia*, particularly with regard to the dances performed by the masquers themselves. Accepting Martin Butler’s interpretation that ‘each masque was, loosely, a quest’,²⁷³ dance is explicitly factored in as the ritual consummation of the quest which forms the basic drive of the narrative. For example, the Virginian princes of Chapman’s *The Memorable Masque* (1613) are commanded by Eunomia to ‘descend’ to Phoebus/James ‘and to him all your homage vow’ (l. 577). The way that this homage is done is through the subsequent dances of the masquers, the torchbearers and the revellers, which are thus presented as the appropriate means for performing this duty.

The Biblical precedents for dancing are celebratory, joyful occasions, and this sense of the legitimacy of celebration is, unsurprisingly, promoted by masque texts. In Campion’s *Lord Hay’s Masque* (1607) the question is asked, ‘Whats dauncing?’. The reply, ‘Ev’n the mirth of feete’ (p. 227), directs us to see the dancing in the masques as the morally pure dance of joy. In Campion’s *The Lords’ Masque* (1613), the masquers’ later dances are introduced by a song which urges them to ‘grace’ Sibylla’s offering with ‘the sounds and motions of delight’, and links this sense of offering with the notion that ‘Gods were with dance, and with musick serv’d of old’ (p. 261). Here it is specifically the delightful qualities of dance which make it godly and sacred. The figure of Orpheus oversees the smooth running of the masque, and Prometheus remarks ‘Where *Orpheus* is, none can fit musick want’ (p. 261). This comment immediately precedes the song and dance referred to above. Orpheus’s presence is thus meant to

²⁷² Phillip Stubbes’s *Anatomy of the Abuses in England in Shakespeare’s Youth*, ed. by Frederick J. Furnivall (London: New Shakspeare Society, 1877-9), p. 159.

²⁷³ Butler, ‘Private and Occasional Drama’, p. 139.

reassure that the entertainment is appropriate to the social and moral standing of the participants.

Most masques involved a single-sex group of masquers who performed set-piece dances as an entire group, and the parallel of this with Biblical and ancient *choreia* worked beautifully. This parallel may work *too* effectively, however, because the enlisting of *choreia* as a category for examples of dances in the main masque may well have had the effect of emphasising a contrasting lack of godliness in the revels which followed. One of the principal objections to dance, as we have seen, was that contemporary social dances mixed the sexes. Biblical dancing, moralists alleged, did not involve this partnering.²⁷⁴

One might, therefore, have expected this to engender a greater sense of anxiety and consequently a higher quantity of moral justification for these dances to be present in masque texts, but in actual fact, the revels seem to register less within the texts than the main masque dances. It seems that the revels were often ‘taken as read’.²⁷⁵ This is possibly because, as Ravelhofer notes, the contemporary reader would have understood the conventions and known how the dances would have looked, so explanations would have been superfluous.²⁷⁶ When they are introduced in the course of the masque, the revels are most usually constructed as a form of ritualised courtship. Dance in general, as well as specific dances are, it is suggested, a dramatisation of relations between the sexes. In *Oberon*, the Fays warn the masquers that if they do not invite ladies of the audience to join them in dancing (as, surely, everybody present knew that it was inevitable that they would), then they would be open to charges of ‘neglect’ (l. 331) and

²⁷⁴ Pennino-Baskerville, p. 484.

²⁷⁵ In the case of *The Haddington Masque*, they are not even indicated by the stage directions.

²⁷⁶ Ravelhofer, ‘Memorable Movements’, p. 5.

a lack of refinement appropriate to a 'coarse and country fairy' (l. 334). By contrast, those taking part in the revels will display themselves as cultivated and urbane.²⁷⁷

The social purpose of the revels dances is most apparent in masques which were held on the occasion of a wedding. Dancing, as a traditional way of celebrating a marriage, was particularly appropriate on these occasions. Chapman's *The Memorable Masque* was the second of three masques celebrating the wedding of Princess Elizabeth in 1613. The songs of the Phoebades command the use of dance to honour the marriage, for example, by singing 'Dance, ladies, in our Sun's bright rays'.²⁷⁸ The masquers dance twice with the ladies, and between these sets of dances there is a speech and a song, which both idealise harmonious blending. The dances visualise the idea that the married couple have 'Combined their life's powers in such sympathies' (l. 587) that they will be exactly attuned and 'all ways joined in such a constant troth | That one like cause had like effect in both' (ll. 592-3).

The gender roles that the revels played out are testified to by Elyot when he declares that 'in every daunse, of a moste auncient custome, there daunseth to gether a man and a woman, holding eche other by the hande or the arme, whiche betokeneth concorde'.²⁷⁹ Elyot links dancing with marriage, describing how each sex brings its own particular qualities to the dance, which then 'in this wise beinge knitte to gether [...] do expresse or sette out the figure of very nobilitie'.²⁸⁰

²⁷⁷ Northbrooke's description of Erasmus's view of the dangers of mixed-sex dancing provides an interesting parallel to *Oberon's* presentation of courtly etiquette, when he declares that 'if thou doe not kiss hir that thou leading by the hande didst daunce withall, then thou shalt be taken for a rusticall. What filthie actes hereby (sayeth he) are committed' (Northbrooke, p. 165).

²⁷⁸ George Chapman, *The Memorable Masque*, in *Court Masques*, ed. by David Lindley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 74-91 (l. 530). Further references to this edition are given after quotations in the text.

²⁷⁹ Elyot, p. 94.

²⁸⁰ Elyot, p. 95.

The mingling of the sexes is constructed as essential to the ideal society in *The Golden Age Restored*, when Pallas tells the masquers that if they do not ‘do more’ than their own dances then they will ‘but half restore | The age’s liberty’ (ll. 167-9). A chorus of Poets reiterates her claim that in the Golden Age ‘male and female used to join’ when ‘youth called beauty forth to dance’ (ll. 170, 174). Ancient dance is thus enlisted as a legitimising precedent for mixed-sex dancing. Interestingly, at the end of the passage, the Choir somewhat admonishingly reminds the masquers that ‘Each touch and kiss’ administered in the Golden Age was ‘as sweet as they were chaste, | And such must yours be now’ (ll. 182-184). The inclusion of such warnings complicates the masque’s assertion of a new Golden Age. The opposition of ‘they were chaste’ to ‘yours [...] now’ invites a comparison between the two. Virtue, it implies, is not automatic, and care must be taken to overcome the deficiencies of the present age. The circumstances of that particular masque, coming as it did after the emergence of the Overbury poisoning and concomitant scandal do, as Butler has commented, make one wonder what would possess anyone in 1616 to cast the Stuart court as a restoration of the Golden Age.²⁸¹ Admonitions like the one above seem like wry acknowledgments of the paradox facing the poet charged with celebrating a tainted court, and the problems of finding endorsements for an activity which was part of the problem for critics of the court.

Some masque texts, rather than attempting a moral defence for the revels, play upon the question of the court’s sexual conduct. If the masques ostensibly sought to curtail licentiousness, their admission of its possibility sometimes gives the impression that their warnings are deliberately included as a prurient joke. For example,

²⁸¹ Butler, ‘Private and Occasional Drama’, p. 141. See also David Lindley, ‘Embarrassing Ben: The Masques for Frances Howard’, *ELR*, 16 (1996), 343-359 for an exploration of Jonson’s response to court scandal and his sense of the discrepancy between his fictional worlds and the reality they were supposed to represent.

Beaumont's *Masque of the Inner Temple* (1613) has a rather rakish introduction to the revels:

SINGLE More pleasing were these sweet delights,
 If ladies mov'd as well as knights;
 Run ev'ry one of you and catch
 A nymph, in honour of this match,
 And whisper boldly in her ear.
 Jove will but laugh, if you forswear.

ALL And this day's sins he doth resolve
 That we his priests should all absolve (ll. 339-46).²⁸²

More often, the dancers are constructed by the texts as displaying their inherent worth merely by participating in the revels. That this did not necessarily translate to reality is evident from comments such as Carleton's description of the Spanish ambassador who 'footed it like a lusty old Gallant with his Country Woman' in the revels of *The Masque of Blackness*. This seems hardly in keeping with the dignity of the court, something Carleton himself thought was at issue, as evinced by his disapproval of the black makeup of the Queen and her ladies at the same masque.²⁸³

Naturally, no masque poet would think of recording the shortcomings of the masquers whom his work was generally supposed to be celebrating. Carleton, however, had no such obligation, and his scathing comments expose the gap between masque ideal and reality. For instance, regarding a masque in December 1604 to celebrate the marriage of Philip Herbert and Susan de Vere, he notes that 'Sir Thomas Germain had lead in his heales and sometimes forgott what he was doing'.²⁸⁴ Of the New Year's masque, held earlier in the same year, he writes that the masquers' 'attire was rich but

²⁸² Francis Beaumont, 'The Masque of the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn', ed. by Philip Edwards, in *A Book of Masques in Honour of Allardyce Nicoll*, ed. by Stanley Wells and T.J.B. Spencer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), pp. 125-148 (pp. 141-142).

²⁸³ C.H. Herford, Evelyn Simpson and Percy Simpson, eds, *Ben Jonson*, 11 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1950), x, pp. 448-9.

²⁸⁴ Welsford, p. 173.

somewhat too heavy and cumbersome for dancers which putt them besides their galliardes'.²⁸⁵ Clearly, the conceit of the designer did not always fit smoothly with the needs of the choreography.

The intentions of the artists who created the different aspects of the masque and the reception of their inventions by the audience did not always coincide, therefore. The potential for meaning of both dance and music in the masque was complicated by the fact that, whilst they were both very often lauded by the text of the masque and incorporated into the legitimising philosophy of the setting, they were also part of an event which sometimes did not go to plan. Despite the effort that writers (pre-eminently Ben Jonson) went to in order to produce morally edifying masques, there is no reason why the consumers of their work should have conformed to their models of behaviour. Of course, in the context of a masque text, the poet does have control over what is reported and emphasised,²⁸⁶ and, as we have seen, can at least attempt to impose a morally and artistically coherent interpretation of the masque upon its readership, even if it is impossible to control the reactions of participants and spectators.

This anxiety of interpretation reflects a sense of dance's ability to inflame undesirable passions in the observer. Prynne insists on the perniciousness of all dance in the theatre, disapproving of the 'swarmes of lustfull Spectators, whose unchaste unruly lusts are apt to be enflamed with every wanton gesture, smile, or pace, much more with amorous dances'.²⁸⁷ This fear of the spectator's reaction surely stems from the fact that the role of the audience in constructing the meaning of the spectacle they observe is all

²⁸⁵ E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, 4 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923), III, 280. No script survives for the New Year's night masque of 1603/4, but based on Carleton's description, Barroll terms it the *Masque of the Orient Knights* (Leeds Barroll, *Anna of Denmark, Queen of England: A Cultural Biography* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), p. 83).

²⁸⁶ Although in the case of the printing of *The Memorable Masque* the text did not exactly conform to Chapman's wishes, owing to, as he claimed, 'the unexpected haste of the printer' (l. 155-156) in setting the type.

²⁸⁷ Prynne, p. 221.

the more difficult to influence in the non-verbal fields of dance and music. The attempts at circumscribing the interpretation of the dances which surround them in the masque texts are indicative of the anxiety over the legitimacy of the position of these pastimes in court life, but also over the legitimacy of the masque itself.

Variety and Restraint

Whilst masque texts engage with these moral concerns over dance's affective power through the traditional and mythic concepts of dance outlined above, they also adopt the vocabulary of contemporary aesthetics in their descriptions of dance. Broadly speaking, there were two principles within which dance was considered. Firstly, the recurring notions of the importance of variety in art in general, and secondly, the value placed upon restrained movements within discussions of dance in particular.

Variety is commonly used as a marker of delight and pleasure, often in opposition to, and as an antidote for, satiety, and forms the basis for artistic endeavour.²⁸⁸ John Norden's *Vicissitudo rerum* encapsulates this view:

All Arts have discord, yet in unitie
 ConCORDING, as in musicke, high and low,
 Long and short, these compose the harmonie.
 The paynter doth by contraries forth show
 By lively hand, what Nature doth bestow,
 By colours, white, blacke, red, and greene and blew:
 These contraries depaynt right Natures hew.²⁸⁹

²⁸⁸ H.V.S. Ogden has shown that landscape painting of the era was dominated by the concept of variety ('The Principles of Variety and Contrast in Seventeenth Century Aesthetics, and Milton's Poetry', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 10 (April 1949), 159-182, (p. 171)).

²⁸⁹ John Norden, *Vicissitudo Rerum: An Elegiacall Poeme of the Interchangeable Courses and Varietie of Things in this World* (London: 1600), D3^v. This poem appears to be another translation of *Of the interchangeable course, or variety of things* (see n. 44 below).

Variety is usually presented as self-evidently desirable, and rarely theorised.²⁹⁰ The principal consideration of the concept of variety itself is Robert Ashley's 1594 translation of Louis Leroy's *Of the interchangeable course, or variety of things*, which presents variety as a delightful and marvellous part of God's creation, but also as a necessary part of the constitution of the universe. Ashley's presentation of variety is itself closely related to the idea of harmony. He argues that flux and variety actually create stability because

the Earth and every other thing in the world [is] tempered and conserved by things of dislike and contrarie qualitie [...] This kind of tempering is the cause that such things as before were divers and different, do accord and agree together to establish, intertain, and embellish one an other, the contrarietie becomming unitie; and the discord concord; the enmities amitie; and contention covenant.²⁹¹

Within this concept of creation, the design principle of mixing opposing parts to create a composite is repeated on smaller scales throughout existence – in the humoral composition of the human body, for example, as well as 'Musick' where 'of high and low, long and short, is made an accord'.²⁹² Variety is a necessary part of the harmony of the universe because it provides balance. Without it, the universe would be unstable and would therefore return to a state of chaos. This incorporates variety into the Platonic view of the origin of the universe and its relation to dance, which often makes its way into masque texts, as we have seen.

The aesthetic of variety was just as important for courtly dancing as it was for other art forms. Antonio Cornazano's 1455 treatise lists '*diversità di cose*' amongst the six elements of perfection in dancing. Once a pattern of steps 'has been done once', he

²⁹⁰ Writers such as Puttenham and Peacham use the concept as a reason for using several of the rhetorical devices they describe in *The Arte of English Poesie* and *The Garden of Eloquence* respectively.

²⁹¹ Robert Ashley, trans., *Of the interchangeable course, or variety of things* (London: 1594), fol. 5^v.

²⁹² Ashley, fol. 6^r.

entreats, 'do not repeat it immediately'.²⁹³ As Franko has noted, the dancer was required to improvise within a range of movement and gesture. Dance movements thus reflected 'simultaneously a perfect conformity to a norm of propriety and the flowering of an innate quality'.²⁹⁴ Courtly dancing was therefore a process of constant renegotiation of the boundaries of the socially acceptable. Variation was necessary in order for dance to be, as Castiglione requires for music, 'a very art that appeareth not to be art'.²⁹⁵

In some dance manuals, such as *Nobiltà di Dame*, after the basic step patterns have been set out, suggested variations are described for the aspiring dancer to learn and incorporate in practice. Just as the musicians accompanying a dance would have played improvised elaborations on the repeated strains of the dance tunes, so would the dancers have embellished the basic steps of the dance. Julia Sutton directly relates the extra kicks, stamps and other dance additions to musical ornamentation, claiming that 'they appear to be identical in nature to the improvised diminutions, *passaggi* and ornaments so popular in sixteenth and seventeenth-century music'.²⁹⁶ In both music and dance, therefore, improvisation was expected, but only within certain conventions. Graceful dancing resulted from the correct negotiation of the conflicting poles of conformity and originality, where an absolute adherence to one or the other would have been unacceptable.

The importance of variety as the means of achieving grace and gracefulness on the part of the masquers is apparent in the terms used to praise the skill of the dancers and/or choreographer in textual descriptions. As one of the Hours declares in *The Lord*

²⁹³ *Fifteenth-Century Dance and Music*, 1, 85-86.

²⁹⁴ Mark Franko, 'Renaissance Conduct Literature and the Basse Danse: the Kinesis of *Bonne Grace*', in *Persons in Groups: Social Behaviour as Identity Formation in Medieval and Renaissance Europe*, ed. by Richard C. Trexler (Binghamton NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1985), pp. 55-66 (pp. 61-62).

²⁹⁵ *The Book of the Courtier*, trans. by Sir Thomas Hoby (London: 1561; repr. London: J.M. Dent, 1928) p. 46.

²⁹⁶ Sutton, pp. 27-28.

Hay's Masque, 'Pleasure must varie' (p. 227). In *Hymenaei*, Jonson comments that the 'strains' (referring to the dancing, not the music) of the masquers' figure dance 'were all notably different' (l. 283), and he describes the second dance of the masquers in *The Masque of Beauty*, as 'more subtle and full of change than the former' (ll. 273-4).

This principle of variety also influenced the style of the dance motion itself. Ravelhofer describes an 'aesthetics of contrast' in which a performer switches 'from movement into absolute stillness almost in the same moment'.²⁹⁷ This manner of movement is hinted at by the song introducing the masquers' first dance in *Mercury Vindicated*, in which they are urged to 'show thy winding ways and arts, | Thy risings and thy timely starts' (ll. 186-187). This suggests a style of movement which incorporates contrasting speeds of movement, and fits well with John Ward's analysis of the 'halting, stop-and-go treble parts' of the generic dance music that survives from masques.²⁹⁸

Variety was also evidently an important aesthetic criterion for dance in the antimasque. Indeed, Jonson claims that the reason for the Queen's request for an antimasque in *The Masque of Queens* was that she was aware that 'a principal part of life in these spectacles lay in their variety' (l. 9-10). The witches' dance in *The Masque of Queens* is said by Jonson to have been 'full of preposterous change and gesticulation' (l. 328). In *Mercury Vindicated*, Vulcan and his alchemists apparently 'danced about Mercury with variety of changes' (l. 103).

Change seems to have been a fairly stock term for referring to sections of the music as well as of the dance. This could suggest that it does not necessarily mean that the dance was particularly varied, just that it, like music, was usually structured in several

²⁹⁷ Ravelhofer, 'Memorable Movements', pp. 7-8.

²⁹⁸ Ward, 'Newly Devis'd Measures', p. 127.

discrete sections. Its combination on so many occasions with variety, however, does suggest that it can also stand for variation. For instance, in *Hymenaei*, the last dances of the masquers are described as ‘*full of excellent delight and change*’ (l. 358). Interestingly, we are told that in *The Masque of Queens*, the revels dances entertained ‘*the time almost to the space of an hour with singular variety*’ (ll. 493-4). The oxymoronic ‘singular variety’, encapsulates the paradoxical nature of the aesthetic values which governed dance in the masque. They prize both a sense of competitive individualism, but also group co-operation and corporate identity, and they combined improvisatory diversification with extreme restraint and control.

The concept of restraint is the other principle around which early modern dance aesthetics were focused. Notwithstanding the demand for variety, dancing, like other aspects of a courtier’s conduct, was ideally supposed to be controlled, elegant and tastefully discreet, as was made clear in conduct literature such as *The Book of the Courtier*. Energetic movement in dance was acceptable, but only if it was deemed to be conducted in an appropriate way. Above all, as Ravelhofer points out, Renaissance dance treatises deplore exaggeration in any form.²⁹⁹

The restraint of courtly dance styles comes partly from the influence of fashion. Ingrid Brainard postulates that the advent of much more cumbersome clothing such as ruffs, corsetry for both sexes, and hip padding in the second half of the sixteenth century hindered the upper half of the body to the extent that High Renaissance dance styles concentrated heavily upon the legs and feet.³⁰⁰ In addition to this practical issue (and

²⁹⁹ Ravelhofer, ‘Virgin wax’, p. 250.

³⁰⁰ Ingrid Brainard, ‘Renaissance Dance Technique’, in *International Encyclopedia of Dance*, ed. by Selma Jeanne Cohen and others, 6 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), v, 336-340, p. 338. For possible evidence of the influence of dance upon fashion, see Carleton’s letter describing *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses*, in which he notes that the clothes Queen Anne wore as Pallas ‘were not so much below the knee, but that we might see a woman had both feete and legs which I never

possibly related to it) was the moral imperative to keep the body and mind under control. At all times appropriateness and tasteful discretion are required of the courtier. As Brainard notes, in the Italian treatises' descriptions of leg positions, '*un poco* is the operative term'.³⁰¹

The idea of moderation in dance inevitably takes on a moral tone, especially for women. For instance, Guglielmo Ebreo da Pesaro declares that in dancing, a woman's movements 'should be humble and controlled [...] Her eyes should not be arrogant or flighty, looking here or there as many do. Most of the time, they should be honestly glancing at the floor'.³⁰² The inscribing of gender roles within dance movement is evident from Elyot's note that 'the meving of the man wolde be more vehement, of the woman more delicate, and with lasse advauncing of the body, signifienge the courage and strenthe that oughte to be in a man, and the pleasant sobrenesse that shulde be in a woman'.³⁰³

This imperative of restraint is present from the earliest of the Italian treatises, that of Domenico da Piacenza. Borrowing the authority of Aristotle, Domenico tells the dancer that his movement 'under no circumstances should be taken to extremes. Rather, maintain the mean of your movement, that is – not too much nor too little'.³⁰⁴ For Caroso, the most important factor in the proper execution of dance are 'the laws of symmetry'.³⁰⁵ He insists that in any type of dance, 'each foot must have just as many movements as the other; if not, everything you do will be quite wrong'.³⁰⁶ This emphasis

knew before' (Chambers, III, p. 280). Presumably the shortness of this costume would have enabled spectators to admire the Queen's nimble footwork.

³⁰¹ Brainard, p. 338.

³⁰² *Fifteenth-Century Dance and Music*, I, 141.

³⁰³ Elyot, p. 95. For a more detailed examination of gender roles in courtly dance, see Skiles Howard, *The Politics of Courtly Dancing in Early Modern England* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998).

³⁰⁴ *Fifteenth-Century Dance and Music*, I, 13.

³⁰⁵ *Nobiltà di Dame*, p. 88.

³⁰⁶ *Fifteenth-Century Dance and Music*, I, p. 118.

on the overwhelming importance of rules is part of what Stephen Kolsky identifies as ‘the tradition of *disciplina*, of self-control, regulation of the instinctual body’.³⁰⁷ Renaissance courtly dance thus required a completeness of control over the body that defined and displayed the sophistication and social advantage of both men and women at the court. This sense of the social importance of the control of dance movement is present throughout all types of dance in the masque, as the next section will show.

The practice of dance in the masque

The music and dance in Jacobean masques helps to delineate the structure of the event, just as it did in Elizabethan progress entertainments. The masque can be divided into three sections, antimasque, masque and revels,³⁰⁸ and each of these sections has its own music which can help to differentiate their mood and tone.³⁰⁹ The essential distinction between these three sections, however, is one of personnel. The antimasque, masque and revels dances were performed by different grouping of participants, and their involvement invited different kinds of responses from spectators. Therefore, the distinction between these three types of dance does not simply articulate the structure of the masque, it, in fact, produces it.

The masque form is based around social hierarchy and social differentiation. It promotes the court as a special and privileged group, and within that group asserts the prominence and status of smaller groups or individuals, most obviously that of the King himself. Whereas James’s singularity and significance is signified by his not dancing,

³⁰⁷ Stephen Kolsky, ‘Graceful Performances: The Social and Political Context of Music and Dance in the *Cortegiano*’, *Italian Studies*, 53 (1998), 1-19, p. 14.

³⁰⁸ Although not all masques contained an antimasque.

³⁰⁹ For example, in *The Irish Masque at Court* the ‘footmen’ of the antimasque danced ‘to the bagpipe and other rude music’ (121-122), whereas the ‘gentlemen’ were accompanied by ‘a solemn music of harps’ (125-126). The music signifies through its instrumentation the social differentiation of these two groups of dancers, a differentiation highlighted further in the text by its use of the descriptors ‘rude’ and ‘solemn’.

for other groups, different forms of movement constitute an important part of signalling their status within the masque and consequently within the social hierarchy of the court itself.

Antimasque Dance

The antimasque dances were a professional product, choreographed and performed for consumption by the courtly spectators. The theatre actors employed for this task would have been easily capable of the necessary skills, owing to the prevalence of dance in the theatre.³¹⁰ The response of a masque audience to such figures would be based upon a completely different set of criteria than that used to evaluate the members of their own peer group who made up the masquers and revellers. The participants' social class, therefore, provided different contexts for the movements of the bodies so classified.

In only one exception, *The Gypsies Metamorphosed* (performed three times in 1621), did noble personages take on speaking roles, and this was an event which did not, on any of the three occasions when it was performed, take place at court.³¹¹ On all other occasions, Stephen Orgel's description holds true: 'a masquer's disguise is a representation of the courtier beneath. He retains his personality and hence his position in the social hierarchy'.³¹² An actor, however, was able to take on any role as a speaker, singer, musician or dancer, and permitted, or even required, to break conventions.

The antimasque dances were representational in a way that the revels and masquers' dances were not, because they often retained elements of plot and

³¹⁰ See Alan Brissenden, *Shakespeare and the Dance* (London: Macmillan, 1981), pp. 14-15, and Walter Sorell, 'Shakespeare and the Dance', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 8 (1957), 367-384 (pp. 367-368).

³¹¹ For a consideration of the importance of the various performances of *Gypsies Metamorphosed*, see Martin Butler, "'We Are One Mans All': Jonson's *The Gypsies Metamorphosed*", *Yearbook of English Studies*, 21 (1991), 252-73.

³¹² Stephen Orgel, *The Jonsonian Masque* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981), p. 118.

characterisation. In *The Haddington Masque*, Cupid and his twelve companions ‘fell into a subtle capricious dance to as odd a music’, and, apparently, delighted the spectators with their ‘antic faces’ and ‘ridiculous gestures’ (ll. 144-6). This type of dancing is entirely appropriate for a mischievous Cupid and his cohorts, and at the same time created a spectacle of unusual and entertaining dance. Sabol asserts that antimasque dancing consisted ‘largely of realistically devised mime movements’,³¹³ and antimasque dances can sometimes be identified as a type of mime or pantomime (for example, the mock military parade in *The Golden Age Restored*).

The importance of antimasque dancing can be seen from the example of *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue*, a masque which did not meet with general approval and was re-presented in a revised version. Interestingly, in the revised version, the antimasque had been completely rewritten, but the rest, from the moment when the masquers appear onwards, was left intact with only minor revisions (such as the alteration of the name of mount Atlas to Craig Eryri). The nature of these revisions implies that it was the antimasque that was unsuccessful, although one commentator described the original antimasque as ‘not ill liked’, stating that it was ‘the masqu[e] it selfe’ that was ‘in generall not well liked’.³¹⁴ On the other hand, Sir Gerard Herbert commented that the revised version, under the title *For the Honour of Wales*, ‘was much better liked then twelveth night; by reason of the newe Conceites & ante maskes & pleasant merry speeches’.³¹⁵ Perhaps changing the part containing the masquers would have carried an unacceptable implication that their presentation of themselves had not been satisfactory, or perhaps the masquers would not have had time for the extra rehearsals that a completely new performance would have required. The fact remains that the rewriting

³¹³ Andrew Sabol, ‘Masque and Antimasque’, in *International Encyclopedia of Dance*, ed. by Selma Jeanne Cohen and others, 6 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), IV, 307-313 (p. 307).

³¹⁴ H&S, x, 576.

³¹⁵ H&S, x, 577.

of the antimasque implies that the objectives of this part of the evening, those of the professional entertainment, had not been fulfilled.

A comparison of the antimasques of *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue* and *For the Honour of Wales* suggests that dancing was an important factor here. The latter seems to have included far more dancing than the former. The text of *For the Honour of Wales* indicates that there were dances for groups of men, of women, of men and women together, as well as a ‘*dance of goats*’ (l. 314), although it gives no further information on these dances other than that they occurred. Herford and Simpson note, somewhat censoriously, that this antimasque is the beginning of a trend towards longer and more elaborate antimasques, and indicative of a ‘lack of balance’ in the genre, which ‘suited the taste of the Court for which the dances alone were important’.³¹⁶ This lack of regard for the practical, display-based elements of the masque stems from the prioritisation of the genre’s literary elements. Yet a masque’s success depended, in large part, upon the dance, as the alterations in *For the Honour of Wales* show. Carleton commented on one masque that it ‘was so well liked and applauded that the king had yt represented again the sonday night after, in the very same manner, though neither in devise nor shew was there any thing extraordinarie but only excellent dauncing’.³¹⁷ Dance was not a minor element but a key part of a masque’s success.

As regards what can be determined of the style of the antimasque dances, they seem to have presented an antithetical style to the main masque by incorporating what was outrageous and unusual for the customary courtly dances (which were familiar to all those watching and which formed the basis for the main masque dances and the

³¹⁶ H&S, x, 590.

³¹⁷ H&S, x, 553.

revels).³¹⁸ Nonetheless, antimasque dances sometimes retain some elements of the courtly dance aesthetic. The Frantics who danced the antimasque in Campion's *The Lords' Masque* 'made an absolute medley of madnesse'. according to Campion's text, but the indication that they were made up of 'six men and six women' (presumably all played by male actors) suggests that their 'madde measure' paired male with female in the customary way (p. 250). Antimasque dances constituted a grotesque parody of courtly dance and retained certain dance conventions whilst exaggerating other elements, such as, for example, speed or gesticulation.

An examination of the vocabulary of the texts' descriptions of antimasque dances also yields clues as to the dances' appearance. By far the most common designation is that of being 'antic'. Examples of this can be found in the description of the 'antic faces, with other variety of ridiculous gesture' of the antimasquers in *The Haddington Masque*, (l. 145-6) and the 'antic action and gestures' of the satyrs in *Oberon* (l. 28). The interesting thing about this is not the precise meaning of 'antic,' be it absurd, grotesque or 'antique', but its connection with gesture. Time and again, antimasque descriptions focus on gesture. In *The Masque of Queens*, the witches' dance is 'full of preposterous change and gesticulation' (l. 328); in *Lovers Made Men*,³¹⁹ the antimasquers 'dance forth their antimasque in several gestures, as they lived in love' (ll. 65-6). Whilst this may serve to indicate, especially in the latter example, a pantomimic element in the choreography, it also shows that use of gesture was a part of the antimasque's transgressive choreographic opposition to the main masque dances and the revels.

³¹⁸ See Walls, *Music in the English Courtly Masque*, p. 115.

³¹⁹ The antimasquers in this case may have been the masquers themselves, but *Lovers Made Men* took place in a different setting to the court masque, in that it was performed at the residence of Lord Hay in 1617. These antimasquers/masquers can be compared with the nobles who appeared in *Hymenaei* as the Humours and Affections. Neither group had any lines to speak.

Early modern European courtly dancing in general repressed gesture. Its basic precepts rested on small steps, an erect torso and a very limited range of arm movement, which extended to an occasional clap, but not, for instance, to raising the hands above the head.³²⁰ Indeed, Franko goes so far as to assert that the hand gestures of Renaissance court dance were defined, not in terms of what was expected, but rather what was prohibited, that is, anything that was 'fast, unexpected, brief, repetitive and suggestive or mimetic'.³²¹ These disreputable categories of movement are exactly those implied by masque texts' references to antimasque dances with their emphasis on gesture, such as the description in *Oberon* which tells us that the satyrs '*fell suddenly into an antic dance full of gesture and swift motion*' (ll. 206-7). This is further supported by Walls's highlighting of the differences in posture between antimasque and masque characters in surviving costume design sketches by Inigo Jones. Antimasquers can be represented in ungainly poses, whereas masquers are always depicted in dignified attitudes.³²² Perhaps this is only to be expected, but it does offer visual evidence that the difference in social class between the antimasque and the main masque was also present in the classes of movement available to each. Dance movements in the masque were thus dependent upon class, and, along with the costumes and instrumentation, could be used to establish the antimasquers as the contentious force demanded by the structure of the masque.³²³

The Masque of Queens is probably the most straightforward example of the possibilities of manipulating these codes of movement.³²⁴ As seen above (p. 121), this

³²⁰ Julia Sutton, 'Late-Renaissance Dance', in *Nobiltà di Dame*, trans. and ed. by Julia Sutton and F. Marian Walker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 21-30 (p. 25).

³²¹ Franko, p. 57.

³²² Walls, *Music in the English Courtly Masque*, p. 115.

³²³ The surviving accompaniments for dance in the masque is generic dance music (Ward, 'Newly Devis'd Measures', pp. 127-30). The burden of differentiation thus falls upon the types of movement used by the different performers.

³²⁴ The gender politics of this masque has been the focus of much critical attention. See, for instance, Lawrence Normand, 'Witches, King James and the *Masque of Queens*', in *Representing Women in Renaissance England*, ed. by Claude J. Summers and Ted-Larry Pebworth (Columbia: University of

masque set a precedent for the structure and style of subsequent masques. It also contains a relatively large amount of detail about the dance movements and gestures in Jonson's description. The antimasque dancing is constructed as an antagonistic antithesis to the courtly dance of the masquers. The witches performed their evil incantations and grotesque dances for the vicarious pleasure of an audience which included a King whose interest in witchcraft is well documented. They were then banished in an instant by the transformation of the stage into the House of Fame, topped by the twelve masquers, who, following introductory speeches and a parade around the stage area, performed their dances. These included a figure dance, spelling out the name of Charles, Duke of York in the path of the dancers across the floor. These dances demonstrated the court's hegemony, differentiating the forces of contention through movement codes. Not only this, but the spelling out of Charles' name re-appropriated the witches' occult practices, turning the witches' use of symbolic imagery to virtuous use by invoking the name of Charles who is then figured as an antithesis to the evil Dame of the witches.³²⁵

Jonson describes how the witches '*do all things contrary to the custom of men*', dancing '*back to back and hip to hip, their hands joined, and making their circles backward, to the left hand, with strange fantastic motions of their heads and bodies*' (ll. 329-32). These arcane motions are a direct challenge to the highly literal figure dance of the masquers. In fact, anything more opposed to the precepts of courtly dance is hard to imagine, which is, after all, the whole point of this antimasque, demonstrating what

Missouri Press, 1997), pp. 107-20, and Stephen Orgel, 'Jonson and the Amazons', in *Soliciting Interpretation: Literary Theory and Seventeenth-Century English Poetry* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990).

³²⁵ Howard sees this as a moment of colonisation that 'restated patriarchal ideology' with 'the name of a masculine heir' (Howard, p. 124).

Franko describes as the ‘inter-mimetic’ nature of Renaissance courtly dance.³²⁶ The movement in the masque’s dances forms a self-referential code within the wider precepts of the vocabulary of acceptable dance movements. The masquers define themselves and the court through the demonstration of the victory of courtly codes over their diametrically contrived opposites.

The Masquers’ Dances

The dances performed by the masquers alone were specially choreographed for each masque, drawing on the typical choreography of the social dances of the period. As such it is possible to extrapolate a broad picture of how these dances would have appeared from the dance and conduct manuals of the period, because they have the same basic steps in common (such as the *reverence*, *simples*, *doubles*). Such a picture can only be very broad, however, as there are no dance manuals in English for the Jacobean period. Smith and Gatiss warn against using foreign dance manuals to explain the dances of a particular masque without specific evidence linking the text to the occasion.³²⁷ The lack of wear and tear on items, such as the copy of *Nobiltà di Dame* that Smith and Gatiss assert was probably part of James’ library and then Prince Henry’s, suggests that ownership of these publications does not necessarily imply that they were extensively used in practical dance situations.³²⁸

The general principle that courtly dance styles in Renaissance England were shaped by French and Italian fashions is accepted, however. Jennifer Nevile’s analysis of choreographies from the early Tudor Gresley papers reveals a flourishing English

³²⁶ Franko, p. 64.

³²⁷ Judy Smith and Ian Gatiss, ‘What did Prince Henry Do with his Feet on Sunday 19 August 1604?’, *Early Music*, 14 (1986), pp. 199-207 (p. 199).

³²⁸ Smith and Gatiss, p. 202.

tradition influenced by Italian practice,³²⁹ and Alan Brissenden notes that a French ambassador to Queen Elizabeth remarked that she had learnt to dance in the Italian manner.³³⁰ In the Jacobean period, French styles seem to have become more fashionable. Buckingham's example shows that, by 1613, France was the place to go to learn or improve one's dance skills.³³¹ Notwithstanding this, French and Italian dance does seem to have been fairly similar. The most noticeable difference was the Italian emphasis on keeping the legs straight, whereas the French style required a slight bend at the knees.³³²

A demand for French dancing-masters in particular at the English court began soon after James' accession, according to Holman. The first recorded of these was the violinist and dancing master Bochan, alias Jacques Cordier, who first appears in the court accounts in January 1604.³³³ It was the French dancing masters who apparently composed the tunes to the dances to be performed by the noble masquers, playing them on the kit, or *pochette*, a pocket-sized kind of violin. These quasi-improvised tunes would then be set for a five or six part consort by a musician-composer after the dance rehearsals had already started.³³⁴ These rehearsals took several weeks, a factor which is often reflected in the payments made to the individuals who choreographed and taught the dances. For instance, the bill of account for *Love Freed From Ignorance and Folly* reveals that whereas Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones were each paid forty pounds for their work, a Mr Confesse received fifty pounds 'for teaching all the dances'. Additionally, Bochan was given twenty pounds 'for teaching the Ladies the footing of 2 dances'.³³⁵

³²⁹ Jennifer Nevile, 'Dance in Early Tudor England: An Italian Connection?', *Early Music*, 26 (1998), 231-244.

³³⁰ Brissenden, p. 5.

³³¹ Sorell, p. 371. See also Ravelhofer, 'Virgin Wax', pp. 247-8.

³³² Brainard, pp. 338-9.

³³³ Holman, pp. 175-6.

³³⁴ John M. Ward, 'Newly Devis'd Measures', pp. 128-131.

³³⁵ *Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court*, ed. by Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong, 2 vols (London: University of California Press, 1973), I, 230.

Ravelhofer speculates that the length of time spent on rehearsals, and the level of remuneration for the choreographers and teachers, shows that the masque dances must have been complex and difficult to execute.³³⁶ John Ward, however, asserts that, because of the non-professional status of the performers and the fact that dancing in such large groups would have been unusual for them, the dances must have been simple enough to have been ‘produced by drill’.³³⁷ Whilst the numbers involved as masquers may have meant that there was a variation in the proficiency of the dancers, the standards of early seventeenth-century courtly amateurs are, however, generally thought to be extremely high.³³⁸

Sutton comments that social dancing in the courts of Europe was ‘vital to social intercourse’ and ‘cultivated in daily practice by the nobility and their emulators among the middle classes’.³³⁹ This is supported by the comments of the elder John Holles (c.1565-1637) in a letter to his son dated 22 July 1614: ‘Practice your ryding, weapon, and dauncing seriously and diligently’, he recommends, because these abilities ‘will grace you with the Prince, and [...] will give you place and precedence’. These qualities ‘governed with discretion, and fellowed with other powers of the mynd create a perfect Courtier’.³⁴⁰ In other words, the riding, fencing and dancing trivium form a curriculum of the body, which every aspiring courtier must learn from in order to earn a high place in the court hierarchy.

It therefore seems likely that most masquers would have been competent dancers at the very least. Ravelhofer points out that on the occasion of a masque, the court was

³³⁶ Ravelhofer, ‘Memorable Movements’, p. 3.

³³⁷ He speculates that this could be the reason for the frequent use of geometric figures in the floor patterns, as he reasons that they would have been easier to learn (Ward, ‘Newly Devis’d Measures’, p. 117).

³³⁸ See Frances Rust, *Dance in Society: An Analysis of the Relationship between the Social Dance and Society in England from the Middle Ages to the Present Day* (London: Routledge, 1969), p. 54.

³³⁹ Sutton, p. 21.

³⁴⁰ *Letters of John Holles*, ed. by P.R. Seddon (Nottingham: Thoroton Society, 1975), pp. 52-55.

displaying itself not only to itself, but also to representatives of other European courts, who were ‘experienced connoisseurs’ of entertainments, making it seem rather unlikely that such choreography would have lacked ambition.³⁴¹ With dancing such an important and frequent feature of court life, masque choreography was setting out to impress an initiated audience. Dancing prowess would have been recognised and appreciated, as in the case of Buckingham’s skilful capers in *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue* (see below, pp. 147-8), or as can be seen from Sir John Finnet’s description of *Tethys’ Festival* where the intricacy of the youthful dancing naiads was said to have been particularly impressive:

the little ladies performed their dance to the amazement of all the beholders, considering the tenderness of their years and the many intricate changes of the dance; which was so disposed, that which way soever the changes went, the little Duke was still found to be in the midst of these little dancers.³⁴²

The masque dances were, therefore, meant to be a dazzling display of the kind of effortless skill idealised by Renaissance conduct literature and dance manuals. Men in particular were able to show off complex footwork, including the kicks and leaps found in faster dances like the galliard, some of which were undoubtedly extremely difficult. Intricate geometrical floor patterns, traced by the movements of the dancers around the space, could be appreciated from the audience’s raised position above the dancers.

There are often comments within the masque texts which give extra information as to the appearance of masque dance, and the use of particular vocabulary indicates that geometrical patterns may have been used in masques for which there are no stage directions describing the dance’s appearance. For instance, the comparison of the masquers’ dances with ‘curious knots and mazes’ in *The Vision of Delight* (l. 212), is

³⁴¹ Ravelhofer, ‘Memorable Movements’, pp. 2-3.

³⁴² Chambers, III, 283.

repeated in the ‘curious knot’ of the masquers’ first dance in *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue* (l. 225), and echoes the ‘flowery mazes’ alluded to in Vulturinus’ description of the Throne of Beauty in *The Masque of Beauty* (l. 126). These terms suggest intricate, interlacing floor patterns, displaying the court at its most controlled, moving in harmonious concert, every individual in their place.

Conversely, however, the masque dances also provided a way for those individuals to use the dance to display themselves to their advantage against their peers. This is most dramatically exemplified by the career of George Villiers, whose skill in dancing was a crucial part of the combination of charm and skilful manoeuvring that gained him favour, as Jean Macintyre has shown.³⁴³ The future duke’s supporters seem to have realised in advance that his personal attractiveness would be shown off to great advantage during the dance. According to Chamberlain, the ‘principall motive’ behind the New Year’s masque of January 1615 was ‘the gracing of younge villers and to bring him on the stage’.³⁴⁴ Lockyer suggests that it was not merely those who were pushing him forward who were keen to see this rising star perform on the dance floor, but also the King himself.³⁴⁵ Villiers’s position as the King’s new favourite was accomplished within a few months of his masque debut, and consolidated by Somerset’s dramatic downfall in the autumn and winter of that year.³⁴⁶

Villiers continued to appear in masques and the indications are that he danced spectacularly. In a famous account of the 1618 masque *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue*,

³⁴³ Jean McIntyre, ‘Buckingham the Masquer’, *Renaissance and Reformation*, 22 (Summer 1998), 59-81.

³⁴⁴ H&S, x, 553. Herford and Simpson assert that this masque is *The Golden Age Restored*, but more recent scholarship has placed this masque the following year, with *Mercury Vindicated* as the masque of 1615. For an account of the dating of *The Golden Age Restored*, and its political context, see Martin Butler and David Lindley, ‘Restoring Astraea: Jonson’s Masque for the Fall of Somerset’, *ELH*, 61.4 (Winter 1994), pp. 807-827.

³⁴⁵ Roger Lockyer, *Buckingham: The Life and Political Career of George Villiers, First Duke of Buckingham, 1592-1628* (London: Longman, 1981), p. 18.

³⁴⁶ A full account of Villiers’s rise to power can be found in Lockyer, pp. 3-20.

the Venetian chaplain, Busino describes first the King's displeasure at, and then his mollification by, the dancing. Villiers is mentioned in particular, both as the favourite of the King, and as the most skilful dancer.³⁴⁷ Villiers's status as favourite and his dancing skills interact to consolidate his position, earning himself the kind of attention usually reserved for the royal family.³⁴⁸

The virtuosic performance of the favourite thus shifted the spectatorial gaze. The unitary viewpoint of James has been seen by many as a kind of reciprocal form of attention. James watches the masque from the viewpoint of perfect perspective, and this viewpoint has the effect of concentrating attention and status upon James as the central point of the performing space. Douglas Lanier comments:

at the very moment when other members of the court take the dance floor to become objects of desire and potentially rival examples of virility and physical grace, the masque verse recasts them as mere expressions of the king's fructifying gaze rather than as agents in their own right. The masque thus gives double form to the absolute power of the king's gaze, not only in the much-remarked way in which the sight lines of Inigo Jones's elaborate sets converge properly only on the king's throne, but also in the power of the royal gaze to animate the revels.³⁴⁹

What Lanier fails to emphasise sufficiently here is that, as he says, it is the masque *verse* that casts the participants in this way. The text presents a certain set of priorities, but the participants themselves, it is apparent, often had other ideas.

When Villiers cuts his extraordinary capers, the wide gaze of the central viewpoint is narrowed to a singularity: the body of the dancer. Attention is thus shifted from the group onto himself and effectively establishes the courtier as the point of focus rather than the King. Villiers thus becomes a performer rather than a participant, forming the

³⁴⁷ *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts Relating to English Affairs: Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice*, ed. Allen B. Hinds (London: HMSO, 1909), pp. 113-4.

³⁴⁸ Eyewitness accounts of masques mention the dancing of royal figures far more often.

³⁴⁹ Douglas Lanier, 'Fertile Visions: Jacobean Revels and the Erotics of Occasion', *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*, 39.2 (Spring 1999), 327-56.

clearest example of the way that dance conventions could be manipulated to show virtuosity. While the texts of masques present the dances as a homogenising spectacle that brought the court together in harmony, an individual dancer could manipulate the situation to their own strategic and social advantage.

The Revels

The largest part of the evening of a masque performance was taken up by the dancing in the revels section. These social dances consolidated the form's public statement, extending the metaphorical representation of the court into the real world. The dances were the generic social dances of common knowledge at court, and as such formed a common vocabulary of possible movement and variation of that movement. Obviously, individual dances followed a set pattern, but it also seems that the sequence of dances also had a customary pattern. This was based on the traditional social dance sequence which started with slower, stately dances, (known in the Inns of Court as the Solemn Revels), and proceeded to livelier, faster dances (or Post Revels in the Inns) and sometimes ending with country dances.³⁵⁰ Evidence of this sequence can be found in Champion's text of *The Lord Hay's Masque* (1607) which reveals that, having danced three new dances as well as having taken out the ladies for the measures, '*the Maskers began their lighter daunces as Currantoes, Levaltas and galliards*' (p. 226). Sir John Astley's account of *Time Vindicated* (1623), states that 'the measures, braules, corrantos and galliards being ended, the Masquers with the ladyes did daunce 2 contry daunces, namely The Soldiers Marche and Huff Hamukin'.³⁵¹

³⁵⁰ Brissenden, p. 7. See also James P. Cunningham, *Dancing in the Inns of Court* (London: Jordan 1965).

³⁵¹ H&S, x, p. 649.

The significance of these dances did not lie so much in the actual dance steps themselves, however, but in the personnel who made up the masquers and their dance partners. In William Trumbull's account of *Oberon*, for instance, he describes how Prince Henry danced three times with the Queen, and informs us that the Earl of Southampton took out the Princess.³⁵² This concentration upon who danced with whom, especially who danced with members of the royal family, is a fairly common preoccupation of contemporary accounts of masque productions.³⁵³

It seems that the masquers' initial choices were recognised as being more significant than the later partnerings in the revels. In his letter to Chamberlain of 15 January 1604, Dudley Carleton takes care to list the names of all those taken out for the earlier measures in both the masque on New Year's night, and *Tethys' Festival*, performed on 8 January. Of the later dances, by contrast, he merely says of the New Year's masque 'in the corantoes they ran over some other of the young ladies' and of *Tethys' Festival*, 'for galliardes and corantoes they went by discretion'.³⁵⁴ This differentiation between earlier and later partners chosen by the masquers certainly makes it seem likely that they were part of what Barroll describes as a set of pre-planned 'ceremonial politics'.³⁵⁵ So although any member of the audience could potentially be a participant, there was a clear sense of differentiation between micro-elites within the larger court elite. This differentiation corresponded with the

³⁵² H&S, X, pp. 522-3.

³⁵³ See for example Carleton's letter describing *The Masque of Blackness* in which he describes how the Spanish ambassador 'took out the Queen, and forgot not to kiss her hand' (H&S, X, 448); Sir John Astley's entry in the Office-book of the Master of the Revels for 1622-3, which reveals that 'the Prince did lead the measures with the French ambassadors wife' (H&S, X, 649); Chamberlain's letter referring to the creation of Buckingham's earldom in which he notes that at the twelfth night masque (which was *The Vision of Delight*), 'the newmade earle and the earle of mongomerie dawnsed with the queene' (H&S, X, p. 568).

³⁵⁴ Chambers, III, 280.

³⁵⁵ Barroll, *Anna of Denmark*, p. 86. Sabol suggests that this first set of dances may have sometimes been specially choreographed, implying that the masquers' partners must have been aware of the plans and have practised the dances themselves, although he does not offer any evidence to support this claim ('Masque and Antimasque', p. 307).

progression of dance styles from the most formal to the least. The earlier partners, along with the masquers, displayed their ability to execute the controlled energy of the slowest, and therefore courtliest and stateliest, dances, whereas later dancers performed the faster moving dances and what were elite versions of country dances.

Sparshott has described seventeenth-century French court ballet as 'an art for participants and not for spectators'.³⁵⁶ For the Jacobean court masque, though, this model becomes somewhat complicated. The masquers' dances and the social dances of the revels were indeed participant-based, in that it is the actual identities of the dancers involved and the framing texts that give the dances their significance, not primarily the movement itself. The dances of the antimasque were, however, much more spectator-oriented. And even within the masquers' dances and the revels spectatorship is crucial, the key indicator of this being the role of King James himself as principal audience member.³⁵⁷

The revels dances constituted both a display for spectators, and a participatory mode of self-reflexive group identification. They extended the masque's idealised setting to include the courtly audience gathered beyond the edge of the stage, mixing the two within the intermediate area of the orchestra, or dancing space. The masque dances offered the masquers the chance to shine as either a special group or individuals, but the revels dances put them back within their wider social group. The way to impress in the revels was to dance with someone more important than yourself (for example, Buckingham with the Queen in *The Vision of Delight*), not to do something dazzling

³⁵⁶ Sparshott, p. 47.

³⁵⁷ This was significantly different to French practice (and, of course, to the Caroline masque), where kings regularly disguised and danced as masquers in the period (see Robert M. Isherwood, *Music in the Service of the King: France in the Seventeenth Century* (London: Cornell University Press, 1973)).

and different with your feet. An exercise in conformity, the revels performed that conformity for the elite as a whole, projecting an ideal picture of a model society.

When dancing, the courtier's inner and outer selves become synthesised, the body displaying the exemplary mental and physical control that denoted nobility. Dancing was thus the pre-eminent marker of a courtier. As Caroso asserted in *Nobiltà di Dame*, the ability to dance 'is so essential to one of good breeding, that when it is lacking it is considered a fault worthy of reproof'.³⁵⁸ The dance thus defines its practitioners. As Stephen Kolsky points out, 'far from being trivial, the dance, performed in the palace, is a crucial rite in which power is displayed and confirmed'.³⁵⁹ Courtly finesse involved adherence to codes of conduct, behavioural codes which governed every aspect of movement and which served to distinguish their entire social class. The repressive style of courtly dance showcased the control of individual performers over their own bodies, and by extension, the dominance of hegemonic codes over the group as a whole.

The masque dances and the revels each embody a different aspect of the courtly dance aesthetic. In doing so the tensions produced by social mobility at court are mapped on to them by the masque. The masquers' dances provide an opportunity for the well-placed and ambitious to manipulate the display of identity to reconfigure their place within the court. But the deep-seated conservatism of the revels belies an elite thrown into crisis by the undermining of traditional aristocracy and the deflation of honours.³⁶⁰ Improvised within a strictly delimited set of rules and practices of dance steps and movement, the revels were in themselves a highly choreographed statement of favour and allegiances. It was the parvenu Buckingham who proved most adept at

³⁵⁸ *Nobiltà di Dame*, p. 87.

³⁵⁹ Kolsky, p. 16.

³⁶⁰ The classic account of this is Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy*.

successfully manipulating the complex codes of movement that signified social superiority in the masque.

The dancing in the Jacobean masque is perhaps the most elusive part of the genre, but it formed the substance of each performance's statement of courtly identity. By participating in the dance, noble masquers displayed their social class. The performance of acceptable movement codes reinforced the individual's place in the dancing group, and by extension, the court elite. The extension of the dance to the audience in the revels expanded the courtly group, merging the observer and the observed, providing a unique configuration of the spectator-performer relationship in early modern dance. Even in the revels, the participants were self-consciously performing their identity.

Masque texts present that identity as conforming to a static ideal. The determination of the text to implant meaning within the dance should be treated with caution, however. Whilst descriptions of dance in masque texts are shaped by the concerns with neoplatonic harmony, it is difficult to see how the dance movements and choreography reflected this in any concrete sense. The surrounding songs and speeches exhorted the spectator to read the dances as neoplatonic hieroglyphics, and now direct the reader of masque texts to imagine them as such. Demaray, for instance, has declared that 'the performers danced in intricate mazes that revealed how the power and love of Jove, reflected in the centrally seated nobility, brought harmony' to man and the universe.³⁶¹ The stated purpose of masque dance is, according to Demaray, to provide 'lessons in moral philosophy set to motion'.³⁶²

³⁶¹ John G. Demaray, *Milton and the Masque Tradition* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), p. 11.

³⁶² Demaray, p. 11.

Yet apart from the odd figure dance where symbols such as the letters of a person's name were created by the formation of the dancers' floor pattern, it is not clear where the potential for interpretation comes from, if indeed it does come from anywhere apart from the textual references. The interpretive directions of the texts disguise the referential circularity of masque dance. Individual dances rarely represent anything except themselves, that is, the court dancing and displaying itself with apt grace. As Sparshott has pointed out in his discussion of court ballet, if everything is dance and dance is everything, the metaphor can actually become too wide to have meaning for anything specific.³⁶³

Cohen has argued that the 'inherently representative qualities of human movement' form the basis of modern dance, giving the example of the stamping of the foot in frustration as one such meaningful gesture.³⁶⁴ If these qualities are indeed inherent, then any form of dance, including early modern dance, must have expressive potential, but there is no reason to assume that gestural meaning has any more cross-cultural universality than anything else. The performers of all three types of dance in the masque participated in gestural codes which defined their gender and social class according to the terms of Western European early modern court culture. Within the context of the masque and its fiction, the interpretation of those gestural codes was, tautologically, determined by the identity of those who performed them.

The presentation of difference through dance in the masque was part of the masque's project of showing either the destruction of unorthodox elements or their elision with right order, subjugating the subversive into their proper place, resulting in a harmonious social blend. This difference is presented as deriving from an inalienable

³⁶³ Sparshott, p. 49.

³⁶⁴ Selma Jeanne Cohen, 'Dance as an Art of Imitation', *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, 12 (1953-1954), 232-236, (p. 234).

and essential nobility of character. Thus, social status is the ultimate referent for the meaning of dance in the masque. By juxtaposing orderly and regulated courtly dance with the disordered and less restricted dance movements of an antimasque, the masque projected its universal harmonious vision by first regulating the microcosm of the dancing body.

Chapter 5: The Jacobean Masque Part 2, Song

Songs were an integral part of a masque performance. As much a part of the fabric of the genre as dance, songs provided many of the structural markers of the form, as well as simultaneously commenting upon the action that they articulated. Masque songs – both those for which music has survived, and those for which it has not – provide evidence for the way that music can shape its performance context and its reception, through connotations of style, instrumentation and performance practice. They also show how the reception of music is itself shaped by the extra-musical elements of its performance, elements such as lyrics, scenario, description (both written and spoken), timing, occasion and character. Meaning in music is a dialectical process that emerges from its interaction with other elements. Music's ability to both absorb and bestow different levels of meaning in this way makes it difficult to pinpoint or finalise music's effect, but this quality is precisely what made it an essential feature of the masque.

As with dance, one of the most significant roles for music in masques is its function of delineating the structure of the entertainment, differentiating the mood and tone of each section. This generic aspect of music's functionality generates expectations which can be confirmed or undermined, again showing how meaning can be produced by interaction. Walls has categorised different types of masque songs in detail, for example designating some songs as aubades that announce the end of the entertainment, or others as 'transforming' songs, noting that by the Caroline period, 'the efficacious transformation song had become a convention' in the masque.³⁶⁵ These categorisations are useful when examining the genre in its later stages, but such generalisations should not be applied too rigidly to the early years of the Jacobean masque. The masque was an

³⁶⁵ Walls, *Music in the English Courtly Masque*, p. 47.

organic form, growing and developing according to circumstance rather than adhering to preconceived generic principles; its features emerge as responses to particular occasions.

As noted in the Introduction, the nature of the evidence regarding masque song is somewhat problematic. This is further complicated by the way that the masque texts themselves do not necessarily aim to represent the performance accurately. This is true for most entertainment texts, but it is particularly noticeable in Jonson's masque texts.³⁶⁶ Jonson consistently privileges his poetry above all other elements of the masque. On the title page of *The Haddington Masque* (1608), for instance, the text calls itself 'the description of the masque, with the nuptial songs', separating the epithalamic songs from the masque proper. The distinction between song and poetry is further highlighted in Jonson's introduction of the epithalamium within the text, where he asserts that, despite the fact that in performance the individual stanzas '*showed to be many several songs*', it was in fact '*made to be read an entire poem*' (ll. 292-3). The performance mutated (or mutilated) the poetry, turning it into song, whereas the text restores it to its true (and implicitly worthier) state.

This chapter will explore the ways in which the musical texts can be used in conjunction with the masque texts to piece together an understanding of the place such songs had within the developing genre of the masque, and, by extension, their place within Jacobean court culture. It will discuss songs in terms of their place within the sequence of the masque structure, examining opening and antimasque songs, and main masque songs, analysing surviving musical settings where appropriate.

³⁶⁶ It is unavoidable that Jonson should provide most of the examples in a discussion of the masque, owing to the fact that he wrote far more masques than any other writer of the period.

The chapter then examines two important aspects of performance practice: the role of the composer, and the use of ornamentation. This is followed by an exploration of what I term the ‘collective mode’ of performance in the masque, looking at the way choruses are deployed in the genre, particularly in marriage masques. The chapter then examines developments in musical style in the masque in two ways. Firstly, the earlier sense of collectivity is contrasted with a later emphasis upon solo singers. Secondly and finally, Jonson’s references to *stilo recitativo* are discussed, arguing that this label tells us more about attitudes to music than about the music itself.

Openings and Antimasques

Much masque criticism has concentrated upon the relationship between the antimasque and the main masque as the crux of the form’s complex relationship to the society it celebrates. Whether one wishes to portray the masque as subversive or repressive, radical or conservative, it is the antimasque which provides the evidence.³⁶⁷ But the antimasque only became a regular feature of the genre after 1609, and even then, not all masques contained one; the form’s manifestations are far from standardised.³⁶⁸

One element of continuity in the Jacobean masque was that the opening of a performance was usually signalled by music.³⁶⁹ The performance started when the King and his retinue had taken their seats. This is referred to by Jonson as ‘*being set*’, in *The Masque of Queens* (l. 20), and his description of *Love Freed From Ignorance and Folly* opens by remarking that the performance started ‘*so soon as the king’s majesty was set*

³⁶⁷ See, for example, Jonathan Dollimore, *Radical Tragedy: Religion, Ideology and Power in the Drama of Shakespeare and his Contemporaries*, 2nd edn. (Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1989), pp. 26-8.

³⁶⁸ Butler, ‘Private and Occasional Drama’, p. 141; Craig, p. 181.

³⁶⁹ As we have seen, Elizabethan entertainments also often announced their beginnings musically (pp. 66-9).

and in expectation' (l. 1). The terseness of references in masque texts to this entrance and its music gives the impression that it was commonly understood as the normal way of beginning a masque performance.³⁷⁰ For example, the description of *Neptune's Triumph* opens with a declaration: '*his majesty being set, and the loud music ceasing*' (l. 1). *Mercury Vindicated*, in the same vein, opens by remarking '*after the loud music, the scene discovered*' (l. 1). The 'loud music' referred to was probably a fanfare of hoboys,³⁷¹ having the same function as the trumpets that customarily accompanied royal personages.³⁷² The music marked the transition between reality and fantasy, occupying the liminal space between.

In *Campion's Lord Hay's Masque* (1607), however, this boundary becomes blurred as the opening music is more integrated with the fiction. The description informs us that '*as soone as the King was entred the great Hall, the Hoboyes (out of the wood on the top of the hil) entertained the time till his Majestie and his trayne were placed*' (p. 214). The hoboy players perform the function of announcing the King that they performed at other masques, yet they are placed within the scene of the masque, bringing its fiction one step closer to reality. These musicians do not seem to play again during the masque as they are not mentioned again, and they are not mentioned in *Campion's* description of the instrumental make-up and placing of the ensembles which played during the songs and dances later in the masque. Moreover, hoboys were loud and piercing instruments. This was precisely the quality that made them so suitable for their annunciatory function, but which would hardly enable them to fit in with the other ensembles. The hoboys were not part of the masque, therefore, but neither were they wholly part of reality either. Placed at the very back of the scene, they accompanied the

³⁷⁰ The comparative scarcity of such references reinforces the impression that it was taken for granted.

³⁷¹ A synonym for the shawm. See Lindley, *Music in Shakespeare*, pp. 238-9.

³⁷² See chapter 2 (pp. 65-6).

King's entrance, but ultimately transferred attention from him, at the centre of the hall, to the space in between where the masque was about to take place, signalling its imminence by their ceasing.

In *The Masque of Blackness* (1605), the 'loud music' of the King's entry is co-opted within the masque itself. Its connotations are adapted to generate a sense of entrance for the masquers. Jonson's account describes how the masquers, seated in an enormous shell, are '*induced*' by Niger and Oceanus at the very beginning of the masque (l. 43). At this point, '*one of the tritons, with the two sea-maids, began to sing to the others' loud music*' (ll. 73-4). The tritons presumably had wind instruments (most likely some sort of hoboy) concealed within shells, so that they could play them like 'real' tritons. The lyrics begin with the exhortation to 'Sound, sound aloud | The welcome of the orient flood | Into the west' (l. 76-8). Thus, the connotations of loud music are extended into the first song of the masque, in an attempt to attach them to the subject introduced by the lyrics.

The lyrics give an account of the masque's main theme, explaining the masquers' striking appearance: 'though but black in face, | Yet are they bright', and asserting that they will 'prove' that although they are black, they are still beautiful (ll. 82-5). The plot of the masque is explained more fully by the dialogue between Oceanus and Niger that follows the opening song, but the song is required immediately to account for the striking costume and face-paint of the masquers, suggesting a need to quickly defuse the possibility that observers might find it off-putting. That this might well be the response is confirmed by Carleton's oft-quoted opinion of the masquers' appearance as 'lothsome'.³⁷³ Thus, while the song helps to create a suitably grand 'entrance' for the

³⁷³ *Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain, 1603-1624: Jacobean Letters*, ed. by Maurice Lee (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1972), p. 68. This masque has been the focus of a wide range

masquers, its annunciatory function also helps it to attempt to anticipate and defuse negative criticism by neutralising the shock of the masquers' unusual appearance, aestheticising it by surrounding it with music.

Music also featured prominently in masques which opened with an antimasque. Antimasques varied greatly, and groupings of them can be made along stylistic or thematic lines.³⁷⁴ For my purposes, I draw a basic distinction between prose and verse antimasques. It is the latter type I shall be focusing on, because they have at least the potential to be sung. In fact, it seems likely that if the opening was in verse, then it was set to music for the performance. On closer inspection, as well as including song, verse antimasques are also far more likely to include supernatural or mythical features (for example, in *The Masque of Queens* (1609), and *Oberon* (1611)) as opposed to the comic ordinariness of the 'low induction' type of antimasque (exemplified by *The Irish Masque at Court* (performed twice, in December 1613 and January 1614), and *For the Honour of Wales* (1618)).³⁷⁵

Antimasque songs are much more integrated into the masque's fiction than the main masque songs because they directly participate in proceedings rather than commenting on them. As the antithesis of the sophisticated songs of the main masque, antimasque songs flatter their audience by establishing a sense of distinction between

of critical work on its sexual and racial politics, including Hardin Aasand, "'To Blanch an Ethiop, and Revive a Corse': Queen Anne and *The Masque of Blackness*", *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*, 32 (1992), 271-85; Bernadette Andrea, 'Black Skin, the Queen's Masques: Africanist Ambivalence and Feminine Author(ity) in the Masques of *Blackness* and *Beauty*', *ELR*, 29 (1999), 246-81; Marion Wynne-Davies, 'The Queen's Masque: Renaissance Women and the Seventeenth-Century Court', in *Gloriana's Face: Women, Public and Private in the English Renaissance*, ed. by S.P. Cerasano and Marion Wynne-Davies (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1992), pp. 79-104; Mary Floyd-Wilson, 'Temperature, Temperance, and Racial Difference in Ben Jonson's *The Masque of Blackness*', *ELR*, 28 (1998), 183-209.

³⁷⁴ For example, Hugh Craig has outlined some useful similarities and developments in Jonson's masques in 'Jonson, the Antimasque and the "Rules of Flattery"', in *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque*, ed. by David Bevington and Peter Holbrook (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 176-96.

³⁷⁵ The term 'low induction' is from Chapman's *The Memorable Masque* (l. 442).

the world of the antimasque and the courtly audience's perception of itself.³⁷⁶ The terms of this difference, however, are not necessarily ones which the audience would uniformly accept. For instance, in *The Golden Age Restored* (1616), the warlike music of the antimasque attempts to identify militarism as anti-courtly.

As we saw above in relation to dance (pp. 137-43), the relationship between the antimasque and main masque takes different forms. The most obvious example of antimasque as literal antitype of the main masque is the antimasque in *The Masque of Queens*. The twelve masquers are mirrored by twelve hags who invert the norms of morality, behaviour, gender, movement and appearance. This is, of course, also reflected in the demonic music of the witches. Their charms may have been chanted or sung, though it is impossible to tell for certain from the evidence. They certainly did, however, carry a kind of demonic music with them, with their 'spindles, timbrels, rattles or other venefical instruments, making a confused noise, with strange gestures' (ll. 29-30). The lack of coherence and structure in the noise the witches make is presented as threatening, and very different to proper, melodious music. Additionally, the witches' use of charms and chants harnesses the affective power of music for the purposes of evil.³⁷⁷ The hags are forces of disruption and have no place in the main masque, except as a spectacle of defeat and humiliation, pulling the chariots of the triumphant masquers.

This can be contrasted with the sense of tolerance that surrounds the antimasque in *Oberon*.³⁷⁸ The satyrs' entry in is, in some ways, as noisy and chaotic as that of the hags in *The Masque of Queens*, but the music helps to place them within the bounds of acceptable transgression. This is oxymoronic, but the satyrs are merely performing the

³⁷⁶ Walls, *Music in the English Courtly Masque*, pp. 75-86.

³⁷⁷ The King's own interest in witchcraft was well-known. Indeed, Jonson refers to it himself, citing the King's book as a source (*Ben Jonson: The Complete Masques*, p. 526).

³⁷⁸ See Martin Butler, 'Courtly Negotiations', pp. 29-33, and above, p. 122.

idea of transgression without actually offending, in the context of an amused and indulgent audience. The satyrs are said to come ‘*running forth severally from divers parts of the rock, leaping and making antic action and gestures [...] some of them speaking, some admiring*’ (ll. 27-9), with at least two of them playing on cornetts. It is hard to imagine that there would not have been a few comically-timed toots from the cornetts during this entry and the passage of dialogue that follows it. The appropriation of the high-art instrument by relatively low-life figures only adds to the sense that the boisterous tumult of the satyrs is silly and laughable rather than dangerous.

The antimasque in *The Masque of Queens* is also meant to be entertaining, of course, just like that of *Oberon*, but it achieves this end in a completely different way. In *The Masque of Queens*, the audience is thrilled by seeing a vicious spectacle thoroughly destroyed. In *Oberon*, the audience is encouraged to join in the indulgence of the ridiculous and comical satyrs. This is not to say that there are not serious moral undercurrents running through *Oberon*, but during the antimasque, these are kept at arm’s length. Even though Silenus tries to subdue the satyrs, and the Sylvan guards sternly lecture them on the need for respect, the actions of the satyrs hold nowhere near the horrid potential of the threats which surface in the antimasque of *The Masque of Queens*.

It seems more than likely that at least part of the reason for this difference in tone is the gender of the masquers. The masques featuring the Queen and her ladies often feature what might be termed ‘aggressive’ antimasques. For example, Queen Anne’s masque of the 1610-11 Christmas season, *Love Freed From Ignorance and Folly*, featured a hideous dancing Sphinx and a dance of twelve she-fools. Jonson’s marginal note indicates that the Sphinx represents ignorance, the enemy of Love and Beauty, and that this is why ‘*antiquity hath given her the upper parts and face of a woman*’

(marginal note, ll. 10-11). Although it is unclear whether the Sphinx sang her opening lines, she entered onto the stage dancing to 'a strange music of wild instruments' (ll. 1-2). Monstrosity is accompanied by its own perverted music, just as the hags in *The Masque of Queens* danced to 'a strange and sudden music' (l. 327). The Sphinx and her attendants are banished by the arrival of the main masque, heralded by Love's successful solving of the Sphinx's riddle, and he recommends that the 'monster and her elves' suicidally 'precipitate themselves' (*Love Freed*, ll. 265-6).³⁷⁹

By contrast, *The Haddington Masque* (1608), danced by twelve male masquers representing the signs of the zodiac, is comparable to *Oberon* in that its quasi-antimasque is also contained, rather than destroyed, by its relation to the masque proper. The characters of Cupid and his attendants, who perform a 'capricious dance to as odd a music', are described as giving 'mirth and delight to the spectators' (ll. 144-7). Thus, the presentation and reception of unusual music is often directed by the connotations of gender.

The only surviving example of antimasque song from this period is a setting of 'Buzz Quoth the Bluefly', the catch sung by the satyrs in *Oberon*. Its status is rather uncertain, however, since only the lyrics link this particular setting to the masque. It featured in a collection of catches printed in 1667,³⁸⁰ attributed to Edmund Nelham. Nelham was appointed to the Chapel Royal in 1617, a date which implies that he was probably too young to have contributed to *Oberon*.³⁸¹ The catch is printed in two sections, the first of which sets the lyrics by Jonson from the masque (see example 1 below). The second section uses lyrics which seem to have nothing to do with the

³⁷⁹ Here, Love ostensibly emblematises the achievement of an entente between the sexes whilst in fact effecting a neutering of a female-figured threat.

³⁸⁰ John Playford, ed., *Catch That Catch Can*, (London: 1667), p. 75.

³⁸¹ Nelham's birthdate is unknown. He died in 1646 (*A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians*, ed. by Andrew Ashbee and David Lasocki, 2 vols (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), II, 824-5).

masque, appearing in no other source,³⁸² making it seem likely that the second section was added later. The two sections are musically independent of each other, so, contrary to Sabol's opinion, I consider that only the first section has any relevance for *Oberon*.³⁸³

Example 1.³⁸⁴

The catch in *Oberon* supports the sense that this is a 'tolerant' antimasque. The catch genre itself is highly appropriate to the childlike, boisterous satyrs. It was a very popular style and was probably the most accessible form of part singing.³⁸⁵ Just as in a round, in a catch, each part enters after a set interval, and sings the same as the previous singer or group of singers. In the masque, this simplicity reflects the rustic, crude nature of the satyrs,³⁸⁶ and the style of the particular setting of the catch which survives is very appropriate to these characters. The satyrs are boisterous and rowdy, and the catch is

³⁸² The extra lyrics given in Sabol are as follows: 'You have a thing above your knee; I think it is as black as black may be'. Their bawdiness is perhaps appropriate for the satyrs (Sabol, *Four Hundred Songs and Dances*, p. 62).

³⁸³ Sabol, *Four Hundred Songs and Dances*, p. 552n.

³⁸⁴ All musical quotations from the masques are based upon *Four Hundred Songs and Dances from the Stuart Masque*.

³⁸⁵ This factor may be the reason why this particular example of antimasque music survived. Although the form's heyday was rather later in the seventeenth century, the earliest catches date from the 1580s (see David Johnson: 'Catch', *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed 23 March 2005), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>).

³⁸⁶ For a discussion of Shakespeare's use of catches to 'establish the atmosphere of license, relaxation and irregularity' see P.T. Dircks, 'Shakespeare's Use of the Catch as Dramatic Metaphor', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 24 (1973), 88-90.

jolly with a bouncy rhythm. It suggests an onomatopoeic and demonstrative mode of delivery, with the rolling melody evoking the flying, buzzing and humming that the words refer to. The octave leaps in the phrases ‘in his ears, in his nose’ (bar 7), or ‘he ate a dormouse, Else it was he’ (bars 10-12), encourage the idea that the performance was accompanied by demonstrative gesture.

Notwithstanding its popular, vulgar character, the catch does have a certain relationship to neoplatonic music in that it operates as a kind of charm to waken the Sylvan guards. This is a Puck-like aspect of rough magic that embodies the wild spirits of nature. Although there are no explicit references to neoplatonic magical music in the main masque of this event, there is still an implied contrast here with the serious neoplatonic music that is appropriate for main masques. Thus, the class stratifications which the antimasque and masque reproduce are embodied by their respective musics.

The opening of *Mercury Vindicated* (1616) complicates this model, however. Structurally, the masque may seem to adopt a model of carnivalesque subversion followed by containment, as exemplified by *Oberon*. The main part of the antimasque involves Vulcan’s efforts through the antimasque dances to recapture Mercury, who has escaped from imprisonment. Just like the witches of *The Masque of Queens*, Vulcan and his alchemists use a kind of ‘antitype’ of the neoplatonic dancing of the main masque. For example, for the first dance, Vulcan gathers ‘a troupe of threadbare alchemists’ (l. 99) whom he arranges in position, and then exhorts:

Vulcan. Begin your charm, sound music, circle him in and take him: if he
will not obey, bind him.
*They all danced about Mercury with variety of changes, whilst he
defends himself with his caduceus* (ll. 101-4).

Vulcan’s evil machinations are contrasted with the way that the ‘softer circles’ (l. 189) of the main masque dances are consistently described in neoplatonic terms: they ‘prove

all the numbers then | That make perfection up' (ll. 184-5). The main masque dances are a response to Nature's request that

[...] something must be done
 To show they are the creatures of the sun,
 That each to other
 Is a brother,
 And Nature here no stepdame, but a mother (ll. 179-83).

The masquers' dances are efficacious because they spring spontaneously, fully-formed from Nature. The antimasque dances are art's false imitations.

This antagonistic model can only go so far, however, because it does not take into account the Cyclope's song that opens the masque. The lyrics rehearse a familiar argument about the relative merits of art and nature:

Soft, subtile fire, thou soul of art,
 Now do thy part
 On weaker Nature, that through age is lamed.
 Take but thy time, now she is old,
 And the sun her friend grown cold,
 She will no more in strife with thee be named.
 Look but how few confess her now
 In cheek or brow!
 From every head, almost, how she is frightened!
 The very age abhors her so
 That it learns to speak and go
 As if by art alone it could be righted. (ll. 4-15)

The song is difficult to place in a binary scheme of 'good' versus 'bad' music. Because he is the only character in this antimasque who sings, the very fact that he does so links him with the main masque, the entirety of which is sung. Mercury and Vulcan, by contrast, conduct their argument in prose. Indeed, Mercury's long speeches are quick-fire verbal barrages of the kind associated with Jonson's low-induction figures (for example, Robin Goodfellow from *Love Restored* (1612)). The Cyclope's song, therefore, forms a striking contrast, not with the main masque, but with the entrance of Mercury.

Despite the characteristic inversion of courtly tropes by the rest of the antimasque in the form of dance, the Cyclope's song appears to imitate courtly form. The lyrics can be divided into two metrically-identical stanzas, suggesting a self-contained courtly art-song.³⁸⁷ The music is not described as 'confused' or strange in any way, and its subject-matter is far from inappropriate for a courtly setting. If there is a violation of decorum here, then it comes from the character of the Cyclope himself. It is his costume and makeup that displays his monstrosity, and thus determines the audience's response to him. The interplay between these associations allows the song to put forward a more ambiguous view of the triumph of Nature expressed by the masque as a whole, and challenges the simplicity of a straightforward mapping onto the music of the opposition between the antimasque and masque.

The Vision of Delight (1617) further complicates this sense of binary opposition. It featured what might be more properly described as a mixture of antimasque and antemasque, before the appearance of the main masque. The performance began with a song by the character of Delight, which set out right from the beginning the masque's claim to be an entertainment worthy of its audience. Yet the grandeur of this song's theme and diction was immediately followed by a dance of grotesques involving 'a she-monster delivered of six burratines that dance with six pantaloons' (ll. 17-18). There was then a parade of different scenes, featuring a mixture of the elevated and the ridiculous before the transformation of the scene, when 'the whole scene changed to the bower of Zephyrus' (ll. 117-8). This transformation came in advance of the appearance of the masquers, making their entrance seem to be yet another of Delight's succession of visions, and thus equivalent to them.

³⁸⁷ Walls argues that the cornett accompaniment of this song is in contrast with the lute of the main masque songs (*Music in the English Courtly Masque*, pp. 79-80), whereas I consider this to be less clear-cut.

The lyrics of Delight's opening song serve as a kind of introduction to the masque form, dealing directly with its genre and purpose.³⁸⁸

Let us play and dance and sing,
 Let us now turn every sort
 O' the pleasures of the spring
 To the graces of a court.
 From air, from cloud, from dream, from toys,
 To sounds, to sense, to love, to joys;
 Let your shows be new, as strange,
 Let them oft and sweetly vary;
 Let them haste so to their change
 As the seers may not tarry;
 Too long t'expect the pleasing'st sight
 Doth take away from the delight.

(l. 1-16)

The song is a paean to instant gratification, asking for the immediate indulgence of the audience's whims. This is particularly required in terms of the necessity for variety in the shows and the need for quick changes between them to avoid boredom.³⁸⁹ This variety is achieved in the subsequent succession of an assortment of dances and speeches which have little or nothing in common with each other.

The vocabulary of Delight's song focuses on the light and inconsequential, referring to 'pleasures', 'dreams' and 'toys' (ll. 7, 9), but there is a sense here that the masque provides substance to the insubstantial. The 'pleasures of the spring' which are to be transformed into 'the graces of a court' are exemplified in lines 9-10. Line 9 provides a series of categories (air, cloud, dream, toys) which are converted into the qualities listed in line 10 (sounds, sense, love, joys). In this process of reification Delight is a creative force, able to engender worlds and creatures from words. Delight's song establishes the court itself as a locus of transformation, a place where dreams can be realised. These dreamlike visions include both the masquers and the grotesques, a

³⁸⁸ The implications of Jonson's comment that the song was in the *stilo recitativo* will be discussed below (pp. 204-8).

³⁸⁹ On the aesthetic value of variety, see above, pp. 130-4.

mixture which adheres to Delight's self-imposed prescription of variety but which collapses the distinction between masque and antimasque.

Another masque which destabilises this sense of opposition is *The Golden Age Restored* (1616). The description of the opening situates it within the musical, thematic and visual cues of a main masque entry:

*Loud music. Pallas in her chariot descending.
To a softer music* (ll. 1-2).³⁹⁰

The loud music signals the entrance of an important figure, an impression confirmed by the chariot and the direction of travel (descent). The softer music which accompanies Pallas's subsequent song then situates the singer and character within the 'haut' sophistication of courtly song. This enhances the contrast with the 'tumult and clashing' (l. 23) of the Iron Age and the 'confusion of martial music' that accompanied 'the antimasque and their dance' (ll. 69-70), and also foreshadows the main masque.

Pallas, present in both antimasque and main masque, transcends the distinction between them. Furthermore, her initial entry works as a masque entry upon the 'antimasque' of the disordered real-life court in the midst of the Overbury scandal.³⁹¹ Her song addresses the courtly audience itself as unruly antimasquers, delivering the moral adjudication upon their unworthy conduct that the entry of the masquers had delivered upon the hags in *The Masque of Queens*:

Look, look! rejoice and wonder!
That you offending mortals are,
For all your crimes, so much the care
Of him that bears the thunder!

³⁹⁰ The loud music may well have served to cover the sound of the stage machinery.

³⁹¹ Indeed, Graham Parry comments that 'the Overbury affair was the stuff of anti-masque, corrupt humours that would be banished by chords of regal music' ('The Politics of the Jacobean Masque', in *Theatre and Government Under the Early Stuarts*, ed. by J. R. Mulryne and Margaret Shewring (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 87-117 (p. 108)).

Jove can endure no longer
 Your great ones should your less invade,
 Or that your weak, though bad, be made
 A prey unto the stronger (ll. 3-10)

The song configures the relationship between masque, antimasque and audience in a way which undermines the oppositions usually set up between them. Instead of being identified with a gracious and virtuous set of mythical characters, the courtly audience is addressed as ‘offending mortals’ who have committed the crimes that a main masque would sweep away. The division which the song works to maintain, however, is the uniquely separate status of the King, figured as Jove. James is thus exempted from any association with the wrongdoing implied by the song. Yet Jove’s detachment is also problematic. He is dissociated from the resolution to the evils of the age, and instead it is Astraea who will operate as the agent of the new Golden Age.³⁹²

From these examples it is clear that the music of antimasque songs is not simply organised in a straight correspondence with negative antitypes of the positively constructed main masque music. Inversion and parody of musical techniques and tropes clearly play a role in some antimasques, but they can also work to complicate the relation of the courtly audience to a masque’s sense of moral purpose.

Main masque song

The principal role for song in the main masque was that of providing a breathing space for masquers between their showpiece dances, and between these dances and the revels. As we have seen, early modern dancing could be aerobically taxing, especially for the men during the leaps of the galliard sequence (see above, pp. 144-6). Even in slower, less energetic dances, the control required of the leg muscles would have

³⁹² As Butler and Lindley point out, Astraea is unmistakably associated with Elizabeth (‘Restoring Astraea’, p. 820).

required intermittent respite even for the most experienced of dancers. This resting time was also a crucial part of the ambience of the masque. It punctuated the event, reminding the audience of the fictional frame, and provided suitably refined music which emphasised the status of the occasion and its participants.

The songs were an essential part of the timing and pacing of the masque, operating as structural points around which the formal requirements of the masque were built, punctuating the syntax of the masque dances.³⁹³ The meaning of the lyrics does, of course, play a significant part in this. They manage the transition between different stages of the masque and often provide dramatic justification for the dances. They comment upon the masque's themes and articulate the way the masque wishes to present itself and its participants, ventriloquising the projection of the masquers' noble natures.

Several such songs engage with their own punctuating function by making comments upon the dances. 'Nay, Nay, You Must Not Stay' from *Oberon* is the first of two songs given in Jonson's text that provide a break within the dancing under the guise of encouraging the masquers to continue. This gives the dancers time to rest at the same moment as declaring that they do not, or should not, require it. In doing so, the music keeps up the momentum of the masquers' first dance, with its specially-choreographed display of their personal skill and beauty.

In the setting of 'Nay, Nay' by Ferrabosco, this sense of momentum is borne out musically. The ends of phrases are abbreviated, with only one apart from the final phrase ending with a note lasting a full semibreve. The rest end with minims or, as in

³⁹³ They could also have marked a progression from one type of dance to another. The revels dances do seem to have followed a traditional sequence of dances (see Chapter 4). The masque dances may also have followed some kind of general pattern, articulated by the song interludes. See Leeds Barroll, 'Inventing the Stuart Masque', in *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque*, ed. by David Bevington and Peter Holbrook (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 121-43 (pp. 140-1).

bars 5 and 10, what would have been a semibreve had it not been 'interrupted' by the anacrusis of the following phrase. So, for instance, in bars 4-5 the falling figure on 'weary yet' is echoed by the bass, reflecting a sense of weariness, but the entry of the next phrase comes in early, so to speak, on the fourth crotchet of bar 5, increasing the forward momentum and the sense of urgency of the words.

Cantus

Bassus

Nay, nay, you must not stay, Nor be weary yet. This is no time to cast a-way

Example 2.

The sense of liveliness is increased by a recurring rising quaver figure (see bar 19 in example 3) which reverses the falling shape of 'weary yet'. This buoyancy is also encouraged by the cross rhythms of the final three bars. A sense of doubt is introduced by the falling figure in bars 17-18 with its accompanying minor tonality, suitable for the conditionality of the words 'But with you it still should fare'. This is recuperated, however, by the following bar's use of the rising quaver figure and the return to the tonic in bars 19-20.

C.

B.

But with you it still should fare As with the air, as with the air, as with the air.

Example 3.

The next song in *Oberon*, 'Nor Yet, Nor Yet', comes between the masquers' dances and the revels. The music does not survive for 'Nor Yet, Nor Yet', but both sets of lyrics have similar rhythm and tone, both urging the masquers to continue their dancing. This time, however, the song's exhortation to action is couched in terms of the limitations of time. If the masquers delay, they will 'be overta'en by day' (l. 329) and

thus unable to meet their obligation to compliment the ladies by asking them to dance in the revels: 'these beauties will suspect | That their forms you do neglect | If you do not call them forth' (ll. 330-2). It is therefore appropriate that this song features more than one voice, since it represents a sense of collective duty. Yet again, however, in exerting its mock-pressure the song delays the very action that it purports to accelerate.

The third song in the dance sequence in *Oberon* is 'Gentle knights, Know Some Measure', which comes at the end of the revels. It puts a full stop to this section of the masque, and, as such, contrasts with the earlier songs. Like 'Nor Yet, Nor Yet', however, its lyrics refer to the obligations of the masquers. The song is divided into two sections, with an attention-grabbing opening which calls the masquers away from the dance, and a more flowing second section which presents a disquisition on the theme of the danger of sexual temptation.

The first two lines are set in a declamatory style:³⁹⁴

The musical score is written in 4/4 time with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). It consists of two systems of staves. The first system has a Cantus staff (treble clef) and a Bassus staff (bass clef). The lyrics are: 'Gen - tleknights, gen - tleknights, know some mea - sure of your nights.' The second system has a C. staff (treble clef) and a B. staff (bass clef). The lyrics are: 'Tell the high grac'd O - ber - on It is time - that we were gone.' A fermata is placed over the word 'time' in the C. staff. A bracket connects the first two systems, indicating they are part of the same section.

Example 4.

After an opening chord to establish the moment, the voice enters on the second minim with a rising major 6th calling for attention from the 'Gentle knights'. This phrase is repeated as a rising 5th starting on the tonic, a 4th higher than the first phrase, reiterating the call and increasing the sense of urgency by virtue of its higher pitch. The

³⁹⁴ See below, pp. 203-4, for a discussion of declamatory styles.

extension of the first syllable of 'measure' and the quaver figure which follows both add to the declamatory feel by accentuating the metrical stress on 'measure' and 'knights', whilst skipping over the lighter accent on 'of', reproducing speech rhythms. The ending of this phrase in the dominant key further engages the auditor in that it suggests that more is to follow, and the broadly minor tonality and imperfect cadence of this line suggest an admonitory feel.

The homonym knights/nights draws attention to the punning possibilities of the song's lyrics. The word 'measure' in particular contains several simultaneous possibilities, and the exaggerated stress in the musical setting of 'measure' highlights this word and its complex place in the song's meaning. 'Measure' draws attention to the length of the evening and the need to bring it to an end, as well as recalling the 'measures' or dances which the masquers have been participating in. It also contains a sense of self-restraint and temperance, and refers to the need to curtail pleasure before it becomes immoderate, and leads to vice.

The second section of the song is set with less declamatory clarity, as the words referring to the enchanting 'motions' of the dances are set with melismas, for example on 'motions', 'fairy' and 'tarry'. This, and the way that the runs move almost exclusively by step, generates a smoothness which reflects the movement of the dance referred to by the song. The runs themselves have the effect of slowing the lyrics down considerably. 'Gentle Knights' thus fulfils the very action it warns against, by prolonging the participation of the masquers in the entertainment, despite ostensibly encouraging them to leave. For instance, the word 'tarry' is, appropriately enough, set to longer note values which slow down the cadence in bars 27-9. The repetition of the last four lines, plus the repetition and extension of 'If you longer here should tarry', with an

extra melisma on 'here', makes the same point, enacting the delay by putting off the ending of the song and the subsequent point at which the masquers depart.

33
Cantus
8
And their mo - - - tions so they var - y As they will en - chant the
Bassus

39
C.
8
fair - - - - - ry, If you long - er - - here should tar -
B.

44
C.
8
- ry, If you long - er - - here - - - - - should tar - - - - - ry.
B.

Example 5.

The song's musical setting effectively ironises the lyrics. From its exaggeration of puns to its musical elongation of phrases, the song prolongs the delay it counsels against. Its deliberate engagement with the dangers posed by music to sexual continence is a knowing and ironic gesture to these concerns. Instead of fairies bewitching humans, it presents the female audience members as those who might bewitch the fairy-masquers. The song's portentous minor tonality and word-painting techniques thus help to generate a sense of mock-seriousness which raises the possibility of the corrupting influence of masque and music as a way of avoiding confronting it.

The engagement of song with the sexual politics of dance is also apparent in Ferrabosco's 'Come Away, We Grow Jealous', the only song from *The Masque of Blackness* (1605) for which music survives. It interrupts the beginning of the revels with a gender reversal that portrays the female masquers as akin to Ulysses and his men – in need of ear plugs to resist the seductive music of the male sirens of the land.

as they were about to make choice of their men, one from the sea was heard to call 'em with this charm, sung by a tenor voice

SONG

Come away, come away,
 We grow jealous of your stay;
 If you do not stop your ear,³⁹⁵
 We shall have more cause to fear
 Sirens of the land, than they
 To doubt the sirens of the sea (ll. 265-74)

The song is a complex invocation of the gendered discourse of dance and music.³⁹⁶ Its condemnation of the dangers of aural temptations paradoxically uses music itself to demonstrate its own negative effects.

It is significant that its invocation of the pitfalls of courtship came just before the revels. The revels dances, as described above (pp. 149-55), present a stylised representation of courtship and social circulation. Yet in this masque, the female masquers reverse the norms of courtship by taking the initiative in their '*choice of their men*' (ll. 265-6).³⁹⁷ The song interrupts the aberrant spectacle of female agency with a plea from a lone male voice to step back. Thus, the song re-replaces the masquers in the more familiar position as objects of masculine desire, the focus of a competition between the tritons and the land-dwellers.

In later masques which feature female masquers, especially *The Masque of Beauty* (1608), songs only introduced possibilities of inconstancy in love in order to discount them, to emphasise the way that the court was far removed from such worldliness and profanity. *The Masque of Blackness*, however, does not include a song which

³⁹⁵ In Orgel's text (as in the forthcoming Cambridge Jonson edition) the spelling of 'stoppe' is modernised, which is understandable as it fits with the meter. In Ferrabosco's setting, however, it is disyllabic.

³⁹⁶ On the relationship between music and the feminine, see Linda Phyllis Austern, "'Sing Againe Syren": The Female Musician and Sexual Enchantment in Elizabethan Life and Literature', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 42.3 (Autumn 1989), 420-48.

³⁹⁷ After the Queen's first masque performance at Christmas 1603, Anne Clifford noted that 'all the Ladies about the Court had gotten such ill names [...] and the Queen herself was much fallen from her former greatness and reputation', confirming how controversial female performance could be (*The Diaries of Lady Anne Clifford*, ed. by D.J.H. Clifford (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1990), p. 27).

emphasises the chastity of the participants.³⁹⁸ Instead, the masque's conclusion shows the nymph-masquers of Niger forsaking their watery home and with it the tritons whose representative had begged them in song to 'come away'. Although the masquers must return to the sea to wash away their blackness, this is a temporary measure until they return in a year's time, permanently abandoning the sea-bound tritons.

The song's musical setting also participates in these tensions and contradictions. As Walls notes, it begins in a declamatory vein, which is appropriate to the context as the triton is urgently calling the masquers away.³⁹⁹ The anxiety of the repeated words in the first line is enhanced by the rhythmic variation of their setting. The quaver crotchet pattern of the first 'come away' is lengthened into a reiterative crotchet figure in the second, redolent of impatience.⁴⁰⁰

The second section of the song (from bar 9), which sets the last three lines of the lyrics, reflects the 'fear' and uncertainty expressed by the words with a livelier bass, increased leaps in the melodic line, and a touch of syncopation, as well as a playful tonality in the accompaniment which sets major thirds against the generally prevailing G minor.⁴⁰¹ The setting of the final line places 'sirens' on the leading-note, and this, along with the off-beat rhythm is a gesture towards the dizzying and disconcerting effect of siren-song.

³⁹⁸ Perhaps a reaction against it is a reason why Jonson often did so henceforth.

³⁹⁹ Walls, *Music in the English Courtly Masque*, p. 58. The song's declamatory opening quickly gives way to more dance-like rhythms, a progression which Walls identifies as a common feature of Ferrabosco's songs (p. 59).

⁴⁰⁰ Although Duffy interprets this falling phrase as producing a sense of resignation (John Duffy, *The Songs and Motets of Alfonso Ferrabosco, the Younger (1575-1628)* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1980), pp. 125-6).

⁴⁰¹ Spink describes this equivocation between major and minor as a 'personal idiosyncrasy [sic]' of Ferrabosco (Ian Spink, *English Song: Dowland to Purcell* (London: Batsford, 1974), p. 42).

1

Cantus

Bass Viol

Lute (transcribed for keyboard)

Come a-way, come a-way. We grow jeal - ous of your

5

C.

B. V.

L.

stay; If you do not stop - pe your ear, We shall

9

C.

B. V.

L.

have more cause to fear Si - rens of the land than they To

13

C.

B. V.

L.

doubt the Si - rens of the sea. We shall sea.

Example 6.

Verbally, the ‘fear’ and ‘doubt’ implicate both male land ‘sirens’ and female sea ‘sirens’ equally, but in both cases it is a male-figured subject who experiences the agony of uncertainty. It is a tenor vocalist who, as specified by Jonson’s text (l. 267), performs as the triton who expresses his fear of the faithlessness of the nymphs, representing the comment of a centralised masculine consciousness upon the actions of the objectified female nymph-masquers.

This is subtly emphasised by the song’s setting. The penultimate line, ‘Sirens of the land than they’ (bars 10-12) is set with the grain, so to speak, with strong syllables on strong beats, to a simple melody rising by step from the tonic. The bass balances this with contrary motion, echoing the melody of the previous line a 5th lower, and matching the rhythm of the melody almost exactly, providing a sense of solidity and unity. By contrast, ‘To doubt the sirens of the sea’ (bars 12-15) is syncopated, working against the bass line’s anacrusis and crotchet movement that emphasise the prevailing 4/4 measure. The bass’s rising sequence of 4th leaps contrasts with the stepwise movement of the melody, creating an altogether more unsettled effect than that of the previous line. The generally more complex and busy rhythm is complemented by harmonic shifting; a hint of G major is dangled tantalisingly on ‘doubt’ before the B flat returns by way of a suspension that momentarily creates an augmented 4th on the first quaver of ‘sirens’. The sense of excitement generated by this increased rhythmic and harmonic complexity intensifies the vicarious thrill conjured up by the connotations of female-figured siren song. In this way, the music works towards enacting the emotional pull that the sirens magically exert and, consequently, the danger of music that moral commentators warned against.⁴⁰² The seductive music highlights the masque’s focus on

⁴⁰² See Introduction (pp. 35-44).

female display, combining with the covering of the masquers' bodies with black paint, diaphanous fabrics and short skirts in a play of paradoxically revealing concealment.⁴⁰³

An underlying anxiety regarding the display of the female masquers is apparent in the lyrics of other songs in the masque. An echo song later in the masque again attempts to persuade the masquers not to abandon the sea. Its use of the familiar trope of female inconstancy is combined with the echoic manipulation of syntax to generate a sense of complex meaning and shifting identity:

they were again accited to sea with a song of two trebles, whose cadences were iterated by a double echo from several parts of the land.

SONG

Daughters of the subtle flood,
 Do not let earth longer entertain you;
1st Echo. Let earth longer entertain you
2nd Echo. Longer entertain you.
 'Tis to them enough of good
 That you give this little hope to gain you.
1st Echo. Give this little hope to gain you
2nd Echo. Little hope to gain you.
 If they love,
 You shall quickly see;
 For when to flight you move,
 They'll follow you, the more you flee.
1st Echo. Follow you, the more you flee.
2nd Echo. The more you flee.
 If not, impute it each to other's matter;
 They are but earth—
1st Echo. But earth,
2nd Echo. Earth—
 And what you vowed was water.
1st Echo. And what you vowed was water.
2nd Echo. You vowed was water.
 (ll. 276-99)

⁴⁰³ For an illuminating analysis of masque costume see Lesley Mickel, 'Glorious Spangs and Rich Embroidery: Costume in *The Masque of Blackness* and *Hymenaei*', *Studies in the Literary Imagination*, 36.2 (Fall 2003), 41-59. For more on the context of contemporary attitudes to women's face-painting see Frances E. Dolan, 'Taking the Pencil out of God's Hand: Art, Nature, and the Face-Painting Debate in Early Modern England', *PMLA*, 108 (1993), 224-39.

The echoes issue from the land, and distort the plea of the sea-dwellers for the nymphs to return, most noticeably turning a negative command into a positive one in lines 280-1. This song again hints at the sirens' project of luring the men to the sea. If the nymphs know that 'They'll follow you the more you flee', then their flight can be interpreted as an invitation to pursuit. The nymph-masquers are invited to test the affections of their land-dwelling dancing partners by inviting them to follow them on a return to the waves.

In a telling parallel, Jonson seems to have borrowed a line from Chapman's 1595 poem 'Ovid's Banquet of Sence'. In it, Ovid overhears his mistress singing a song about female disdain, in which she declares

It is our grace and sport to see,
Our beauties sorcerie,
That makes (like destinie)
Men follow us the more we flee;⁴⁰⁴

The last line is clearly echoed in Jonson's 'They'll follow you, the more you flee',⁴⁰⁵ and Jonson's repetition draws attention to itself by its own repetition in the echoes that follow it. The parallel between Jonson and Chapman brings to the fore the latent eroticism of the performance by women in the masque.

The bewitching power of music is invoked by the masque's songs in a way which calls into question the desirability of staging such acts, even in a fictional context. The singers from the sea speak of their fear that the dance and its music will entice the nymphs away from the sea permanently. The disguise of the masquers is an uncomfortable parallel to the sense of doubt and dissembling articulated by the songs'

⁴⁰⁴ *The Poems of George Chapman*, ed. by Phyllis Brooks Bartlett (London: Oxford University Press, 1941), p. 56.

⁴⁰⁵ The sentiment is a common one, but there do not appear to be any proverbs which fit exactly the sense that women intentionally provoke pursuit by fleeing. See Morris Palmer Tilley, *A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1950).

characterisations of relationships between the sexes. As seen in the echo song, in order to express their desire for the land-based partners, the nymphs are advised to flee them. On the other hand, this can be interpreted as a tactic on the part of the sea creatures to trick the nymphs into forsaking the temptations of the land by returning to the sea. Either way, pretence and deception is inevitable.

The masque highlights its own ambiguous status through factors such as the inability to pin down the masquers' watery vows at the end of the song, the demonstration of the potency of music to alter human affections in both the dance of the land and the song of the sea, and the closeness of the semi-acted disguise and the representation of the 'true' self beneath. These elements all sit uneasily with Jonson's assertion in his preface that he is preserving the actions of 'the greatest and most absolute births' (l. 3-4) for the sake of posterity. It is the darker proclivities of the court which are suggested by this fiction.

Jonson's sequel to *The Masque of Blackness* attempts to rehabilitate this sense of inconstancy and paranoia. The echoes that feature in *The Masque of Beauty* seem to operate as reformed versions of the song from *The Masque of Blackness*. Instead of wreaking the semantic havoc that the disruptive echoes of *The Masque of Blackness* did, these echoes emphasise and concord with the song's verse:

When Love at first did move
 From out of chaos, brightened
 So was the world, and lightened
 As now!
Echo. As now!
Echo. As now!
 [...]
 It was for beauty that the world was made,
 And where she reigns Love's lights admit no shade.
Echo. Love's lights admit no shade.
Echo. Admit no shade.
 [...]

Chorus. So all that see your beauty's sphere
May know th'Elysian fields are here.

Echo. Th'Elysian fields are here.

Echo. Elysian fields are here.

(ll. 236-9; 243-6; 343-6)

Rather than issuing from vague and unidentified land spirits, the echoes in the song in *The Masque of Beauty* are much more controlled. The text describes them as emanating from the two fountains named by Vulturnus as 'Lasting Youth' and 'Chaste Delight'. Instead of being the site of temptation and confusion, the echoes spring from the very innocence they eulogise, abandoning Chapman's erotic model in favour of a moral one.

Whether the musical setting of this song supported or undermined this interpretation is, unfortunately, unknowable because it is lost. It is clear, however, that musical settings of song lyrics in the masque had the potential to reinforce or undermine the very statements that they were conveying, and to suggest a more nuanced understanding of the masque's presentation of the complex sexual politics of dance.

Performance practice

When studying the musical texts which survive from the Jacobean masque it is important to bear in mind the ways in which performance practice can have an impact upon masque meaning. For example, Campion notes at the top of the printed rendering of 'Bring Away This Sacred Tree' that it was both 'made and exprest by Mr. Nicholas Lanier' (p. 278).⁴⁰⁶ This highlights the way that roles such as composer and performer were far less rigidly conceived than in later times. At the English court in this period, the organisation of the musicians did not allow for specialisation in terms of composing,

⁴⁰⁶ The text notes that the song as a whole was performed by 'nine Musitians more, in long Taffata robes [...] playing and singing' (p. 272). The part where 'ETERNITIE SINGES ALONE' was therefore probably Lanier, although he may have been accompanied by additional instrumentalists while he sang. For more on the relationship between individual and group singing, see below, pp. 188-97.

or performing on a particular instrument.⁴⁰⁷ As Peter Holman has pointed out, lutenists, for example, were invariably also singers.⁴⁰⁸ Ferrabosco, for instance, both played the viol and taught the instrument to Prince Henry.⁴⁰⁹ Lanier was a renowned lutenist and singer, who also became the first holder of the post of Master of the King's Musick, and branched out into acquiring fine art for Charles I.⁴¹⁰

Lanier's multi-tasking indicates that modern distinctions between the roles of composer and performer may be inappropriate for a consideration of masque music. The idea that Lanier, as composer, wrote out his composition before the performance, may be anachronistic.⁴¹¹ It is true that printed ayres contain a fully realised accompaniment, thus implying a restriction on the degree of improvisatory input by the performer,⁴¹² but since Lanier himself was both the composer and the performer in this instance, it would have been unnecessary for him to have notated the music for himself. Lanier's fellow lutenists in the masque would hardly have needed a fully-written out score, since they were presumably proficient players who would have learned easily and quickly by ear, or have improvised on a bass line. In this period, the need for, or indeed the market for, notated music in print or manuscript was amongst middle or upper-class amateurs, or for pedagogical uses, as Chan has shown.⁴¹³

⁴⁰⁷ See G.A. Philipps, 'Crown Musical Patronage from Elizabeth I to Charles I', *Music and Letters*, 58 (January 1977), 29-42.

⁴⁰⁸ Private conversation.

⁴⁰⁹ Duffy, p. 18.

⁴¹⁰ Michael I. Wilson, *Nicholas Lanier: Master of the King's Musick* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1994), pp. 41-66. John Coprario seems to have been more of a specialist than most, as he was retained specifically as a composer by Charles I on his accession, but according to Ashbee, he also appears in lists of 'lutes and voices' (Ashbee, *Biographical Dictionary*, 1, 298).

⁴¹¹ Unlike Ferrabosco's masque songs, Lanier's were not printed in any musical collection. The music for 'Bring Away This Sacred Tree' was printed at the end of the published text of the masque it was from, Campion's *Somerset Masque*. His other two surviving songs, 'I Was Not Wearier', from *The Vision of Delight* (1617), and 'Do Not Expect To Hear' from *The Masque of Augurs* (1622) both survive in manuscript. See Sabol, *Four Hundred Songs and Dances*, pp. 555, 557.

⁴¹² Reese, p. 836.

⁴¹³ Mary Chan, 'Music Books', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, ed. by John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 127-37 (p. 131).

I would suggest that Lanier's performance in Campion's *Somerset Masque* was of an improvisatory type based loosely on a melodic and harmonic structure worked out by Lanier beforehand. This sort of musical performance is similar to that outlined by Hansen in her discussion of Italian *cantastorie*, performers who improvised or used formulaic melodies to sing poetry.⁴¹⁴ The manuscript contrafacta that exist for 'Bring Away This Sacred Tree' may result from similar formulaic improvisational processes. The melody recurs in three manuscripts with a different set of words beginning 'Weep No More'.⁴¹⁵ Emslie sees this as a product of a 'rudimentary and unsubtle' setting,⁴¹⁶ but perhaps reusing such adaptable settings was typical for a court musician.

Furthermore, performance itself should be seen as a creative activity. David Fuller has emphasised the way that, in early modern music, it was the performer who turned the composer's 'sketches into rounded art-works'.⁴¹⁷ Spink's characterisation of the English ayre as pre-composed is anachronistic, therefore.⁴¹⁸ Caccini's comment in his 1614 *Nuove musiche e nuova maniera di scriverle* that one can now use notation to learn music 'without having to hear the composer sing' shows just how novel written music still was.⁴¹⁹ The music for Lanier's song, as well as for the other songs printed with it, may not have been written out until after the performance, perhaps at Campion's

⁴¹⁴ Jette Barnholdt Hansen, 'From Invention to Interpretation: The Prologues of the First Court Operas Where Oral and Written Cultures Meet', *Journal of Musicology*, 20 (2003), 556-96 (p. 561-2).

⁴¹⁵ See Sabol, *Four Hundred Songs and Dances*, p. 553. One of the manuscript settings has been edited by Ian Spink in *English Songs, 1625-1660*, *Musica Britannica*, 33 (London: Royal Musical Association, 1971), p. 1.

⁴¹⁶ McDonald Emslie, 'Nicholas Lanier's Innovations in English Song', *Music and Letters*, 41 (1960), 13-27 (p. 22).

⁴¹⁷ David Fuller, 'The Performer as Composer' in *Performance Practice: Music after 1600*, ed. by Howard Mayer Brown and Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1989), pp. 117-46 (p. 117).

⁴¹⁸ Spink, *English Song*, p. 42.

⁴¹⁹ Cited in Hansen, p. 559 (Hansen's translation).

request. This song represents a transitional point, where the oral culture in which it was devised overlaps with the demand for a written out rendition.⁴²⁰

Another important element of performance is ornamentation, which, as standard practice in the period, is rarely written out.⁴²¹ A printed source such as the *Somerset Masque* gives unornamented melodies on the understanding that any reader/singer able to read the notation will have enough musical knowledge to be able to supply customary embellishments. Composers clearly expected melodies to be ornamented, although not all seem to have liked the idea.⁴²² Many varying factors make reconstruction fraught and inexact, however, and Harris exhorts the would-be-authentic performer to remember that chronological, national and stylistic factors, as well as matters of voice-type and range all have an impact on the way a given piece should sound.⁴²³

If the uncertainties of reconstructing an ornamented melody from the bare bones of an unornamented one are manifold, then the problems in trying to reverse the process and recreate the basic melody from an embellished one are daunting indeed. In the case of Lanier's 'I Was Not Wearier' (from *The Vision of Delight*), the song survives solely as a profusely ornamented cantus in a manuscript.⁴²⁴ Three scholars have, to my knowledge, attempted the task of reconstruction in this case and, somewhat predictably, each has produced a fairly similar but nonetheless different result.⁴²⁵ What can be

⁴²⁰ The nature of oral performance as essentially unrepeatable is discussed in Walter J Ong, *Orality and Literacy: the Technologizing of the Word* (London: Methuen, 1982). One could go so far as to argue that a declamatory ayre is what you get when you write down such music, owing to the contingencies of notation.

⁴²¹ Robert Donington writes about this fact from the perspective of the performer. He comments 'there have been whole schools depending on spontaneous invention within a traditional framework' (*The Interpretation of Early Music*, rev edn. (London: Faber, 1989), p. 152).

⁴²² For a discussion of composers' attitudes to ornamentation, see Nigel Fortune, 'Italian Seventeenth-Century Singing', *Music and Letters*, 35 (1954), 206-19.

⁴²³ Ellen T. Harris, 'Voices', in *Performance Practice: Music after 1600*, ed. by Howard Mayer Brown and Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1989), pp. 97-116 (p. 97).

⁴²⁴ Sabol, *Four Hundred Songs and Dances*, p. 555. See also. J.P. Cutts, 'Ben Jonson's Masque *The Vision of Delight*', *Notes and Queries*, n.s. 3 (1956), 64-7.

⁴²⁵ Emslie, pp. 23-4; Spink, *English Song*, pp. 47-8; Sabol, *Four Hundred Songs and Dances*, pp. 87-8.

identified, however, is the way that the florid line found in the manuscript exemplifies the virtuosic ‘division style’. This, as Collins describes, used a wealth of intervallic and rhythmic diminutions such as *passaggi* to elaborate the melodic line in both instrumental and vocal music.⁴²⁶

Cantus

I was not wearier where I
 4 lay By frozen Tithon's side to
 8 night,

Example 7.

Such stylistic embellishments clearly make a significant difference to the way a piece of music sounds to its listeners. Lanier's melody was clearly felt to suggest this type of ornamentation to whoever wrote this version of it, as well as a sense of the sophistication indicated by the wealth and resources needed to listen to such music, and the intellectual resources to appreciate it. In the masque, the virtuosic individual singer, implied by such ornamentation, became increasingly prominent, as we shall see. The following two sections will highlight how, as with dance, masque song reflected the conflicting interests of group and individual in its modes of performance.

The Collective Mode

Many masque songs consist of a solo passage followed by a chorus, and Lindley has highlighted the way that the contrast between solo and chorus helps to subsume the

⁴²⁶ T.A. Collins, “‘Reactions against the virtuoso’: Instrumental Ornamentation Practice and the *stile moderno*”, *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*, 32 (2001), 137-52 (p. 138). See also Mary Cyr, *Performing Baroque Music* (Aldershot: Scolar Press 1992).

individuality of the virtuosic soloist into the masque's collectivist ethic.⁴²⁷ Choruses help to gather up the sentiments of the individual's contribution into a statement of communal assent. In *The Golden Age Restored*, for example, a four-line chorus is part of a sequence which builds towards the discovery of the masquers. Pallas introduces the return to earth of the elements of the Golden Age, calling down Astraea, followed by the Golden Age personified, and the poets. Lastly, she exhorts the poets and everybody else, to 'join to wake' the hibernating masquers:

Pallas. Then see you yonder souls, set far within the shade,
And in Elysian bowers the blessèd seats do keep,
That for their living good now semigods are made,
And went away from earth, as if but tamed with sleep:
These must we join to wake, for these are of the strain
That justice dare defend, and will the age sustain.

Choir. Awake, awake, for whom these times were kept,
O wake, wake, wake, as you had never slept;
Make haste and put on air to be their guard,
Whom once but to defend is still reward.

Pallas. Thus Pallas throws a lightning from her shield.

Choir. To which let all that doubtful darkness yield

(ll. 124-35).

The song consolidates the cooperative message of the masque. Pallas's request and the choir's response indicate that to restore the Golden Age requires collaboration. There is a sense that those in power need the support of those under them, and the repetition of 'defend' in lines 129 and 133 enhances this implication of vulnerability. The importance of cooperation is emphasised by the way that Pallas and the Choir seem to cooperate in the final two lines, dividing the rhyming couplet between them.

One of the most significant arenas for this sense of musical 'collectivity' in choruses is the subgenre of the marriage masque. These were occasions upon which issues of individuality and social obligation were particularly acute. The marriages in

⁴²⁷ Lindley, 'The Politics of Music in the Masque', p. 286.

question symbolised not only the wedlock of a particular couple, but also the priorities of royal policy, the social progress of the individuals celebrated, and even the political status of the kingdom as a whole. The concept of marriage also brought with it questions about the very fabric of society, and its legislation over human relationships.

Jonson, characteristically, turned to classical precedent to develop his marriage masques, modelling them on the epithalamium and including his own versions of the genre in his texts.⁴²⁸ The epithalamium in *The Haddington Masque* emphasises the married couple's duty and public visibility, constantly reiterating the notion of 'perfection' in line 9 of each stanza (e.g. 'Such fruits of Hymen's war | Most perfect are, | And all perfection we | Wish you should see' (ll. 384-7)), to assert that singularity must give way to marital union and, by extension, participation in the wider social group.

In *Hymenaei* (1606), the musicians were integrated into an initial procession, with the singers carrying the water and fire that symbolised the masque's theme of union.⁴²⁹ Their first song opened the masque with a solo declaring the need to establish a respectful atmosphere for the religious ceremony about to begin, which is then reiterated by the chorus. The chorus's agreement is emphasised by the similarity between the first line of the solo verse and the first line of the chorus. The solo line begins 'Bid all profane away' (l. 57). The chorus then obeys by beginning with 'Fly then, all profane, away' (l. 66). Every subsequent line is then rhymed with 'away', a

⁴²⁸ For a discussion of the epithalamium's place in Jacobean culture, see Heather Dubrow, *A Happier Eden: The Politics of Marriage in the Stuart Epithalamium* (Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 1990).

⁴²⁹ See D.J. Gordon, 'Hymenaei: Ben Jonson's Masque of Union', in *The Renaissance Imagination: Essays and Lectures by D.J. Gordon*, ed. Stephen Orgel (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975) pp. 157-184. A good summary of the issues surrounding the Union controversy can be found in Conrad Russell, 'James VI and I and Rule Over Two Kingdoms: An English View', *Historical Research*, 76 (2003), 151-63. See also Brian P. Levack, *The Formation of the British State: England, Scotland and the Union, 1603-1707* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987).

repeated assent which binds the entire song even more closely together, integrating the individual into the whole. The song thus demonstrates the theme of union.

Campion's *Lord Hay's Masque* (1607), as Lindley has shown, also engaged with the King's desire for a Union of Kingdoms as well as crowns,⁴³⁰ most obviously in the marriage of the English bride and the Scottish favourite that was the occasion of the masque. Champion's first dedicatory poem in the printed text explicitly relates the marriage to the proposed Union, noting 'who can wonder then | If he that marries kingdomes, marries men?' (p. 207). As he looks forward to the 'everliving Union', Champion projects a nation-building breeding programme in which the barbarism of the Scots is tempered by the refinement of the English, and all are strengthened by James's wisdom as the guiding hand. This is reiterated by a Latin epigram which declares that the predicted progeny of the Hay/Denny marriage will be first Anglo-Scottish and then British. The couple's marriage is explicitly part of a rhetoric of uniting, combining, and ultimately, eliminating difference.

Metaphors of union are also present in the lyrics of the songs. For instance, as Lindley notes, the red and white roses of 'Now Hath Flora Robb'd Her Bow'rs' are a telling reference to the amalgamated Tudor rose, an image which reflects the major precedent invoked by the King for his project of uniting the realms.⁴³¹

Earth hath no Princelier flowers
Then Roses white, and Roses red,
But they must still be mingled (p. 215).

⁴³⁰ See David Lindley, 'Campion's *Lord Hay's Masque* and Anglo-Scottish Union', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 43.1 (1979-80), 1-11, and 'Who Paid for Campion's *Lord Hay's Masque*?', *Notes and Queries*, n.s. 26 (1979), 144-5.

⁴³¹ Lindley, 'Campion's *Lord Hay's Masque* and Anglo-Scottish Union', pp. 1-11.

17

Treble

Tenor

Bass and Bass Viol

Lute (transcribed for keyboard)

Earth hath no prince-lier flow'rs Than ros - es white and ro - ses
 Ros - es, the gar - den's pride Are flow'rs for love and flow'rs for

21

Tr.

T.

B.

Lute

red, But they must still be min - gl - ed: And as a rose new -
 kings, In courts de - sir'd and wed - dings: And as a rose in

25

Tr.  pluck'd from Ve - nus' thorn, So doth a
Ve - nus' bo - som worn, So doth a

T.  pluck'd from Ve - nus' thorn, So doth a
Ve - nus - bo - som worn, So doth a

B.  pluck'd from Ve - nus' thorn, So doth a
Ve - nus' bo - som worn, So doth a

Lute 

D. S.

27

Tr.  bride her bride - groom's bed a dorn.
bride - groom his bride's bed a - dorn. D. S.

T.  bride her bride-groom's bed a - dorn.
bride - groom his bride's bed a - dorn.

B.  bride her bride - groom's bed a dorn. D. S.
bride - groom his bride's bed a dorn.

Lute 

Example 8.

The musical setting of this song also engages with the idea of union in its setting of 'mingled'. The tenor's anticipation of the bar line with an early entry, the suspension, and the bass quaver movement are all skilfully combined to achieve a sense of musical

intermingling. Furthermore, when the music is repeated for the second stanza, this sets up a parallel with 'weddings'. Not only does the setting enable the poetic metre to be stretched, allowing the rhyme and eliminating any sense of a lack of a syllable in this line in the second verse, it also reinforces the masque's themes of marriage and union.

Each stanza ends with a prettifying simile, whose decorativeness is paralleled by the music's ornamental style, especially with the ascending quavers in both tenor and bass which mirror the melody's descent. The treatment of this simile is emblematic of the sense of balance which pervades the song. In the first stanza, the bride is a rose adorning the marriage bed. In the second, this is reversed and it is the bridegroom who is compared to the rose. This pair of images, though fairly insipid, is nonetheless satisfyingly symmetrical.

The musical setting as a whole is very balanced, as the melody is often matched by contrary motion in the other vocal parts and accompaniment, and also within other parts of the melody itself. For instance, the falling setting of 'strow about' is mirrored by a rising figure with the same rhythm in the following bar. The relaxed feel is enhanced by the smoothness of the melody which never leaps by more than a fifth.

These characteristics are shared by the second song from this masque, 'Move Now With Measured Sound'. The melody is even more flowing than 'Now Hath Flora Robb'd Her Bow'rs', by virtue of its melismatic quaver duplets which fill in the leaps in the melody with stepwise figuring, making the tune wind about itself to evoke the steps of the enchanted dance referred to by the lyrics.⁴³² The masque's exploration of the opposition faced by the Union tries to bring both sides together, demonstrating how the

⁴³² The same melody and setting was used by Campion at around the same time for a solo ayre ('The Peacefull Westerne Wynde', number XII in *The Second Booke of Ayres*). Davis claims that this tune resembles the popular melody 'Westron Wynde' (*The Works of Thomas Campion*, p. 100, n. 27), but this is rather tenuous. Christopher Wilson debunks the idea in *Words and Notes Coupled Lovingly Together: Thomas Campion, A Critical Study* (London: Garland Publishing, 1989), p. 352.

project can be realised through calm and careful mediation. Such gentle exposition does not require the kind of dramatic or explanatory music that declamatory song provided, and both ‘Now Hath Flora Robb’d Her Bow’rs’ and ‘Move Now With Measured Sound’ are suitably gentle, celebratory songs.

The idea of reconciliation is also symbolised by arranging elements of the masque into groups of three in Campion’s allegorical scheme. These ‘triangulations’, as they might be termed, appear throughout the masque. For instance, the initial confrontation between Night and Flora is resolved by a third party, Hesperus. A debate over the merits of marriage and virginity is carried out in a ‘*song in forme of a Diaglogue [sic]*’ (p. 216), which features three soloists: a treble and a tenor who take opposing positions and a bass who provides the resolution. Perhaps most significantly, the Knights of the main masque are commanded in song to ‘Joyne three by three, for so the night by triple spel decrees’ (p. 221) before they can be transformed back into humans.

Groups of three are also engineered through the masque’s deployment of music. Campion takes great care over reporting the exact location of all the musicians, specifying the different instruments of each group, and detailing their positioning ‘*as it were in a triangle*’ (p. 211). During the Knights’ transformation a group of nine Sylvans sings and plays, yet again emphasising the mystical significance of the number three.⁴³³

The music is also presented as being part of the means to effect the transformation that the masque’s plot requires. Night declares that ‘Dancing and musicke must prepare the way’ (p. 220), ushering in the song ‘Move Now With Measured Sound’. The song is full of references to neoplatonic processes, and the description also emphasises this, noting that the masquers ‘*began to move and dance according to the measure of the*

⁴³³ On Campion’s use of threes in this masque, see Lindley, ‘The Politics of Music in the Masque’, p. 289.

time which the musitions kept in singing, and the nature of the wordes which they delivered (p. 220). It is this sense of the accord between matching verbal, musical and physical characteristics which is presented as producing the efficacy of music, thus participating in the masque's symbolic scheme of the harmonising of disparate elements.

The music and song which accompanied the transformation scene were repeated for each of the three groups of three Knights, generating a sense of a quasi-religious ritual that harnessed the renovating power of music. The completion of this stage of the Knights' transformation was then celebrated by the entirety of the musical resources of the masque. The final two lines of Night's lyrics were repeated and reiterated by instrumentalists and singers alike: 'Againe this song revive and sound it hie: | Long live *Apollo*, Brittaines glorious eye' (p. 223). Campion describes how this statement is reinforced by the music. It '*was in manner of Eccho seconded*' (p. 223), but instead of dying away, these emphatic echoes grew louder: '*sometime every Chorus was heard severally, sometime mixt, but in the end altogether*'.

Thus, James's rule over a specifically British conglomeration of nations was asserted in a symphony of sound that brought together individual practitioners ('*so many excellent masters*' (p. 223)) into a combined assembly of triumphant harmony.⁴³⁴ With at least six different types of instrument plus voices, such a combination heard together was a rarity indeed, and was almost certainly unprecedented at the English court.⁴³⁵ The masque's music exemplifies the unifying power it eulogises, using the overwhelming impact of the music, in terms of both volume and novelty, to psychologically reinforce its support of the Union.

⁴³⁴ The '*manner*' of this '*great Chorus*' (p. 227) is repeated in the music at the end of the masque, again reinforcing this harmonising conclusion.

⁴³⁵ Lindley sees this innovative combination as part of a traditional association of the loudest sound in the masque with royalty ('*The Politics of Music in the Masque*', p. 276).

The collaborative mode of *Lord Hay's Masque* shows how music can participate in and even create a sense of the communal. Noticeably, it is clear from the text that *Lord Hay's Masque* contained no solo ayres. Instead there were dialogue songs, trios and, most significantly, the consorting of lots of different instruments and voices brought together as an emblem of unity. A more antagonistic structure to the masque genre was developed by Jonson's introduction of the antimasque, and Campion's later masques show the influence of this development. The inclusive compositional style and instrumental groupings that had worked so well in *Lord Hay's Masque* were less suited to this kind of masque. The solo singer was more fitting to express its assertive polemic, and musical style developed to reflect this.

Musical styles and genres

Whereas Campion set a trio of voices in 'Now Hath Flora' in *Lord Hay's Masque* (1607), in *The Masque of Beauty* (1608), Ferrabosco set a trio of songs, each sung by an individual voice.⁴³⁶ As suggested above, these scoring decisions make a significant impact upon the song's relationship to the masque as a whole and its engagement with its political context. They also reflect a changing emphasis in masque composition from the conciliatory approach of Campion (most obviously in *Lord Hay's Masque*, but also present in *The Lords' Masque* (1613)) to a more antagonistic, and ultimately more prevalent model of antimasque and masque developed by Jonson.

⁴³⁶ Although Ferrabosco did write songs for ensembles of singers (for example several of the songs in *The Masque of Blackness* (1605)), it is only his solo masque songs which have survived. Nevertheless, there does seem to be a discernible shift in Jacobean masque song scoring away from a group led by a treble towards a virtuosic solo voice which could be treble or tenor. The variation in the tessituras of these songs could suggest that they were written with specific singers in mind. The naming of individual singers in later masques, such as John Allen, who is credited by Campion as having sung the songs by Coprario in *The Somerset Masque* (1613), supports this notion.

Campion's musical philosophy was very different to Ferrabosco's Italianate style.⁴³⁷ Intensely interested in recreating the affectiveness of ancient Greek song, Campion experimented with settings that matched the meter of his quantitative verse with appropriate note lengths,⁴³⁸ an approach which followed the practice of the French Academicians.⁴³⁹ As David Greer has noted, Campion's song 'Woo Her and Win Her' from *The Lords' Masque* is a clear example of the influence of this 'musique mesurée'.⁴⁴⁰

The musical score is presented in three systems. The first system includes the Cantus part with lyrics: "Woo her and win her, he that can! Each wo - man hath two lov - Court-ship and mu - sic suit with love; They both are works of pas -". The second system continues the lyrics: "ers; So she must take and leave a man, Till time more grace dis-cov - ers. This sion: Hap - py is he whose words can move, Yet sweet notes help per-sua - sion. Mix". The instruments are Cantus, Bass Viol, and Lute (transcribed for keyboard).

⁴³⁷ Campion's thinking, despite his proto-Baroque opinions on harmony, is described by Christopher R. Wilson, as 'firmly rooted in Renaissance theory and practice ('Introduction' in *A New Way of Making Fowre Parts in Counterpoint*, ed. by Christopher R. Wilson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), pp. 1-38 (p. 14)).

⁴³⁸ Campion's views on quantitative verse, with many poetic examples, are set out in his *Observations in the Art of English Poesie* (London: 1602).

⁴³⁹ Yates, *French Academies*, pp. 48-57.

⁴⁴⁰ David Greer, 'Campion the Musician', *Lute Society Journal*, 9 (1967), 7-16 (p. 13).

12

C. *doth Jove to show that want Makes beau__ ty more re - spec - ted. If*
your words with mus - sic then That they__ the more may en - ter: Bold

B.V.

L.

15

17

C. *fair wom - en were more scant, They would - be more af - fect - ed.*
as - saults are fit for men, That on__ strange beau - ties ven - ter.

B.V.

L.

Detailed description: The image shows a musical score for three parts: C. (Soprano), B.V. (Bass), and L. (Piano). The score is divided into two systems. The first system covers measures 12 to 15, and the second system covers measures 17 to 20. The key signature has two flats (B-flat and E-flat). The vocal parts have lyrics written below them. The piano part consists of two staves (treble and bass clef) with chords and single notes. Measure numbers 12, 15, and 17 are indicated above the vocal staves.

Example 9.

The melody fluctuates between duple and triple meter, suiting the dactylic opening of lines 1 and 3 very well. The accompaniment, however, at least in the first section of the song, is set securely in duple rhythms, going against the prevailing pulse of the melody at certain points. This creates an uncertainty of pulse which skilfully reflects the way the song deals with competition and defeat in love, and the problematic situation caused by the fact that there are half as many female masquers as male at this point. The disparity is soon resolved, however, as only this song occupies the time between the transformation of the first four statues into ladies, and the introduction of the remaining four as statues onto the stage. The song is clearly an attempt to turn the contingencies of staging into a meaningful element of the masque. Champion skilfully integrates this into the music, by making it embody the uncertainty of this moment in the masque.

He also turns the moment to symbolic advantage, however, as Lindley has shown in his excavation of the politics of the marriage negotiations for James's children.⁴⁴¹ The masque asserts Jove's/James's prerogative in finding brides for the masquers/his sons, and that they should submit to his will in the matter, even if it seems unfair at the time.⁴⁴² Campion's masque, therefore, fits into a steady stream of pro-pacifist propaganda designed to counteract the opposition to James's aim of finding a Catholic bride for his eldest son.⁴⁴³

The song engages with the idea of music as persuasion in courtship, and figures itself and the masque as an articulation of support for royal policy and principles. It appeals to its audience to trust Jove's/James's wisdom, with its reassuring claim that 'When words and Musicke speake, let none despaire' (p. 256). Campion thus portrays his masque and its 'fit musick' (p. 261) as the appropriate conduit for expressing and supporting the King's will. DeNeef has argued that the masque forms a kind of allegory for the importance and functioning of poetry itself, but concludes that this means that Campion 'has not focused on the occasion itself'.⁴⁴⁴ I would argue that it is precisely through its engagement with the immediate political context that Campion asserts the importance and power of the combination of poetry, music and spectacle featured in the masque.

⁴⁴¹ David Lindley, *Thomas Campion* (Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1986), p. 209.

⁴⁴² Elizabeth's marriage was not without its detractors. John Chamberlain reports that some observers (including the Queen) considered Frederick a poor match for the Princess in terms of wealth and social status (*The Letters of John Chamberlain*, ed. Norman Egbert McClure, 2 vols (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1939), I, p. 381).

⁴⁴³ For more on the circumstances of the marriage negotiations see David M. Bergeron, *Royal Family, Royal Lovers: King James of England and Scotland* (London: University of Missouri Press, 1991), pp. 111-115; Roy Strong, *Henry, Prince of Wales and England's Lost Renaissance* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986), pp. 78-84; J.W. Williamson, *The Myth of the Conqueror: Prince Henry Stuart, A Study of Seventeenth Century Personation* (New York: AMS Press, 1978), pp. 133-42.

⁴⁴⁴ A. Leigh DeNeef, 'Structure and Theme in Campion's *Lords Maske*', *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*, 17.1 (Winter 1977), 95-103 (p. 103). Bevington also sees this masque as a defence of poetic freedom ('*The Tempest* and the Jacobean Court Masque in *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque*, ed. by David Bevington and Peter Holbrook (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 218-43 (pp. 223-5)).

The power of art to transform is enacted by the music's control over the Franticks as they respond to its '*Protean changes*' in their dance. At first they present '*an absolute medly of madnesse*', tossing Entheus into the air. Then, '*by vertue of a new change in the musicke, the Lunatickes fell into a madde measure, fitted to a loud phantasticke tune*'. Finally, '*the musicke changed into a very solemne ayre*', and Entheus is freed at last (pp. 250-1). Whilst this dance gives a fictional demonstration of what the power of affective music might look like, the song 'Woo Her and Win Her' actually employs affective music with lyrics, and can therefore be seen as an attempt to impose music's supra-rational persuasive power upon the masque audience.

By contrast, 'Come Away, Bring thy Golden Theft', from the same masque, features a much more declamatory style in which the melody attempts to replicate more closely the pitch and rhythm of the lyrics as spoken. Its opening three notes constitute what Walls considers to be a direct quote from Ferrabosco's 'Come Away, We Grow Jealous of Your Stay'.⁴⁴⁵ Further hints of Ferrabosco's declamatory style in Campion's song include entries on off beats, rests which break up the phrases into much shorter units, and a proliferation of silent first beats. Thus, in the very same masque, Campion uses both the French-inspired homophonic style and the Italianate declamatory style of Ferrabosco.

It was the latter style which was more appropriate for the contentiousness of masques with antagonistic structures, initiated by *The Masque of Queens*. Rather than seeking to persuade, the lyrics assert a point of view, and this calls for a much more virtuosic style of singing, using soloists and more impressive, attention-seeking modes of setting and delivery. This shift towards focusing far more upon the single, virtuosic

⁴⁴⁵ Walls, *Music in the English Courtly Masque*, p. 69.

voice is exemplified by Ferrabosco's extension of the declamatory elements of his earlier songs.

For instance, Ferrabosco's song for *The Masque of Queens* (1609), 'If All the Ages of the Earth' is much more histrionic than his earlier songs.⁴⁴⁶ The opening is very angular, covering an octave range within the first four notes. The sense of hyperactivity is increased by the relatively large number of keys visited, and the high-pitched sequence in bars 13-14. This all contributes to a sense of preposterousness, which is strengthened in large part by the way the melody's rhythm often contravenes the poetic meter and distorts the lyrics.

The image displays two systems of musical notation. The first system, labeled '10', consists of three staves: Cantus (voice), Bass Viol, and Lute (transcribed for keyboard). The Cantus staff shows a melodic line with lyrics: 'And whenthat they _____ Would_ boast their store'. The Bass Viol and Lute staves provide accompaniment. The second system, labeled '13', also consists of three staves: C. (Cantus), B.V. (Bass Viol), and L. (Lute). The Cantus staff shows a melodic line with lyrics: 'Of wor-thyqueens, Of wor-thyqueens they knew no more,'. The Bass Viol and Lute staves provide accompaniment. The music is in 4/4 time and G major.

Example 10.

⁴⁴⁶ Discrepancies between the masque text and song lyrics seem to reveal a misunderstanding of the lyrics, especially in the first word, where Jonson's confident 'when' is replaced by a qualifying 'if'.

It is Campion who seems to have been most concerned about audibility, noting in *Lord Hay's Masque* that extra musicians were stationed in different locations for precisely that reason: 'a treble and a base were placed neere his Majestie, and an other treble and base neere the grove, that the words of the song might be heard of all' (p. 220).⁴⁴⁷ Indeed, Campion's dance-like tunes seem far more likely to convey the words of the songs audibly than Ferrabosco's declamatory music, especially considering the far greater scope in the latter for obfuscating ornamentation. This undermines Spink's assertion that the declamatory ayre developed from the desire to articulate the sense of the words more clearly.⁴⁴⁸

After Prince Henry's death in 1612 Ferrabosco seems to have stopped composing.⁴⁴⁹ The declamatory style in masque music was continued and developed by other composers, finding its fullest expression in the masque music of Nicholas Lanier (and later Henry Lawes). The earliest surviving example of Lanier's masque song is from Campion's *Somerset Masque*. Campion only provided the plot and the poetry; the music was provided by other composers, including Lanier, who used the declamatory style.⁴⁵⁰

The evidence of Lanier's early style has proved controversial because of the questions it raises about the introduction of the recitative style from Italy to England. Musicologists trace a development in courtly art-song from the lute-song, consort song and ayre of the end of the Elizabethan era, through the introduction of declamatory elements by Dowland and their use in Ferrabosco's lute-songs, to the use of fully-fledged recitative in Lanier's extended piece *Hero and Leander* (usually dated c.1628

⁴⁴⁷ The extent to which listeners can perceive lyrics during a song's performance is a complex question. For fuller discussions of this issue see Lindley, *Campion*, pp. 129-34; Winn, *Unsuspected Eloquence*; Mark W. Booth, *The Experience of Songs* (London: Yale University Press, 1981).

⁴⁴⁸ Spink, *English Song*, p. 53.

⁴⁴⁹ Duffy, p. 22.

⁴⁵⁰ Campion was never commissioned to write, or compose for, another masque, possibly because of his indirect link to the Overbury affair (see Lindley, *Thomas Campion*, pp. 221-234).

and certainly no earlier).⁴⁵¹ *Hero and Leander* is generally accepted as ‘the first unequivocal use of recitative [...] in English music’.⁴⁵²

Yet recitative and the declamatory ayre can be very similar. Spink sees the main distinction between them as the use of figured bass, an improvisatory mode of accompaniment which gave Italian recitative the ability to follow the declamation of the words with complete freedom. English composers of the same period, he alleges, ‘are tied down by written-out lute parts’.⁴⁵³ Yet the evidence from masque songs shows that this was simply not the case (see above pp. 185-7). Refining the precise distinction between these categories of song is tangential to this thesis, as it is a matter of modern taxonomy, and in any case, the evidence is so sparse that it is scarcely possible to determine what kind of music might have been sung on a particular occasion. The evidence, such as it is, can, however, offer an insight into the way contemporary understanding of musical style affected prestige, especially in terms of self-consciously foreign influence.

It is Jonson’s tantalising hint as to the musical style of two masques performed in 1617 that has caused controversy. In *The Vision of Delight*, his stage directions indicate that the character of Delight ‘*Spake in song, stilo recitativo*’ (l. 4), and in *Lovers Made Men*, we are told that ‘*the whole masque was sung, after the Italian manner, stilo recitativo, by Master Nicholas Lanier*’ (ll. 16-18). Emslie doubted the validity of Jonson’s use of the term, pointing out that the relevant sentences only appear in the

⁴⁵¹ Michael I. Wilson, p. 138; Spink, *English Song*, p. 103.

⁴⁵² Dale E. Monson, Julian Budden and Jack Westrup, ‘Recitative’, Grove Music Online ed. L. Macy (Accessed 19 May 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

⁴⁵³ Spink, *English Song*, p. 42. Amongst the extensive literature available on the origins of recitative, the most relevant in terms of this topic are J.A. Westrup, ‘The Nature of Recitative’, *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 42 (1956), 27–43 (especially pp. 34-7); J.H. Baron, ‘Monody: a Study in Terminology’, *Musical Quarterly*, 54 (1968), 462–74; A. Verchaly, ‘A propos du récit français au début du XVIIe siècle’, *Recherches sur la Musique Française Classique*, 15 (1975), 39–46; Claude V. Palisca, ‘Peri and the Theory of Recitative’, in *Studies in the History of Italian Music and Music Theory*, ed. by Claude V. Palisca (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), pp. 452–66.

1640 Folio edition of Jonson's works, and that the 1617 Quarto of *Lovers Made Men* makes no mention of it (there is no earlier edition of *The Vision of Delight*). Emslie instead situated the music for the masque at a declamatory mid-point on a posited continuum between lutenist ayre and recitative.⁴⁵⁴ Michael I. Wilson, Lanier's most recent biographer, has continued this scepticism, arguing that although Lanier was certainly aware of, and in contact with, Italian composers like Angelo Notari, his style in this period was really 'a continuation' of the declamatory style of Ferrabosco.⁴⁵⁵ Peter Walls, by contrast, has challenged the assumption that Jonson's description was untrustworthy, making the case that the description marks 'a definite change in the use of singing in Jonson's masques' in 1617.⁴⁵⁶

Turning to the musical evidence does little, however, to support the idea that Lanier did indeed start composing recitative in 1617. The examples of his masque songs we have from both before and after this date show a similarity in style which undermines the idea that Lanier was modifying his style during this period. The version of 'Bring Away This Sacred Tree' recorded in Campion's 1613 text is clearly a declamatory ayre, as several commentators have noted.⁴⁵⁷ The last of Lanier's compositions, 'Do Not Expect To Hear', from *The Masque of Augurs* (1622), is also similar in style.⁴⁵⁸ After a declamatory opening section the song quickly settles down into a more smoothly melodic vein, much more akin to Ferrabosco's courtly ayres than recitative. Furthermore, instead of being through-composed as true recitative would have been,

⁴⁵⁴ Emslie, p. 23. See also Vincent Duckles, 'English Song and the Challenge of Italian Monody' in *Words to Music: Papers on English Seventeenth-Century Song*, ed. by Vincent Duckles and Franklin B. Zimmerman (Los Angeles: University of California, 1967), pp. 1-25.

⁴⁵⁵ Michael I. Wilson, pp. 44, 58.

⁴⁵⁶ Peter Walls, 'The Origins of English Recitative', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 110 (1983-4), 25-40 (p. 27) and *Music in the English Courtly Masque*, pp. 86-103.

⁴⁵⁷ Including Emslie, p. 22 and Spink, *English Song*, p. 45, who both name it as the first true declamatory ayre and Michael I. Wilson, p. 44.

⁴⁵⁸ Although Michael I. Wilson describes 'Do Not Expect To Hear' as 'less declamatory' than 'Bring Away This Sacred Tree' (*Nicholas Lanier*, p. 65).

(since the melody is entirely dictated by the words). Lanier sets the first six lines of Jonson's lyrics strophically, as two verses of three lines to the same music.

The only music which survives from 1617 is a heavily-ornamented portion of 'I Was Not Wearier', from *The Vision of Delight* preserved in manuscript (see above, pp. 187-8),⁴⁵⁹ which, as Emslie points out, whatever else it is, does not lend itself to being described as recitative.⁴⁶⁰ It therefore seems certain that, on the basis of the extant written music (which is, of course, the only way for the music to survive), Lanier's compositions for masques in 1613, 1617 and 1622 were not what we would now describe as recitative.

Any discussion of the music of *The Vision of Delight* and *Lovers Made Men*, and its relation to recitative is entirely provoked by and based upon Jonson's descriptions from the 1640 Folio. Although the musical implications of this term are vexed, Jonson's ascription of the recitative style does suggest certain things about the importance of musical style in masques. We should remember that Jonson's primary purpose in printing his masque texts is to preserve his poetry and to enhance his reputation. Thus, the inclusion of a description about the music, perhaps inserted by Jonson many years after the event, is something which we would do well to exercise caution over, and not just in the ways counselled by critics such as Emslie and Duckles. What is relevant is not what the phrase *stilo recitativo* means now, but what it might have meant in

⁴⁵⁹ It is worth remembering that the evidence for Lanier's authorship of this fragment is purely circumstantial and really rather weak. Cutts, the discoverer of the manuscript, notes that it is unascrived (Cutts, p. 64). The entire basis for believing that Lanier composed this music for *The Vision of Delight* is that he is named by Jonson as the composer for *Lovers Made Men*, and that Jonson's use of the description *stilo recitativo* links the two masques stylistically.

⁴⁶⁰ Emslie, p. 14.

England in the early seventeenth century, to someone who did not on other occasions display much familiarity with music.⁴⁶¹

Although it is not possible for us to know precisely what Jonson understood by *stilo recitativo*, we can surmise certain things about the aesthetic of these two masques from his use of it. It serves as a sign of sophistication that enhanced the prestige and perceived quality of the masque. It was Welsford who first pointed out that, in addition to its indebtedness to the Italian entertainment, *Notte d'Amore*, *The Vision of Delight* also borrows from French ballet, both specifically from individual works, but also more generally in terms of structure.⁴⁶² The masque's sequence of visions is similar to the unconnected parade of dancing grotesquerie that characterised French entertainments between 1610-1621.⁴⁶³

There is also more evidence of French musicians and French entertainment having a presence at the English court in and around early 1617 than Italian. For instance, there is a payment in the Pell Order Book dated 6 May 1617

To Pierce Parminit french Musicion the somme of One hundred poundes by him devided equally among the companie of the french Musicians being twelve in number for their services in the Maskes and other solemnities performed before his Majestie at xmas last past.⁴⁶⁴

Perhaps these were the same people that John Chamberlain was referring to when he noted on 22 February 1617 that 'the Quenes French musicians (wherof she hath more then a good many) made her a kind of maske or antique at Somerset House on Wensday

⁴⁶¹ This is illustrated by Sternfeld's point that 'recitativo' was not used as a term by the Italian originators of the style. Adjectives like 'rappresentativo' were much more common instead (F.W. Sternfeld, 'A Note on *Stile Recitativo*', *PRMA*, 110 (1983-4), 41-4 (p. 41)).

⁴⁶² Welsford, pp. 198-202. See also Marie-Claude Canova-Green, *La Politique-spectacle au grand siècle* (Paris: Biblio 17, 1993), p. 222. For an alternative view of the structural principles behind this masque, see Lesley Mickel, 'Jonson, the Antimasque and the Literary Fantastic: *The Vision of Delight*' in *Writing and Fantasy*, ed. by Ceri Sullivan and Barbara White (London: Longman, 1999). Mickel focuses on the destabilising effects of Fantasy, and the masque's 'celebration of the sensual and physical at the expense of the rational', pp. 95-108 (p. 100).

⁴⁶³ Welsford, p. 110. See also Isherwood, especially pp. 90-100.

⁴⁶⁴ H&S, x, 569-70.

night last'.⁴⁶⁵ In addition to the Queen's corps of French musicians referred to by Chamberlain, a ballet was invented by Marc de Maillet for the Queen during his period of refuge from the French court.⁴⁶⁶ *Lovers Made Men* was held on 22 February 1617 in honour of the visit of the French ambassador extraordinary, the Baron du Tour.⁴⁶⁷

Jonson's use of an Italian phrase functions as a demonstration of knowledgeable sophistication, both on his part and on behalf of his patrons.⁴⁶⁸ I conjecture that Jonson's use of the term *stilo recitativo* with regard to both *The Vision of Delight* and *Lovers Made Men* uses the cachet of foreignness to promote a sense of musical sophistication, but is empty of significance in terms of musical style.⁴⁶⁹ Despite the regional origins of developments like recitative, court culture thus invokes transnational notions of prestige.⁴⁷⁰

⁴⁶⁵ *The Letters of John Chamberlain*, II, 56. French culture seems to have clustered around the Queen. J.A. Westrup argues that the courts of both Anne and Henrietta-Maria, by virtue of the 'foreign' status of both queens, acted as a point of entry for foreign musicians to the English scene ('Foreign Musicians in Stuart England', *Musical Quarterly*, 27 (1941), 70-89).

⁴⁶⁶ Margaret M. McGowan, *L'Art du Ballet de cour en France, 1581-1643* (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1963), p. 243. According to McGowan, the *Balet de la revanche du mespris d'Amour* was printed on 28 January 1617, (presumably after the performance) which makes it too early to be the same entertainment that Chamberlain refers to in his letter of 22 February.

⁴⁶⁷ Hosted by James Hay, *Lovers Made Men* was a kind of hybrid between a court masque and private entertainment. Hay, a keen masquer and well-known francophile, spared no expense in this ostentatious display (see Canova-Green, p. 214).

⁴⁶⁸ Jonson's use of new coinages has been discussed by Michael Baxendall in relation to the term 'design' ('English *disegno*' in *England and the Renaissance: Essays in Honour of J.B. Trapp*, ed. by Edward Chaney and Peter Mack (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1990), pp. 203-14), and John Peacock in relation to 'landtschape' (*The Stage Designs of Inigo Jones: The European Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 158-63).

⁴⁶⁹ Contemporary accounts focus on the machinations of the newly-created Earl of Buckingham in the case of *The Vision of Delight* (John Orrell, 'The London Stage in the Florentine Correspondence, 1604-1618', *Theatre Research International*, n.s. 3 (1978), 157-76 (p. 175)) and the level of feasting and expense in the case of *Lovers Made Men* (*The Letters of John Chamberlain*, II, 55-6).

⁴⁷⁰ John Peacock has argued for the French derivation of apparently Italianate elements of Inigo Jones's set designs for court masques. He comments that 'Italian art mediated by the historical circumstances of the French Renaissance is very different from Italian art received directly' ('The French Element in Inigo Jones's Masque Designs', in *The Court Masque*, ed. by David Lindley (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), pp. 149-68 (p. 150)). Margaret M. McGowan makes a similar point with regard to dance (McGowan, p. 242).

This chapter has demonstrated the way that masque songs delineated the structure of a performance, and at the same time offered a commentary upon it. It has shown how musical style influenced the commentary that masque songs offered, and how that style developed as the masque genre itself developed. The increasing use of declamatory techniques in masque songs was a response to an increasingly declamatory, assertive structure in the masque genre. In turn, these factors also reflected the trends and fashions of wider court culture.

This chapter has also demonstrated the importance of an awareness of historical context both in terms of performance practices and our perception of the differences between musical genres. This is vital for an understanding of the ways in which, within the constraints of the masque genre, music could generate and absorb meaning in a variety of ways, with a fluidity that reveals the way masques and masque music constantly adapted to external pressures.

Chapter 6: Chester, 1610

Further, he ought to entertain the people with festivals and spectacles at convenient seasons of the year; and as every city is divided into guilds or into societies, he ought to hold such bodies in esteem, and associate with them sometimes, and show himself an example of courtesy and liberality; nevertheless, always maintaining the majesty of his rank, for this he must never consent to abate in anything.⁴⁷¹

Machiavelli's recommendation to princes to make use of public spectacle encompasses a number of important points. Firstly, he portrays pageantry and festivals in themselves as something a wise ruler engages in, but in a way which fits in and around the existing festal calendar, making sure that the timing is right.⁴⁷² Secondly, he advises that the prince should respect the civic organisations that control the trade of a particular city (or city-state), acknowledging their role in the economic stability and financial support needed for the security of the prince's rule.⁴⁷³

Thirdly, the prince is expected to act as an example. He sets the standard of behaviour in the sense that he performs acts that others should emulate, but also in the sense that he maintains the very highest level of liberality, that lesser ranks cannot hope to emulate. The liberality of a prince is, therefore, of a different order, that of magnificence. Magnificence, as discussed in Chapter 2, involves the spending of an appropriate amount to celebrate a worthy occasion for the public good. The importance of the prince's superlative quality in matters of liberality is apparent from Machiavelli's final point that the prince must never admit any challenge to his own rank. The

⁴⁷¹ Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Prince*, trans. W. K. Marriott (London: Dent, 1974), pp. 127-8.

⁴⁷² For a discussion of the way the festival calendar developed in the period, see Ronald Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England: The Ritual Year, 1400-1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994). David Cressy argues that the popularisation in the 1580s of annual celebrations for Elizabeth's Accession Day can be seen as compensating for the loss of holy days during the Protestant reformation of the calendar (*Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1989), p. 50).

⁴⁷³ The importance of the guilds of London and their participation in pageantry will be discussed in the next chapter on the London Lord Mayors' Shows.

deployment of public spectacle must always place the prince above all others, as a special and uniquely privileged individual, otherwise it risks diluting his majesty and undermining his claim to power.

Machiavelli makes clear the importance of maintaining majesty, but this acknowledgement risks exposing the fact that that majesty is not innate. Furthermore, participation in ritual and spectacular ceremony may, in itself, have this effect. As Clifford Geertz succinctly expresses it, ‘the very thing that the elaborate mystique of court ceremonial is supposed to conceal – that majesty is made, not born – is demonstrated by it’.⁴⁷⁴ Although this may indeed be true from an outsider’s anthropological perspective, able to see the mechanisms of majesty and the effects they were designed to produce, such majesty-making could clearly be very successful in its historical and cultural context. Courtly spectacle promoted and maintained a sense of the nature of majesty as inherent, and of the God-given charisma of the monarch. What Machiavelli recognised as a threat to the effectiveness of spectacle was its appropriation by other constituencies, because this risked exposing its impressive effects as transferable.

For example, as Ronald Strickland has shown in his analysis of texts relating to Philip Sidney’s funeral in 1586, one by-product of the presentation of Sidney as a popular hero is that it placed personal merit above birth rank as a criterion for social status. The adoption of aristocratic funeral practices for someone who was technically a commoner is ‘a source of meaningful incongruity within the “text” of the funeral, and by extension, within the social hierarchy that the funeral projects’.⁴⁷⁵ Strickland identifies what he sees as the direct proportionality ‘between the degree of a discourse’s

⁴⁷⁴ Clifford Geertz, *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology* (New York: Basic Books, 1983; repr. London: Fontana, 1993), pp. 121-146 (p. 124).

⁴⁷⁵ Ronald Strickland, ‘Pageantry and Poetry as Discourse: The Production of Subjectivity in Sir Philip Sidney’s Funeral’. *ELH*, 57 (Spring 1990), 19-36 (p. 26).

affirmation of the dominant ideology and the discourse's potential for subversion'.⁴⁷⁶ Despite the loyal intentions of a pageant's writer and its sponsor, civic pageantry itself has the potential to undermine the values it seeks to co-opt by its very act of co-opting them.

It is hardly surprising, therefore, that questions of interpretation and misinterpretation surface repeatedly as key concerns within the published texts of entertainments, both in the commentary of the description, and the passages actually spoken or sung on the occasion. The hegemony presented by entertainments and their descriptions should not blind us to the possibility of dissenting responses. This very possibility is revealed by a sense of defensiveness within texts, characterised by anxious invocations of classical sources, admonishments of those who criticise without understanding, and glosses of what, the harried writer often seems to be saying, should be perfectly obvious if only people would not insist on taking it the wrong way.⁴⁷⁷ If courtly audiences have the potential to engage in such wilful misreading of an event, then the risks inherent in presenting a public pageant, where there is no control over the identity of those whose discerning gaze falls upon the show, must be far greater. The ability of public spectacle to reach such a large audience is at the same time its usefulness and its danger.

The vocabulary of pageantry embodies a discourse of power. All forms of pageantry present a version of authority, and the more successful this is, the more other authorities will seek to borrow or usurp its terms. To oppose aristocratic pageant modes with non-aristocratic ones is, therefore, a false dichotomy, since all public pageantry

⁴⁷⁶ Strickland, p. 33.

⁴⁷⁷ See, for example, Daniel's *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses*, ll. 102-155 (ed. by Joan Rees, in *A Book of Masques in Honour of Allardyce Nicoll*, ed. by Stanley Wells and T.J.B. Spencer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), pp. 17-42; Jonson's *The Haddington Masque*, ll. 1-19.

draws on a common set of traditions and precedent. Nevertheless, it is possible to trace some distinct strands of development. Stephen Orgel presents sixteenth-century court-sponsored public pageantry as a form of 'nostalgic medievalism', adopted by Henry VII to mask 'the inelegant realities of military power on the one hand and the mundane details of administrative efficiency on the other'.⁴⁷⁸ The use of an ideally-imagined feudal past in pageant myth emphasised the immobility of social hierarchy in order to reinforce the status of the aristocracy, as Strickland has pointed out.⁴⁷⁹ Whilst the manipulation of these chivalric ideals provided the basis for the propagandising pageantry of the Tudors, both in London and elsewhere, Orgel notes that James I had a marked preference for classically or biblically-inspired myth.⁴⁸⁰ Both of these fictional systems contributed to the vocabulary of civic pageantry, as we shall see.

Pre-Reformation religious ritual also influenced the development of the discourse of power in this period. Paster, in her discussion of the development of pageantry in Jacobean London, cites the suppression of the mystery cycles as a factor in the expansion of civic pageants such as the Lord Mayor's Show (see below pp. 233-4). Paster presents London as a unique case, noting, quite rightly, that its size was rivalled by no other city in England.⁴⁸¹ It does not follow, however, that a similar effect could not have been present on a smaller scale in provincial centres.⁴⁸² Whatever the reason for

⁴⁷⁸ Stephen Orgel, 'Making Greatness Familiar', in *Pageantry in the Shakespearean Theater*, ed. by David M. Bergeron (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1985), pp. 19-25 (p. 19). See also Sydney Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry and Early Tudor Policy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969).

⁴⁷⁹ Strickland, p. 23.

⁴⁸⁰ Orgel, p. 21. Yates observes a resurgence in chivalric myth focused around Prince Henry, exemplified by Jonson's masques *Prince Henry's Barriers* (1610) and *Oberon* (1611). Norman Council, on the other hand, argues that these examples form a 'redefinition' of chivalric motifs by Jonson, which exposes that 'chivalry can no longer serve as an effective model of behaviour' (Yates, *Shakespeare's Last Plays: A New Approach* (London: Routledge, 1975), pp. 17-37; Council, 'Ben Jonson, Inigo Jones, and the Transformation of Tudor Chivalry', *ELH*, 47 (1980), 259-75).

⁴⁸¹ Gail Kern Paster, 'The Idea of London in Masque and Pageant', in *Pageantry in the Shakespearean Theater*, ed. by David M. Bergeron (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1985), pp. 48-64 (p. 62).

⁴⁸² Francois Laroque asserts that only London developed a substitute for the banned Midsummer Watch. His approach, however, fails to take account of regional variation in festivity, as well in its

the decline of religious pageantry throughout the second half of the sixteenth century,⁴⁸³ it meant that, in Chester, as in London and elsewhere, a new type of celebratory vocabulary had to be found. The discourse of religious hegemony was not so much replaced by the apparatus of courtly entertainments, as combined with it and converted to civic concerns.

This is certainly apparent in relation to *Chesters Triumph in Honor of her Prince*, where traditional effigies of saints took their place in procession with personations of abstract ideas (Fame, Envy), and Classical figures (Mercury). The very notion of a ‘triumph’ was, itself, mediated through a long history of medieval and renaissance courtly adoption and adaptation of the classical idea.⁴⁸⁴ The Chester pageant thus drew on an eclectic range of influences to present its own version of authority. This chapter will argue that this event hybridised aristocratic pageant modes with more provincial, and specifically Cestrian traditions of public entertainment. It will explore how the music of this event, both in its practical provision, and in its place within the imaginative parameters of the entertainment, worked within the event’s combination of civic concerns with an aristocratic discourse.

This chapter will begin by examining the sources of information we have about the event, before going into more detail regarding what we can determine about the music that was heard on the day, and what this might signify. It will then consider the way that music is understood and presented by the event itself, arguing that the musical symbolism of this entertainment reveals an underlying anxiety over the event’s

suppression (*Shakespeare’s Festive World: Elizabethan Seasonal Entertainment and the Professional Stage*, trans. by Janet Lloyd (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 10).

⁴⁸³ Accounts of the post-Reformation decline in public religious festivity can be found in Ronald Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England; Cressy, Bonfires and Bells*; Francois Laroque, *Shakespeare’s Festive World*.

⁴⁸⁴ See Anthony Miller, *Roman Triumphs and Early Modern English Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001).

reception. This anxiety will then be shown to be part of the entertainment's overall concern with the concept of Fame. A consideration of local political structures will be used to argue that this entertainment's most pressing concern is projecting the good fame of its sponsor, and the chapter will conclude by showing that *Chesters Triumph* used music to create, enhance and enforce an interpretation of itself as an expression of philanthropic magnificence. The pageant transgresses the boundary between liberality and magnificence, the difference between princely and ordinary largesse. In doing so, it exposes the very techniques it adopts to the ironising possibilities it works so hard to dispel.

In 1610, Chester was undergoing the fastest rate of population growth it had ever experienced, after a severe outbreak of plague in 1603-5. Though smaller than places like Norwich and Bristol, it was still easily within 'the second rank of provincial towns', and certainly a regional centre.⁴⁸⁵ Traffic passed through on the way to and from Wales and Ireland as well as parts of Northern England.⁴⁸⁶ Events such as the Shrovetide races and the Midsummer pageants were valuable economic stimuli, bringing in spectators from out of town to spend money on local facilities.⁴⁸⁷

Chesters Triumph, inaugurated the annual St George's Day races (an event which continues to this day). The original event involved a set of speeches and devices at the town's central crossroads, before a procession to a meadow adjacent to the town where

⁴⁸⁵ G.C.F. Forster, N.J. Alldridge and A.P.M. Wright, 'Early Modern Chester, 1550-1762', in *A History of the County of Chester*, vol. v part 1, eds. C.P. Lewis and A.T. Thacker, The Victoria History of the Counties of England (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 90-115 (pp. 91-8).

⁴⁸⁶ David Mills, 'Music in the City', in *Paying the Piper: Music in Pre-1642 Cheshire*, by Elizabeth Baldwin, with a contribution by David Mills, Early Drama, Art, and Music Monograph Series 29 (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2002), pp. 54-78 (p. 54).

⁴⁸⁷ The Midsummer Watch had been instituted in c.1499 (see *Records of Early English Drama, Chester*, ed. by Lawrence M. Clopper (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979), pp. xliii and lii on the question of dating). Some kind of sporting event had been held at Shrovetide for several years before a 1540 ordinance regularised proceedings (see below, p. 229).

various races were held. The title of the event, as given in the printed account, was a reference to Prince Henry's forthcoming investiture as Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester.⁴⁸⁸ This fact was nevertheless only obliquely referred to in the festivities, and Prince Henry, for whom the pageant was nominally staged, was not present. A detailed printed account memorialising the event was printed later in 1610, and, according to contemporary local antiquarian David Rogers, writing after Henry's death, it was 'presented to that ffamos prince Henry, eldest sonne to the blessed King James of famous memorie'.⁴⁸⁹ The very act of publishing an account of the entertainment is in itself an appropriation of the *modus operandi* of royal pageantry, and as such an indication of the way the event attempted to attract prestige.

There are two extant descriptions of *Chesters Triumph*. The first is a manuscript which is actually more of a plan of the event than a descriptive account. It comprises a list of acts to be included in the display and procession, and is written in the future tense.⁴⁹⁰ It is clear that this document was some kind of report to the Mayor and Aldermen of the city by a private citizen called Robert Amery on his plans for an event to celebrate the Prince's investiture. Amery says at the end of the document 'when all is done, then Judge what you have seene & soe speake on your mynd, as you fynde'.⁴⁹¹

The second description is the printed version noted above.⁴⁹² This seems to have been based upon the manuscript document as it, too, features a list of the elements included in the entertainment. It incorporates extensive additions, however, with a dedicatory poem to Henry and an address to the reader, and it also gives the speeches

⁴⁸⁸ For a thorough account of the political context of the investiture, see Pauline Croft, 'The Parliamentary Installation of Henry, Prince of Wales', *Historical Research*, 65 (1992), 177-93.

⁴⁸⁹ *R.E.E.D. Chester*, p. 435. This reference only appears in the 1637 edition of Rogers' Breviary, and there is no supporting evidence for the assertion.

⁴⁹⁰ This document is reproduced in *R.E.E.D. Chester*, pp. 258-60.

⁴⁹¹ *R.E.E.D. Chester*, p. 260.

⁴⁹² *Chesters Triumph in Honor of her Prince* (London: 1610). Further references to this text are given as sigla after quotations in the text.

delivered at the event. The printed text is presented as written by one Richard Davies, who appears to have been a local poet.⁴⁹³

The first part of the entertainment listed in the published description was the spectacle of an unnamed man climbing to the top of St Peter's steeple and performing a handstand upon the iron bar at the top, obviously an exciting attraction for spectators gathered in the space at the crossroads below. Even this act is not without its iconographic significance, since, as well as attracting attention by sounding a drum and shooting a piece, the performer unfurled a banner of St George's colours and flourished a sword – a clear indication of the incipient militarism of this chivalric mythology, and possibly connected to the hopes for more aggressive foreign and religious policies that clustered around Prince Henry.⁴⁹⁴

Following these acrobatics, there appeared a series of figures in a succession of scenes of varied nature, revealing a hotchpotch of influences. There was a figure of St George on horseback in full armour, who is clearly reminiscent of the pre-Reformation St George's Day 'ridings' which honoured the saint and his legendary dragon-slaying. These had occurred most elaborately in Norwich, but had also, according to Ronald Hutton, been seen in Chester.⁴⁹⁵ There were also orations by classical figures such as Rumour and Fame, and personations of places such as Chester and Britaine. These show the influence of the kind of characters that populated courtly entertainments. A figure of Fame had featured in Jonson's *The Masque of Queens* in February of the previous year, as well as in Dekker's contributions to the pageants marking King James' official

⁴⁹³ No further information about Davies seems to have survived.

⁴⁹⁴ See Williamson, *The Myth of the Conqueror*; Yates, *Shakespeare's Last Plays*, pp. 17-37; Graham Parry, *The Golden Age Restor'd: The Culture of the Stuart Court* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1981), pp. 83-4.

⁴⁹⁵ Ronald Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England*, pp. 26-27. That the processions were revived in Chester as in other places under Mary is certain, but it is not possible to determine whether or not the processions survived into the 1560s and beyond.

'entry' to the City of London in 1604. That occasion had also seen personations of the Genius of London written by Jonson. Similarly, an actor speaking as a representation of the city had appeared in the pageant to welcome Elizabeth to Norwich in 1578. Such figures are also often silently present in the tableaux of court entertainments,⁴⁹⁶ and feature prominently in the arches of James's 1604 entry.⁴⁹⁷

The pageant also featured an appearance by Mercury, and this strikingly borrows from Jacobean courtly modes, both in its poetic justification and its practical realisation. Mercury apparently descended from the steeple in a cloud, accompanied by fireworks and 'with most pleasant and mellodious harmonie at his approach' (A3^v). Mercury's arrival is presented as a message from the gods to bless Prince Henry and to congratulate him. Thus, the royal figure is (as in many of Jonson's masques), the focal point of the entertainment which justifies the fictional proceedings.⁴⁹⁸ This actually generates a rather odd effect, however, because, as noted above, Henry was not present. Nevertheless, Mercury declares his mission accomplished, saying 'my message done, my taske thus brought to end, | I must returne and to the Heav'ns ascend' (B3^v).

Another figure which seems directly influenced by the court masque is the presentation of Peace. In her oration, she declares an end to strife in the land, which she dubs 'Peaces new Jerusalem', and bans 'civill Discord' between the Scots and the English, affirming that this 'mutuall concord datelesse shall endure' (C2^r). Despite the comprehensive failure of the King's attempts to establish a union of kingdoms, its

⁴⁹⁶ Jonson's early masque texts often describe such tableaux, for instance, the Throne of Beauty in *The Masque of Beauty* (1608), and the opening of the *Haddington Masque* (1608) which featured depictions of Triumph and Victory as part of the scene.

⁴⁹⁷ For example, Dekker noted the presence of figures of Justice, Virtue, Fortune and Envy, amongst others, in the arch in Fleet Street, and Jonson's description of the arch in Fenchurch Street includes figures of Divine Wisdom, Thames, Promptitude and Unanimity (Richard Dutton, *Jacobean Civic Pageants* (Keele: Ryburn Publishing, 1995), pp. 87-94 and 37-51).

⁴⁹⁸ See Thomas M. Greene, 'Magic and Festivity at the Renaissance Court', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 40 (Winter 1987), 636-659 (pp. 654-656).

rhetoric remained embedded in pageantry, which continued to eulogise his role in bringing the kingdoms together in his person.⁴⁹⁹

The speeches at the crossroads ended with the banishment of Envie, a pantomime villain whose criticisms of the pageant were raised only to be vociferously denied (see below, pp. 225-7). Then, the costumed actors and local dignitaries formed a procession (which included a display of the coats of arms of both King James and Prince Henry) from the crossroads to a large meadow between the city walls and the river known as the Rood-Eye. Here, a set of horse races took place, after which there was a presentation ceremony. Some of the characters featured earlier in the town centre made speeches at this ceremony, and presented the winners with their prizes (which consisted of large, and presumably valuable, bells made of silver).

There is plenty of music noted in both the published account and Amery's specifications for the event. In addition to the drum sounded by the steeple-climber, there was 'a noyse of Drummes' to accompany St George, 'many Trumpets sounding cheerefully' before the horseman carrying the arms of the King, and a 'noyse of Cornets' before the arms of the Prince (A4^{r-v}). Drums are also required for St George, as well as the personation of Chester. Interestingly, Amery specifies music to be part of Mercury's entrance to the entertainment twice. Clearly he had something in mind when he stipulated 'heavenly Musick'.⁵⁰⁰ Perhaps 'heavenly' referred to the placing of the musicians high up in the steeple, but equally, it might indicate something of the intended style of the music. According to Dutka, in the mystery plays, the music of the heavenly (i.e. the appearances of angels or God), was very similar to, or borrowed from,

⁴⁹⁹ According to Pauline Croft, the 1607 Parliament comprehensively destroyed the Union scheme (*King James* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2003), pp. 65-6). Levack considers that, despite rhetorical assertions to the contrary, James himself had abandoned hope of a Union of laws as well as crowns by this stage (Levack, p. 180, n. 30).

⁵⁰⁰ *R.E.E.D. Chester*, p. 259.

the polyphonic music of parts of the liturgy.⁵⁰¹ The 'song of eight voyces' (B2') which introduces Mercury could have been some kind of imitation of this music.

The last performance of the mystery cycle in Chester had been in 1575, however, and musical fashions had changed in the intervening decades.⁵⁰² A song of eight voices in the early seventeenth century context would have been more likely to have been a motet,⁵⁰³ or a madrigal or something approaching its style being used in public provincial entertainment. Eight would be an extremely unusual number of parts, but perhaps the number refers to the number of singers, rather than the number of parts, implying a doubling up. Francis Pilkington, a singing man of Chester cathedral, published two books of madrigals, in 1614 and 1624, and it is tempting to suggest that he could have provided such music.⁵⁰⁴ 1610 is rather late in the short history of the madrigal, but Pilkington's belatedness in this respect might indicate that its influence may still have been permeating musical culture away from London.⁵⁰⁵

No musicians are named in payments for the 1610 show, but in addition to any cathedral musicians who might have been involved, there was a secular corps of Chester musicians, led by the brothers Robert and George Kelly (or Calley, or various other spellings) which would almost certainly have participated. There are payments to one of other of the brothers (initially both, often listed as 'the kellyes') from the end of the sixteenth century to halfway through the seventeenth for music on all sorts of public

⁵⁰¹ JoAnna Dutka, *Music in the English Mystery Plays*, Early Drama, Art, and Music Monograph Series 2 (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1980), p. 6. Rose argues that music itself is symbolic of the heavenly in the mystery plays (Rose, p. 191).

⁵⁰² Furthermore, the appearance of a personation of Mercury would surely have been rather different to the appearance of a personation of God or angels. This is quite clearly a secular pageant.

⁵⁰³ Campion describes one of the songs in *Lord Hay's Masque* as 'a sollemne motet of sixe parts' (*The Works of Thomas Campion*, p. 224).

⁵⁰⁴ The maximum number of parts in Pilkington's surviving madrigals is six.

⁵⁰⁵ According to Jerome Roche, most English madrigals were written in an intensive craze between 1588-1608 (*The Madrigal* (London: Hutchinson, 1972), p. 125).

occasions, including similar events to the St George's Day races in 1610.⁵⁰⁶ Neither of the brothers is a Wait until at least 1613, but they appear to have been very well established even before this time.⁵⁰⁷

There is also a drummer by the name of Roger Guest or Gest who could conceivably have been employed at the 1610 show. His name first appears as having been paid twelve pence for drumming on Shrove Tuesday in 1612 and he appears to be the only named drummer in the Chester records. He seems to have been the town's drummer for public events and was paid on numerous occasions for this service until the last mention of him in 1641. His name first appears in connection with the St George's Day races as the drummer for the 1615 races.⁵⁰⁸ It could be that he was first brought in for the 1610 event.

Other musicians who may have participated in the 1610 entertainment include the four 'intruders' railed against by George Kelly in a 1615 petition aimed at preventing them from stealing his business. This included the 'arte of dauncinge & the teachinge therof' as well as 'the science of musicke'.⁵⁰⁹ One of these, Thomas Squier, may well have been the same person as the 'Squire' who in November 1613 received eighteen pence for playing 'on the cornett upon the kinges day' and then a further six shillings and eightpence 'by mr Mayors appoyntment to gett him out of the Cittye'.⁵¹⁰ The presence of these 'foreign' musicians indicates at the very least a thriving musical culture in the city, with demand for a wide range of music providing employment for

⁵⁰⁶ For example, the Cordwainers and Shoemakers recorded that they had paid the Waits 2s. and 'the kellyes' 2s.6d. 'at shroftyde', 1610, presumably for music at the Shrovetide races (see *R.E.E.D. Chester*, p. 255).

⁵⁰⁷ George Kelly was made a freeman of the city without having to pay any charge in 1608. This can be compared with a petition (undated but included with the files for 1608-10) to be made a freeman of the city by 'Thomas ffisher Musitioner', who vouches to pay 'such imposition as his poore ability will extend to' (*R.E.E.D. Chester*, p. 226).

⁵⁰⁸ *R.E.E.D. Chester*, pp. 275, 459 and 287.

⁵⁰⁹ *R.E.E.D. Chester*, p. 290.

⁵¹⁰ *R.E.E.D. Chester*, p. 281.

many musicians.⁵¹¹ Mills shows that civic events such as the Midsummer Shows provided the market for musicians in the town.⁵¹²

Cheshire also had a unique exemption from the 1572 Statute of Vagabonds which allowed unliveried musicians to be registered by the local Dutton family. They were then protected from the punishments for vagabondage in the same way that the liveried servants of the nobility were.⁵¹³ This process, as Baldwin points out, evolved into what was essentially a form of taxation on the local minstrels, who had to pay 4d. annually for their licences.⁵¹⁴

The presence of the licensed minstrels and the Kelly brothers' careers both show that the general level of opportunity for earning through music was fairly high in Chester. It was not unlimited, however, as George Kelly's petition shows, and this could also explain various altercations between musicians that are indicated by the archives, including a dispute between the Kellys themselves.⁵¹⁵ It also means that *Chester's Triumph* had a sizeable pool of musicians to draw upon for the event.

An indication of music's iconographic significance at the event can be found in a telling difference between the manuscript and printed documents with regard to instrumentation. The manuscript stipulates that a 'noise of trumpettes' should be carried before the Prince's coat of arms in the procession, the same as it specifies for the King's arms.⁵¹⁶ In the printed account, it appears that this had been changed. Whilst the King's arms retained their guard of trumpets, it is a 'noyse of Cornets' that precedes the

⁵¹¹ See Mills, pp. 62-75, for an account of the involvement of different groups of musicians in the musical life of the city.

⁵¹² Mills, p. 74.

⁵¹³ See A.L. Beier, *Masterless Men: The Vagrancy Problem in England, 1560-1640* (London: Methuen, 1985), pp. 96-9, and Woodfill, pp. 118-9.

⁵¹⁴ Baldwin, p. 10.

⁵¹⁵ In 1600, the brothers resorted to a third party judgement to resolve the dividing up of profits between themselves and their apprentices (*R.E.E.D. Chester*, pp. 194-5). See also Mills, p. 74.

⁵¹⁶ *R.E.E.D. Chester*, p. 259.

Prince's arms (A4^f). One wonders whether this change could merely reflect a shortage of trumpeters to supply the demands of the procession, but it does appear to reinforce the relative status of the procession's representations of the royal personages. Trumpets were an instrument of ancient origin whose ceremonial use in peace and war had given them a venerable status as fitting instruments to herald a king. Cornetts had an entirely different provenance, however, and were associated with hunting.⁵¹⁷ The music of the pageant participates, therefore, in the discourse of the symbols of aristocratic hierarchy, maintaining the King's place above the Prince's and endowing the symbolic representations of aristocracy – the coats of arms – with the significance needed firstly to justify the pageant's own existence, but also to appropriate part of that authority and kudos for the pageant itself.

Thus, we can already see that the choices regarding musical performance in the pageant can be significant, and the way that music is presented in the pageant text itself can give an insight into these choices. The lyrics for the 'song of eight voyces' performed during Mercury's entrance, discussed above, present Mercury as the pageant's royal figure by proxy, describing him as the bringer of light, lustre, and vivification:

Come downe thou mighty messenger of blisse,
 Come: we implore thee,
 Let not thy glory be obscur'd from us
 Who most adore thee:
 Then come, O come great spirit
 That we may joyfull sing,
 Welcome, O welcome to earth
 Joves dearest darling.

⁵¹⁷ Mary Remnant, *Musical Instruments of the West* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1978), pp. 139, 150. Manifold considers that cornetts distinguished 'dignitaries of lesser rank than king' in the theatre (J.S. Manifold, *The Music in English Drama from Shakespeare to Purcell* (London: Rockliff, 1956), p. 53), although Galpin notes that cornetts were used to announce the entry of kings in some plays, e.g. *Gorbudoc* (Francis W. Galpin, *Old English Instruments of Music: Their History and Character*, revised by Thurston Dart (London: Methuen, 1965), pp. 140-4).

Lighten the eyes thou great Mercurian Prince.
 Of all that view thee,
 That by the lustre of their optick sense
 They may pursue thee:
 Whilst with their voyces
 Thy praise they shall sing.
 Come away
Joves dearest darling. (B2^v)

The song explicitly refers to the action with which it is simultaneous, that is, the lowering of Mercury from the steeple, and his arrival on the ground, and, in the second verse, the pyrotechnical effects that accompanied his descent and the sound of the song itself. The song is thus a self-fulfilling prophecy.

The second verse of the song illuminates the respective roles of hearing, sight and sound in Jacobean pageantry as presented by pageant texts. Rulers or privileged individuals are the focus of the attention, and their presence fills the visual field. Observers, by contrast, are usually described in aural terms. This represents a rather different configuration from Elizabethan texts. As Bergeron identifies, in marked contrast to accounts of Elizabeth's lively verbal participation in her coronation procession, there is no record of any comment made by James during his procession through London in 1604.⁵¹⁸ Jacobean pageant descriptions often refer to the noise made by the crowd.⁵¹⁹ Heard and not seen, as they are in the Chester song, spectators are portrayed as participating in the pageant by making joyful noise in praise of what they see.⁵²⁰

⁵¹⁸ David M. Bergeron, 'King James' Civic Pageant and Parliamentary Speech in March 1604', *Albion*, 34 (Summer 2002), 213-231 (p. 220).

⁵¹⁹ In some cases, the noise of the crowds delayed proceedings, as in Millington's account of James's 1603 visit to Berwick, on his journey from Edinburgh to London. The noise of the crowds was such that it prevented the town's Recorder making his intended address to the King. Only when the noisy onlookers 'were (in a manner) intreated to be silent' and ceased their shouting of 'Welcome' and 'God save King James' could the speech go ahead (*The Progresses, Processions, and Magnificent Festivities of King James the First*, ed. by John Nichols, 4 vols (London: John Nichols, 1828), I, 64).

⁵²⁰ Dekker in particular engages with the noise of public response to the King's advent. In his text of the Magnificent Entertainment for James's entry to London in 1604, he emphasises the multiplicity of vocalisation of the crowds: 'Amongst whose tongues (which in such consorts never lie still)

In *Chesters Triumph*, the cheers of the crowd are analogised with song by the lyrics, making music the proper response to this type of visual stimulus. In the first stanza, the singers refer to themselves in the first person plural, requesting that Mercury arrive so ‘that we may joyfull sing’, but in the second stanza, this has been converted into the third person plural of ‘with their voyces | Thy praise they shall sing’. At first, the singers sing on behalf of the spectators, imploring Mercury to appear, but in the second stanza they project a response onto the crowd. This response invokes the mode of encounter of a royal visit, and portrays the appropriate response as a specifically musical one, ventriloquising the crowd’s assumed approval. Just as in the other forms of pageantry discussed so far, song is used to tell the observers of pageants what they should be thinking. The need to do so is an indication of the anxieties attendant upon epideictic pageant spectacle regarding the potential for interpretation and misinterpretation.

These anxieties are particularly evident in *Chesters Triumph*. An attempt to preempt criticism of the pageant’s nature and manner of execution appears in the form of a character called Envie. She inveigles her way into the procession and begins to mock the event, describing it as ‘a ranke of rustick Boyes | Shewing as childish people childish toyes | To grace a day with’. She goes on:

[...] O it grates my gall
 To heare an aspish Kitling catterwaul
 Is it not harsh to heare a Marmeset squeake
 Upon a stage a most unjoynted speake?
 And then to heare some ignorant Baboone,
 Sweare that this Monky did surmount the Moone (C3^v).

though there were no music [...] nothing that they speak could be made anything, yet all that was spoken sounded to this purpose, that still His Majesty was coming’ (Dutton, *Jacobean Civic Pageants*, p. 35).

Her mockery clearly shows an awareness of the fantastic world of pageant myth, and perhaps reflects certain kinds of contemporary criticisms of pageantry as the flights of fancy usually taken for granted in pageant shows are here confronted.

Envie, of course, is not allowed to remain, and she is banished to hell by Love, whose verdict is then reiterated by the character of Joy. Joy declares that the other pageant characters will make known Envie's disgrace, for example 'thy everlasting shame | Shall be still blasted by the Trumpe of *Fame*: | The powrefull tongue of facund *Mercury*, | Shall to the world display thy Infamy' (C4^v). Because Envie's attack was couched in terms of the noisiness of pageantry, denying it its self-asserted musicality, her slander must be drowned out by the loud forces of praise, forces which again are portrayed as specifically musical.

The public shaming of Envie ensures that it is presented as a universally-approved measure, and it is music that is the emblem of the hegemony that results. This is shown when Joy declares 'avaunt; that all the I'le may sing, | Now *Envies* gone, in peace w' enjoy our King' (C4^v). Fears that underneath the pomp there may lurk a mocking lack of respect are assuaged by the obliterating sound of a universal music of sincerity. The pageant asserts that this signifies true agreement *within* hearts and minds as well as in the outward show, reminding onlookers of what they (should) think and demanding their active participation in believing it.

This pageant's intense interest in fame, rumour and reputation is further demonstrated by the fact that Fame and Rumour both appear as characters giving speeches. Fame introduces both the main pageant at the crossroads, and the prize-giving after the races. Here, she tells the winners, and the crowd present that,

With rich Characters of resplendant gold,
Fame hath your names within her booke enrolld:

Which till Time stayes his course shall glitter bright,
 Mauge Detractio[n] and fell Envies spight (D1^f).

Even at this moment of triumph the fearful prospect of Envy's spiteful detraction requires neutralising by Fame's assurances.

Good fame is also the theme of the closing address given by the character of Chester. She virtually pleads with spectators to report well of the shows and events, saying 'Onely your Loves which are our fairest markes, | Must muzzle Envie'. This is part of a bargain that relies upon the spectators' good faith alone – 'Measure our ardent Loves, with such kinde measure, | As we afford you sport, and give you pleasure' (D1^v). Perhaps it is because of this reliance on nothing more than good faith that the pageant is so insistent in reminding its audience of their obligations.

The fact that this plea is made by Chester is an indication of the localised nature of this concern with reputation. The show was proposed, as we have seen, by Robert Amery, a local dignitary whose philanthropic tendencies are clear from references to the fact that he paid for the clappers in the bells in the local church.⁵²¹ He was an ironmonger and a sheriff of the town in 1608, but there is very little information about him other than this. The printed account of the event includes a postscript whose wording implies that it is as a contribution by Amery himself.

IF any Reader shall desire to know
 Who was the Author of this pleasing show:
 Let him receave advertizement hereby
 A Sheriffe (late of *Chester*) AMERIE.
 Did thus performe it; who for his reward,
 Desires but Love, and competent regard.

ROBERT AMERIE (D1^v-D2^f)

⁵²¹ R.E.E.D. *Chester*, pp. 262, 435.

The reference to 'competent regard' is similar to the kind of sensitivity to criticism that characterises masque texts. It also raises the question of whose regard really interests Amery, and this is probably not that of Prince Henry or the King, at least not in the short term. Surely the benefit to Amery must have been in terms of prestige among a local elite. Paster asserts that London's Lord Mayors' pageants are fundamentally concerned with the city's self esteem, helping to produce an alternative 'community of the elect' to the aristocracy's for the merchant classes.⁵²² If we examine the local politics of Chester, we find signs that a similar community may have been appearing here, too.

The basic governing body of the city of Chester, the Assembly, had been established in 1506 and was comprised of the mayor, 24 aldermen, 2 sheriffs and 40 'common councilmen'.⁵²³ It was the mayor and aldermen who held real power, and from the early seventeenth century they met in private. The Assembly still voted on certain matters, but the number of meetings per year of the Assembly during the seventeenth century averaged only seven. For an ambitious common councilman lacking in family connections, the route to becoming one of the inner circle of power would have begun in becoming a 'leavelooker' or toll collector. From the ex-leavelookers were chosen the sheriffs who held office for a year, and who from then on were senior members of the council, eligible to be chosen as aldermen. It was from amongst the aldermen that the mayor was elected. The writers of the Victoria County History of the city estimate that, because an alderman held his post for life, and a sheriff for only one year, most sheriffs did not go on to become aldermen, and that a councilman's chances of eventually becoming an alderman were perhaps only 1 in 3.⁵²⁴ Robert Amery's family name was

⁵²² Paster, 'The Idea of London', p. 62.

⁵²³ My account of the governmental structures of Chester is based upon that of Forster and Alldridge, in 'Early Modern Chester, 1550-1762', pp. 97-99.

⁵²⁴ Forster and Alldridge, p. 98. Indeed, David Mills asserts that civic government had become so dominated by a few families that office-holding became 'almost hereditary' (Mills, p. 55).

not one of those which appeared repeatedly in the lists of mayors. His position amongst Chester's 'elect' was, therefore, by no means a straightforward matter.

In the printed account of *Chesters Triumph*, the presentation of Amery as the sponsor gives him the credit for the entire invention. Richard Davies's introductory address to the reader makes this clear when he states that the event

shall remaine and continue perpetually to future ages. as a memorable and worthy project, founded, devised, and erected onely by the most famous, generous, and well deserving Citizen, Mr. ROBERT AMERIE. late Sherieffe of the said Citie (A3^r).

Having his name flatteringly preserved in the printed account probably did Amery's reputation no harm, as long as the event itself met with general approval. It is this concern which, as we have seen, was present at the heart of the pageant's presentation of itself.

Amery's idea of racing for the prize of a bell to celebrate St George's Day and the investiture of Prince Henry was not an original one. The Shrove Tuesday races had been providing a similar type of entertainment since 1539. During that year, an annual football match, which had often caused public disorder, was transformed into a more orderly set of games. These comprised the presentation of a sum of silver for the winner of a running race, a silver bell for the winner of a horse race, and a set of silver arrows for the winner of an archery contest. The games were held on Shrove Tuesday and were followed by banquets on that day and on each of the following two days.⁵²⁵

Payments towards entertainments at the St George's Day races (as well as the Shrove Tuesday races) continued to appear in guild account books throughout the next few decades. Each year, the St George's race winners received the original bells, which

⁵²⁵ *R.E.E.D. Chester*, pp. 234-238. The 1540 ordinance that originated the races is reproduced on pp. 39-42.

had been provided by Amery, as trophies to keep for the year until the next race, as well as a portion of the entry fees. Amery's bells were sold off in 1623 (ten years after his death) to provide a fund to buy new prize bells each year for the winners to keep.

Amery's philanthropic act presented itself as bringing the population of Chester together in a unified, positive response. It subsumed anxieties by euphemising criticism of the cost and substance of the pageant as Envy, and projecting an appropriately musical response to the pageant onto its audience, thus attributing to its organiser the virtue of magnificence. Amery's intention to go beyond mere liberality is revealed by his use of the vocabulary of the princely realm of magnificence in his manuscript description. For instance, he specifies virtually every item in the parade to be accompanied 'in pompe',⁵²⁶ a word used synonymously with the splendour of magnificence. The term returns at the end of the manuscript, where Amery's closing epigram invokes the terms of magnificence even more explicitly:

Amor is love and Amory is his name
that did begin this pompe and princlye game
the Charge is great to him that all begun.
[let him be satisfied now all is done.]⁵²⁷

This use of the vocabulary of magnificence, of the 'princely game' of 'great' expenditure trespasses on the territory of Machiavelli's prince. It encapsulates Aristotle's concept of the spending of large sums to celebrate a worthy occasion for the public good, but ignores Aristotle's assertion that only the very richest can be magnificent.⁵²⁸ The concern which seems most relevant to Amery is Aquinas's characterisation of magnificence as an external virtue – one which manifests itself in

⁵²⁶ Amounting to some seventeen uses.

⁵²⁷ This is crossed through and amended to 'who now is Sattiffited to see all so well done' in another hand. See *R.E.E.D. Chester*, p. 260.

⁵²⁸ Aristotle, p. 91.

great works of permanence and public benefit. This is clear from Aquinas's view that the magnificent man bestows gifts

not as gifts but as expenditure directed to the achievement of some purpose, for example, to honour someone, or to carry out a project which brings honour to the whole community; for example one for which the whole community is enthusiastic.⁵²⁹

It is this notion of public approval that energises Amery's presentation of his pageant, and his determination that it should inaugurate a continuing and lasting tradition. In a further petition to the mayor and aldermen, Amery requested that there be 'a perpetuall establishment of a yearlie horsse race & runing at the ringe at the roode eye upon St George his day' reminding them that that 'lately to this Peticioners greate trouble & Charges' he did 'procure three Bell Cupps of silver to be made, with other shewes and devyses, [...] to this Peticioners Charge the some of C li. at the leaste'.⁵³⁰ Amery's desire to participate in public liberality presents itself as a superlative act of philanthropy, but its success requires the guarantee of perpetual renewal to create the externalised 'great work' that identifies the deeds of the magnificent.

The pageant included both popular and courtly modes in its attempts to provide a truly magnificent spectacle, but this remained contingent upon the approval of spectators. Thus, through music, the pageant imposed ways of listening and responding upon its auditors to encourage or even enforce a positive response, a response which is characterised by the pageant itself as specifically musical. The pageant's borrowings from contemporary courtly modes of magnificence are explicitly reflected in the title of

⁵²⁹ St Thomas Aquinas, *Courage*, trans. by Anthony Ross and P.G. Walsh, *Summa Theologiae* vol. 42, (London: Blackfriars, 1966), p. 177. Aristotle also stresses the public nature of magnificence, asserting that it is not spending for oneself, but 'for the common good' (Aristotle, p. 92).

⁵³⁰ *R.E.E.D. Chester*, p. 261. A note appended to this petition seems to imply that it was unsuccessful, but, as noted above, contributions towards the continuance of the races were forthcoming from the guilds of the town. For example, contributions towards the show were recorded in a list detailing 'what the Companys gave toward St Georges Rase for the Contynuanee of a bell or Cupp'. amounting to £36 8s. 4d. (*R.E.E.D. Chester*, p. 258), and on 30 June 1610, ten shillings were given to Amery by the Drawers of Dee specifically upon 'mr maiors request' (*R.E.E.D. Chester*, p. 263).

the printed text, but although it claimed to be a pageant in honour of a Prince, *Chesters Triumph* in fact derived its self-proclaimed musicality from the magnificence of its patron and sponsor.

Chapter 7: The London Lord Mayors' Shows

As noted in the previous chapter, Paster and other critics have observed a shift in the nature of public spectacle that occurred in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁵³¹ The development of the London Lord Mayors' Shows is one of the examples of this shift. Starting in 1535, the Shows took on some of the elements of the annual Midsummer Watch, which fell out of regular observance in the 1540s.⁵³² Traditional figures such as giants and green men which had featured in early processions continued to do so through the Jacobean period.⁵³³ Additionally, however, the pageants show evidence of the growing influence of courtly entertainments, and become increasingly numerous, expensive and elaborate. In particular, the amount spent on musical resources increases, with a steady increase in numbers of fifes and drummers.⁵³⁴

This inflation in lavishness has been attributed to the retreat of courtly and royal entertainments into the more private sphere of the masque, and the reluctance of James I to engage in public spectacle,⁵³⁵ as well as a sense of competitiveness with the extravagance of the court masque, stimulating the Lord Mayors' Shows to further levels of expenditure. Lobanov-Rostovsky's comment that 'as in the royal entrances of the

⁵³¹ Paster, 'The Idea of London', pp. 48-64.

⁵³² Glynne Wickham, *Early English Stages, 1300-1600, III: Plays and their Makers to 1576* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981), p. 56. Francois Laroque asserts this link more forcefully, stating that the Watch 'survived in the form of the Lord Mayor's Show' (Laroque, p. 8).

⁵³³ For example, in the Merchant Taylors' records for 1610, Rowland Vaughan was paid 5 shillings 'for mending the giants', as well as a payment of £8 for '6 greenmen' (*MSC*, III, p. 79). David M. Bergeron traces a continuity in staging between the medieval mystery cycles and early seventeenth-century civic pageantry in 'Medieval Drama and Tudor-Stuart Civic Pageantry', *The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 2 (1972), 279-93.

⁵³⁴ Fifes and drummers played together accompanying ensign-bearers as part of the galley-foist. Payments show that in the sixteenth century pageants usually featured one or, later, two ensign-bearers each with a single fife player and drummer. This rises in the Jacobean period to three ensign-bearers, each with one or two fife players and at least two, sometimes three drummers. The galley-foist was a decorated military vessel that accompanied the Lord Mayor's barge. For more on its role in the Shows see David Carnegie, 'Galley-foists, the Lord Mayor's Show, and Early Modern English Drama', *Early Theatre*, 7.2 (2004), 49-74. Carnegie argues that the galley-foist became a synecdoche for the Shows themselves (p. 62).

⁵³⁵ Bergeron, *English Civic Pageantry*, p. 66; Paula Johnson, p. 157.

period, the Lord Mayor functioned as both the show's subject and its ideal audience', makes clear a methodological link between the Lord Mayors' Shows and the court masque.⁵³⁶

Yet it is not entirely adequate to attribute the burgeoning expense and quantity of pageant-cars in the Lord Mayors' Shows to a need to fill a vacuum left by a royal retreat from public display. The Lord Mayors' Shows were an annual event, whereas royal entries were only occasional, and such a spectacle as a coronation procession rarer than that. The rise of the Lord Mayors' Shows had broadly coincided with the general post-Reformation demise of much public spectacle.⁵³⁷ Their continued expansion in the first half of the seventeenth century represents a net increase in the splendour of the festival year in London, and represents the regularisation of triumphal celebrations previously reserved for unusual events into an annually renewed form. Rather than a compensation for a reduction in court-sponsored display, this is more likely to be a result of the city's own economic development, and the need to accommodate and justify new circumstances produced by the profound changes in trade and commerce.⁵³⁸

This chapter will argue that while there was a shift in the ethical values expressed by the Lord Mayors' Shows during the Jacobean period, the rhetorical strategies they used remained relatively constant. The courtly musical tropes which had previously expressed aristocratic values are enlisted to support the city as a centre of power and prestige. This will be demonstrated through an examination of the Shows of Anthony

⁵³⁶ Sergei Lobanov-Rostovsky, 'The Triumphes of Golde: Economic Authority in the Jacobean Lord Mayor's Show', *ELH*, 60 (1993), 879-98 (p. 881).

⁵³⁷ Charles Phythian-Adams, 'Ceremony and the Citizen: The Communal Year at Coventry 1450-1550', in *Crisis and Order in English Towns 1500-1700*, ed. by Peter Clark and Paul Slack (London: Routledge, 1972), pp. 57-85.

⁵³⁸ C.A. Cooke has argued that a rapid increase in the amount of capital in Europe during the sixteenth century gave rise to a 'new class of economic power, of wealth which was not the possession of great estates in land but of "treasure"'. This shift from an agricultural economy to a business one 'did not fit easily into the traditional social forms' (*Corporation Trust and Company: An Essay in Legal History* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1950), pp. 39-43).

Munday and Thomas Middleton, the two most prolific writers of Lord Mayors' Shows in the period.

There are records for 20 Shows between 1602 and 1626, showing that 9 were written by Munday, and 6 by Middleton, with one further Show shared between them.⁵³⁹ It is perhaps because of the extensive contacts and experience that would have been required to co-ordinate such a complex event that only a small number of writers were engaged for the task in the period under consideration. The writer was responsible for more than just the text of the speeches and songs, as they also had to co-ordinate the design and building of the pageant cars, the making of costumes, and the hiring of actors, as well as procuring the printing of usually around 200 copies of a description of the event. This pattern had become settled by the seventeenth century. The livery company of the new Lord Mayor would start inviting proposals from the writers several months before the event, which took place on the 30 October, the day after SS Simon and Jude's day.⁵⁴⁰

This chapter will first discuss the different approaches of the two writers to the Shows, examining the way that Middleton converts the aristocratic rhetoric of earlier Shows by Munday into a promulgation of civic values. It will then argue that meaning in the Lord Mayors' Shows is generated by the interaction between different media, examining how the processional form influences the scope of the writer's input, and the textual description relates to the process of interaction. Music will be shown to

⁵³⁹ The writer favoured most often by the guilds in the latter part of the sixteenth century appears to have been George Peele, two of whose Shows survive. Jonson, Dekker, John Squire and Webster were employed to write the Lord Mayors' Shows for 1604, 1612, 1620 and 1624 respectively. Munday may also have contributed to the 1604 Show. For a discussion of the identity of the writers of the Shows, see *MSC*, III, pp. xxxiv-xxxv.

⁵⁴⁰ These preparations also began months in advance of the election of the next Lord Mayor (at Michelmas, 29 September). For instance, in 1611 the Goldsmiths' Company was asking its members for contributions to the cost of the pageant as early as August (see *MSC*, III, p. 80). This was possible because it was always obvious who would be chosen, the custom being to choose the longest-serving alderman who had not yet been Lord Mayor (Alfred B. Beaven, *The Aldermen of the City of London*, 2 vols (London: Eden Fisher, 1908-1913), II, 48-51).

participate in the pageants' presentation of economic and ethical values, both civic and aristocratic. The chapter will set out what we can determine about the music heard at the Shows from the surviving evidence, before considering the ways in which the idea of music itself is presented within the Shows and the way that this is integrated with Christian symbology. It will argue that the Shows demonstrate the way that the meaning of the music of public spectacle can be redirected to suit the non-courtly purposes of civic patrons.

Authority in Munday and Middleton's Lord Mayors' Shows

Munday's approach to the Lord Mayors' Shows was governed by a particularly hierarchical conception of fealty and society. This is most apparent in his Monument to Drapery in *Himatia-Poleos* (1614), which recalls the hierarchical organisation of masque tableaux such as the House of Fame in Jonson's *The Masque of Queens*. Munday's description of the tableau shows how hierarchical thinking permeated the arrangement:

In the supreame and most eminent seate, sitteth *Himatia*, or Cloathing, as Mother, Lady and commaundresse of all the rest, who by their distinct emblemes and properties, (apted for the easiest apprehension) doe expresse their dutie and attendance on so gracious a person, in their severall places and offices to them belonging; as in Carding, Spinning, Weaving, Rowing, Fulling, Shearing, Dressing, Dying, Tentering and performing all other services to woollen Cloathes.⁵⁴¹

Himatia, or clothing, is a supreme, royal head of a hierarchy, wherein each individual has a role to play along a chain of productivity in which there is no superfluity or waste. The figure at the top of the tableau is the final purpose of the activities of those below her, and without her their roles would be meaningless. The chariot is guarded by Peace,

⁵⁴¹ *The Pageants and Entertainments of Anthony Munday: A Critical Edition*, ed. by David Bergeron (New York: Garland, 1985), p. 75 (ll. 128-135). Further references to entertainments from this edition are given as line numbers after quotations in the text.

Plentie, Liberalitie and Discreet Zeale, who 'supporte the flourishing condition of *Himatiaes* Common-wealth and strive to prevent all occasions which may seem sinister or hurtfull thereto' (l. 137-9). This model of the commonwealth is one in which common gain can only be achieved by submitting to the figure at the top, whose benefit is thus understood to represent the benefit of all.

Munday's faith in the monarchical system is repeatedly emphasised in his Shows, put into words by characters that one might have expected to represent an alternative power base. In *Himatia-Poleos*, a representation of Henry Fitz-Alwin, the first Lord Mayor, is recruited to describe previous methods of governing London that were attempted before Richard I wisely instituted the office of Lord Mayor. These included the appointment of two bailiffs, an arrangement which not only did not work but 'could not please the king' because 'in two mens rule grew varying' (ll. 286-7). Plurality is not only impractical, it is also against God's plan:

Therefore as God had given him place,
Solely to rule, and judge each case,
So he would plant a deputie
To figure his authoritie,
In the true forme of Monarchie,
Then which, no better soveraigntie (ll. 292-7)

The office of Lord Mayor is both successful in practice and morally acceptable because it follows the model of royal authority, which in turn is predicated on a paternalistic paradigm of the authority of God. The power of the Lord Mayor derives from a hierarchical chain of supremacy ultimately deriving from the divine right to rule. In presenting the political organisation of the City in this way, Munday reinforces its unchallengability, and so in one sense strengthens it, but in doing so he allies the City authorities with the crown in a way that irrevocably subordinates them to it.

Munday's deferential presentation of royal symbols is also at work in *Camp-bell* (1609). This featured an *Insula Beata* which included a figure of Majesty, supported in front by Religion carrying a book and a silver rod 'as her Ensignes of good reward and encouragement' and 'desertfull chastisement' (ll. 22-5). Again, Munday enlists a powerful image of the divine status of monarchy.⁵⁴² The Lord Mayor and civic government, however, do not appear to have a role to play in this scheme, unless one can include them as an extension of the figure of Pollicy who occupies the left hand space on the throne, also carrying a staff and with 'a roule of paper in his other hand' (ll. 32-3), presumably representing the power of recorded precedent and custom. The Lord Mayor's role and the governance of the city, presented so often by Munday as the gift of the monarch,⁵⁴³ is here merely an extension of royal authority through policy, the instruments of the divinely-sanctioned will of the monarch.

Middleton approaches the Shows very differently. He combines facets of popular medieval drama with the extravagance of private court entertainment as part of the London elite's adaptation of the concept of aristocratic magnificence to their own social position. For instance, in *The Triumphs of Honour and Industry* (1617), Honour tells the Mayor that 'Great cost and love hath nobly been bestow'd | Upon thy triumph'.⁵⁴⁴ As Paster has pointed out, Middleton was the first pageant-writer to use courtly tropes to construct the city's liberality as akin to the magnificence of princes, and the expectation of the Lord Mayor to keep open house during his tenure is another indication of such

⁵⁴² And one that possibly recalls the use of the Bible in the coronation pageants for Elizabeth I in 1559. See Bergeron, *English Civic Pageantry*, pp. 20-1.

⁵⁴³ For example, Munday used the figure of Henry Fitz-Alwin no less than three times (in his 1611, 1614 and 1615 Shows), each time emphasising the role of the King in granting London its Lord Mayor.

⁵⁴⁴ *The Triumphs of Honour and Industry*, in *The Works of Thomas Middleton*, ed. A.H. Bullen, 8 vols (London: John C. Nimmo, 1885-6), VII, 291-307 (p. 306). Further references to entertainments from this edition are given as page numbers after quotations in the text.

civic adoption of magnificence.⁵⁴⁵ Middleton himself wrote short vignettes for some of the entertainments provided at the Lord Mayors' houses in 1620 and 1621, and published them in a commemorative volume.⁵⁴⁶ Magnificence is not just for royalty, therefore, but for the nouveau-riche whose economic power rendered them able not only to commission such flattery, but also to establish a new way of defining those who deserve it.

Despite rhetorical claims to magnificent expenditure, the evidence also indicates certain economies within the performances of the Lord Mayors' Shows. For instance, the ostensibly laudatory speech, delivered by St George in Munday's *Camp-Bell* (1609), compared the expenditure of the Ironmongers' Company to their relative size amongst the livery companies. If their 'number' had been 'levell with other Societies' then their expenditure would have been just as lavish, St George asserts. Nevertheless, he cheerfully adds 'they come now but little short of precedent examples' (ll. 156-9), an admission which acknowledges the sense of competitiveness between the different companies. Complaints about this Show from the Ironmongers' records, however, indicate a less generous assessment of the event. They assert that 'the Musick and singinge weare wanting, the apparrell most of it old and borrowed, with other defects'.⁵⁴⁷

At the other end of the scale, however, in *The Triumphs of Truth* (1613), Middleton uses the most elaborate and expensive pageant of the era to eulogise simplicity as Truth. The paradox of this pageant is generated by Middleton's combination of his courtly imaginative sources within a different ethical system. The lavish display of magnificence required by the genre itself (and his patrons) does not, therefore, necessarily combine easily with the moral implications of Middleton's pageants.

⁵⁴⁵ Gail Kern Paster, *The Idea of the City in the Age of Shakespeare* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1985), pp. 144, 148.

⁵⁴⁶ Thomas Middleton, *Honorable Entertainments*, (London: 1621).

⁵⁴⁷ *MSC*, III, p. 76.

The poetic sources drawn on by Middleton and Munday had their origins in economic and social circumstances which were very different to those in which these writers were working.⁵⁴⁸ For example, the practice of usury by Christians was still a contentious issue, yet, as Lloyd Edward Kermode points out, it was ‘money borrowed on usury’ that ‘permitted international trade’.⁵⁴⁹ It was precisely those men who had benefited most obviously from the new forms of trade that by the beginning of the seventeenth century formed the City’s ruling elite, as Ashton has shown.⁵⁵⁰ That the personnel who made up the aldermen of London and the City’s business elites overlapped considerably was partly because the cost of office-holding rendered a large fortune a pre-requisite for consideration. As Ashton points out, it is also noticeable that a large number of London aldermen acted as moneylenders to the court.⁵⁵¹ The pageant-writer’s task, therefore, is to reconcile the economic practices of a new age with older moral codes, and to avoid the anxieties produced by the clashing of these two factors. It is the work of Middleton which reflects these changes most noticeably.⁵⁵²

In an era before the concept of trickle-down economics, amassing a personal fortune to be recast as social conscientiousness required an appeal to an adapted version of the idea of the commonwealth, shorn of its feudal associations. Thus, in *The Triumphs of Honour and Industry* (1617), we are told that the industrious efforts of merchants such as George Bowles, the member of the Grocers’ Company that the

⁵⁴⁸ As Laura Stevenson has noted, ‘social fact changes more quickly than vocabulary and ideology’ (*Praise and Paradox: Merchants and Craftsmen in Elizabethan Popular Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 6).

⁵⁴⁹ Lloyd Edward Kermode, ‘After Shylock: The “Judaiser” in England’, *Renaissance and Reformation*, 32.4 (1996), 5-26 (p. 5). The opening of the Royal Exchange in 1571 had created a credit market that enabled English merchants to expand into new markets (Norman Jones, *The Birth of the Elizabethan Age: England in the 1560s* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993), p. 253).

⁵⁵⁰ Robert Ashton, *The City and the Court, 1603-1643* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), pp. 35-42.

⁵⁵¹ In 1603, for example, 17 of the 28 aldermen had done so (Ashton, p. 41).

⁵⁵² This is possibly because Middleton is the later writer. He could not avoid as easily as Munday the implications of the changing economic roles of his patrons.

pageant was honouring, produce material and spiritual riches together, bringing benefit to all. His labour ‘overflows [...] Not only to itself adding increase, | But several nations where commerce abounds’ (p. 299). Middleton’s pageants thus promote London’s status as the foremost city and tutor of the other ‘cities through the commonweal’ (*The Triumphs of Health and Prosperity*, p. 409), not merely, therefore, the kingdom.⁵⁵³

As we have seen, Munday’s Shows imply that the Lord Mayor, as the deputy of the King, owes his position to God. Consequently he is presented as self-evidently deserving of the pageant’s praise. By contrast, in several of Middleton’s pageants the automatic entitlement of the Lord Mayor to praise is portrayed as far less assured. It is *The Triumphs of Honour and Industry* which offers what is probably the most explicit example of the interplay between different ways of conceptualising reward. In this pageant, Industry proclaims herself to be ‘the life-blood of praise’ (p. 298), emphasising, in a decidedly non-aristocratic version of the concept of honour, that Fame depends upon the worthy actions of the individual, and that activity is required to merit it. Rather than simply deserving praise from birth, and basing that upon invocations of ancestry, the Puritan elite is told that ‘Fame waits their age whom Industry their youth’ (p. 299). A new individualism is emerging here in which personal volition is presented as the key to achieving the ideals of Honour and Fame previously reserved for those who fitted another formula.

In terms of the pageant’s scheme, honour-gaining activity is specifically economic. A character representing Traffic holds a globe that symbolises how she, with Industry

⁵⁵³ The ideal of the ‘commonweal’ is only explicitly referred to by Middleton in *The Triumphs of Health and Prosperity* (1626), whose title alone gives a vision of Prosperity as a virtue which contributes to the wellbeing of the community. Middleton’s method of titling his Lord Mayors’ Shows (only one, *The Sun in Aries*, departs from the formula *The Triumphs of...*) establishes an equivalence between Prosperity and the other qualities Middleton chose to concentrate on in his titles. The implication must be that Prosperity is as important to a Lord Mayor as Integrity, Honour, Truth and the other qualities privileged by the titles.

‘knits love and peace amongst all nations’ (p. 298). Mercantile wealth-gathering is specifically portrayed as a socially beneficial act. The implication of this pageant is clearly that the achievement of aldermanic and mayoral status is an indication of having spent one’s youth participating in the industrious activity that the pageant commends.

Despite this sense of the self-evidence of the Lord Mayor’s entitlement to praise, the importance of present and future action in achieving honour is emphasised in a slight but significant dramatic scene staged at the end of the pageant.⁵⁵⁴ At the ‘Castle of Fame or Honour’ a character called Reward jumped up as soon as she saw the Lord Mayor and invited him to take the seat reserved for him ‘to do thy virtues grace’ at ‘Fame’s bright Castle’ (pp. 302-3). Justice, however, stepped in, declaring that Reward had been too forward because the Lord Mayor must first prove himself before he can receive praise:

A whole year’s reverend care in righting wrongs
 And guarding innocence from malicious tongues,
 Must be employ’d in virtue’s sacred right
 [...]

 There must be merit, or our work’s not right’
(pp. 303-4).

The scene further destabilises the aristocratic notion of honour when Reward rather bitingly comments that she ‘commits but once such heresy’ (p. 304). Such premature praise is a form of heresy because the subject has no automatic right to it, and action must be undertaken to earn it. This pageant thus negotiates a complex compromise between a sense of the self-evidence of its patrons’ desert, and the need for continued action to maintain that merit.

⁵⁵⁴ Middleton’s description is rather vague on the location of this part of the show, but as it was the last part before the Lord Mayor left for the feast, it was most probably at Cheapside.

This sense of the importance of individual action had first surfaced in Middleton's *The Entertainment at the Opening of the New River* (1613), an entertainment performed to celebrate the opening of a thirty-eight-and-a-quarter-mile long canal to supplement London's water supply. Middleton's description explains that 'the warlike music of drums and trumpets liberally beats the air, sounds as proper as in battle' because 'there is no labour that man undertakes but hath a war in itself' (p. 263). The 'war' referred to was the opposition to the building of the new water supply encountered by its promoter and financial backer, Hugh Myddelton. Landowners along the route of the canal objected on the grounds that the works would cause flooding of their property, taking their objections to the House of Commons and causing delays which nearly proved ruinous both to the project and to Hugh Myddelton himself.⁵⁵⁵

The vocabulary of flowing water was an obvious choice of poetic theme for this Entertainment, but interestingly it is the sound of the water that Middleton focuses on. Just before the floodgates are finally opened, the water is instructed to 'flow forth' and

[...] bring
 Comfort to all that love thee; loudly sing,
 And with thy crystal murmur struck together,
 Bid all thy true well-wishers welcome hither (p. 266).

Music's traditional roles are conflated here. It is both soothing to the ears of the project's supporters, but, by implication, bitter and harsh to the naysayers who argued against the scheme, whose sniping is drowned out by the opening of the sluice-gates. In addition to this, the opening of the gates was accompanied by 'drums and trumpets giving it triumphant welcomes; and, for the close of this their honourable entertainment,

⁵⁵⁵ See G.C. Berry, 'Sir Hugh Myddelton and the New River', *The Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, no vol., (1956), 17-46, and J.W. Gough, *Sir Hugh Myddelton: Entrepreneur and Engineer* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964). Chapters 1-2. Although the latter is largely taken from Berry, it does add some extra detail. Bernard Rudden offers an account of the project in terms of the history of business corporation structures and property law in *The New River: A Legal History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985).

a peal of chambers' (p. 266). The musical and aural vocabulary of royal congratulation is here applied to celebrating the achievement of a businessman's project, implying an equivalence between them, and further imposing the importance and justification of the project. The pun on 'well-wishers' illustrates the overlap in this pageant between morality and public action. Those who wish for a new water source are also those who have benevolent wishes towards its sponsor. Conversely, the problems faced by the project are presented as the product of 'malice, envy, false suggestions' and 'unjust complaints, | Enviously seated' (pp. 264, 265). As in *Chesters Triumph*, envy is blamed for any opposition, and figured as a moral perversion.

The rewards for those responsible for the conduit are correspondingly presented in a way which emphasises their moral superiority and also engages with the relationship between the civic and the courtly. A speech, delivered by one of a band of labourers (whose military-style parade formed the main part of the entertainment's action), describes how Hugh Myddelton, as backer of the project, is entitled to have his troubles and success recognised by the King. Another source of approval is introduced in addition to royal attention here, because the labourer declares that 'perfection draws | Favour from princes, and from all applause' (p. 265). The applause of his fellow citizens is a public acknowledgement of Myddelton's worth. As in Chester, such audible public acknowledgement is required for the legitimation of the project. In this case, this is all the more necessary because of the controversy the waterway had caused.⁵⁵⁶

⁵⁵⁶ The New River scheme is described by Rudden as illustrating an 'intermediate stage' in the development of the conception of projects of public benefit, having features of both older notions of craft guild organisation and more recent developments in incorporation and share issuing (Rudden, pp. 1-4). As such, it can be seen as a prime example of the economic changes that Middleton's pageantry accommodates.

Such public praise is portrayed by Middleton as being important for the encouragement of public virtue. Myddelton's example of action, it is declared, will encourage future generations 'To practise deeds of goodness and of fame, | And gladly light their actions by his name' (p. 265). Thus verbal and auditory modes of praise will be transformed into the visual and actual by the acts of those who are inspired by them. Although Hugh Myddelton received considerable financial aid from the King for the project,⁵⁵⁷ in the pageant this royal contribution is omitted. Royal authority, example, and inspiration are bypassed by this scheme of virtue, in which an outstanding citizen is a hero, of whom emulation is both possible and desirable. Middleton's pageantry seeks to find a way of celebrating specifically civic virtue, and by doing so, to encourage it. The result is that, instead of being irrevocably defined by their social station, the individual has the potential to be ennobled by personal action.

In finding a triumphal rhetoric to suit his middle class patrons, Middleton converts a discourse founded on aristocratic birthright to one in which the values of capitalist economic productivity are privileged, recruiting older, traditional ideas to support the particular economic conditions of his own urban society. Honour, virtue and fame remain as the loci of aspiration in Middleton's recasting of pageant discourse, but are redirected towards the praise of industriousness and the accumulation of wealth through mercantilism and financial services. The basis for the assumption of virtue underlying pageantry is re-focused from birth to wealth, which of itself confers the status previously reserved for the high-born. Thus newer, anti-aristocratic values are accommodated within a traditional framework.

⁵⁵⁷ In November 1611, the King agreed to pay half of all costs (past and future) in return for a half share in the eventual profits of the scheme. This agreement was reinforced in May 1612 with an additional clause forbidding anyone to hinder the project any further (Berry, pp. 28-9).

Emblematic Representation in the Lord Mayors' Shows

As a processional form, The Lord Mayors' Shows had a very different relationship to their audiences than that of the court masque, and their urban setting situated them within the everyday life of the city. Although the pageants at each stopping place on the Lord Mayor's route joined the procession and were therefore available to the later onlookers, the speeches, once spoken, were not.⁵⁵⁸ Only the Lord Mayor and the other members of the procession near him (the aldermen) would have seen and heard the entirety of the pageant. This impression is confirmed by the report of Middleton's *The Triumphs of Honour and Industry* by Horatio Busino.⁵⁵⁹ Installed at the windows of two houses, overlooking first the water display and second the street procession, Busino conveys the chaotic, festive atmosphere of the occasion, describing a 'surging mass of people' from the very old to the very young 'all anxious to see the show'.⁵⁶⁰ His account makes it clear that Middleton's speeches would indeed have been inaudible to the majority of those witnessing the occasion. The observers described by Busino were stationed on a part of the route of the procession which was not one of the stopping points where the speeches were given. Furthermore, Busino gives the impression of constant and overwhelming noise. On the water, the 'incessant' salutes of ordinance were accompanied by 'trumpets, fifes and other instruments'.⁵⁶¹ On land, the rowdy crowds gave 'roars of laughter' as they saw a 'Spanish' pageant character blow kisses to the Spanish ambassador. They were also subjected to 'an incessant shower of squibs

⁵⁵⁸ For a consideration of the features of processional pageants see Bergeron, 'Medieval Drama and Tudor-Stuart Pageantry', pp. 283-6. See also Lobanov-Rostovsky, p. 881.

⁵⁵⁹ Busino was the chaplain of Pietro Contarini, the Venetian ambassador, and was in London during 1617-18. His dispatches provide much useful information on the masque as well (see above, p. 147-8).

⁵⁶⁰ *CSP Venetian*, p. 60

⁵⁶¹ *CSP Venetian*, p. 59.

and crackers' from the windows above as well as the fireworks of the masked 'giants' who were, without much success, supposed to be clearing the path of the procession.⁵⁶²

Busino's account gives a vivid portrayal of what it was like to be a spectator of these Shows. It is clear that the impression given by the pageants must have varied enormously depending on the position of the spectator on the route. The speeches would have had no chance of being heard by any but a few. Bald has therefore argued that 'lavish display was the prime requisite in these processions' and that the speeches were 'an elegant decoration'.⁵⁶³ Although it is true that the Shows' rhetorical force was not located in their verbal elements, meaning within the Shows cannot be simply ascribed to the Shows' lavishness, or any single one of their other components. The Shows' deployment of symbolic tableaux, music and verbal exposition interact with each other to create meaning. Middleton highlights this in the text of *The Triumphs of Truth* where he describes an event of total theatre to be experienced in as comprehensive a way as possible. In a striking mixture of metaphors, Middleton explains that the day began with a song when the Lord Mayor first appeared in order 'to give his ear a taste of the day's succeeding glory' (p. 234).

An important element in this collage of meaning is the printed text itself. The preservation of the Shows in printed form began in the 1580s,⁵⁶⁴ and became a regular feature at the start of the seventeenth century. The development of this habit of printing the Shows can be seen as an indication of their growing importance for the prestige of the livery companies. As noted above (p. 235), it was the writer's task to provide the official account of a Show. For example, Munday was contracted to produce five hundred copies of *Chruso-Thriambos*. It was not Munday's role, however, to distribute

⁵⁶² *CSP Venetian*, pp. 59-62.

⁵⁶³ R.C. Bald, 'Middleton's Civic Employments' in *Modern Philology*, 31 (August 1933), 65-78 (p. 75).

⁵⁶⁴ Wickham, III, p. 278, n. 28.

these pamphlets – that fell to the Wardens of the Goldsmiths' Company.⁵⁶⁵ This seems to confirm Gadd's argument that such publications were for internal use within a company itself, rather than a means to further the public advertisement of a company's status.⁵⁶⁶

The printed text of the entertainment, therefore, acts as an explanatory gloss for guild members – people who had already seen the spectacle, and possibly been closely involved in its preparation and performance. The text thus presents itself in relation to the other elements of the Show that its readers will have already experienced. This interrelationship constitutes what can be described as an 'emblematic' mode of meaning, because different aspects of the entertainment create different contexts and explanations for each other. Similar to the maske at Norwich in 1578, the pageant-cars are three dimensional emblems which present a symbolic enigma, decipherable with the aid of the speeches, songs, and textual description.

An example of this interdependence can be found in instances where pageant texts describe their subjects in ways which cannot have been apparent during the event itself. For example, in *Camp-Bell* (1609), Munday describes the pageant-car of the *Insula Beata* as floating 'upon the calm Sea of discrete and loyall affections' (l. 63), and in *Sidero-thriambos* (1618) Munday describes Fear and Modesty as 'both veiled, but so sharp-sighted that they can discern through the darkest obscurities, when any disorder threatneth danger to *Majesty*, or to his carefull Deputie' (ll. 181-3). It is difficult to imagine how this veiled sharp-sightedness might have been conveyed to the crowds

⁵⁶⁵ The Goldsmiths' Court Books recorded the terms of his contract for writing the Show in great detail, including the agreement 'to cause 500 bookes thereof to be made and printed to be delivered to Mr Wardeins by them to be disposed' (*MSC*, III, p. 82).

⁵⁶⁶ Gadd points out the reluctance of the livery companies to engage in sponsoring printed accounts of their histories, and characterises their main use of the printing press as 'a cheap alternative to scribal copying' rather than a medium for publicity (Gadd, p. 30).

visually, or how the metaphor of the sea of loyalty could possibly have been conveyed by a moving pageant car.⁵⁶⁷

The texts of the Shows operate in the same way as emblem inscriptions therefore, explaining the visual figures and the relation between them to indicate the moral message of the presentation as a whole. Middleton's most obviously emblematic Show is *The Triumphs of Truth*, as can be seen in the costume descriptions given in the printed account of the entertainment. Error, for example, sits with 'his head rolled in a cloud, over which stands an owl, a mole on one shoulder, a bat on the other, all symbols of blind ignorance and darkness, mists hanging at his eyes'. Next to him, his champion, Envy, rides a rhinoceros whilst 'eating of a human heart'. She is dressed all in red 'suitable to the bloodiness of her manners!' and the gory picture is completed with a snake suckling her left breast and a bloody dart in her right hand (p. 241). These symbols, and others in the same Show, are standard modes of representation, lifted straight from the emblem books of Ripa and Valeriano.⁵⁶⁸

The meaning of these symbols depends upon their repeated use, but Middleton is also capable of adding to the usual tableau staples used by contemporary court entertainments. In *The Triumphs of Honour and Industry*, we are presented with a Castle of Fame where, on a level with representations of Truth, Antiquity, Harmony, and Fame, are also displayed Desert and Good Works, two qualities which are eminently appropriate to Middleton's construction of merit as discussed above. Above these, 'on the top of the castle' were placed Honour, Religion, Piety and Commiseration (p. 304). The last three of these are a far rarer part of the courtly vocabulary, if indeed

⁵⁶⁷ Additionally, the printed accounts of the Shows, as has been noted in relation to other entertainment genres (see above, p. 59), may have portrayed the performances as more successful than they were in the event: they are an idealised version of the event, rather than an accurate representation. For example, with regard to *Camp-Bell*, the Ironmongers' Company complained that Munday 'performed not his speeches on land, nor the rest of his contracted service' (*MSC*, III, p. 77).

⁵⁶⁸ *MSC*, III, p. xxxix.

part of it at all. I can find no instance of these being placed together in court pageantry. Indeed, they constitute a much more specifically Puritan vocabulary, which is combined with courtly emblems to cast the concerns of the City elite in the terms of courtly spectacle.⁵⁶⁹

The explanatory gloss of the Shows is not solely contained within the printed text. For instance, Munday's pageant characters often self-consciously introduce themselves and their purpose in the pageant.⁵⁷⁰ Henry Fitz-Alwin in *Metropolis Coronata* (1615), for example, declares that he is speaking 'on behalf of the honourable company of Drapers, who made no spare of their bounty, for full performance of this dayes solemne Honor' (ll. 279-81). Munday's descriptions also seem very conscious of the artifice of pageant devices, for example describing the character presented in *Himatia-Poleos* as 'the supposed shadow' of Sir John Norman (l. 154). In performance the character himself also drew attention to his fictionality, instructing the Lord Mayor to 'imagine me to be the true resemblance of olde Sir *John Norman*' (l. 160-1). A similar effect occurs in *Metropolis Coronata*, when Henry Fitz-Alwin announces 'the borrowed shape I beare | Of olde Fitz-Alwine' (ll. 74-5). The speeches are an explanatory text for an

⁵⁶⁹ As Archer notes, the ruling class of London at this time was overwhelmingly Puritan. Archer also highlights the prominent presence of Puritan moral discourse in public life, noting that there were constant reminders from the pulpit of the duty of care owed to the poor by the rich, who, it was argued, 'held their wealth as stewards' on earth (Ian W. Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability: Social Relations in Elizabethan London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 45, 53). This forms the mode of Middleton's advice to the Lord Mayors. Margot Heinemann's characterisation of Middleton as a Puritan has been challenged by Chakravorty, who asserts that the term is far too slippery to be applied with any confidence, commenting that Middleton's "'Puritanism", like his "radicalism", makes more sense as a relational marker than as a commitment to a stable religious or political sect' (Swapan Chakravorty, *Society and Politics in the Plays of Thomas Middleton* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), p. 13. See also John Stachniewski, 'Calvinist Psychology in Middleton's Tragedies', in *Three Jacobean Revenge Tragedies*, ed. by R.V. Holdsworth (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1990), pp. 226-47). For more on the Calvinist nature of Jacobean orthodoxy, see Nicholas Tyacke, 'Puritanism, Arminianism and Counter-Revolution', in *The Origins of the English Civil War*, ed. by Conrad Russell (London: Macmillan, 1973), pp. 119-43.

⁵⁷⁰ Masque characters sometimes present themselves in this way (for instance, the explanatory speeches of early masques, such as Iris's in *The Vision of Twelve Goddesses* (1604) and Niger's in *The Masque of Blackness* (1605)), but masque figures do not step out of character to the extent that Munday's pageant characters often do.

essentially emblematic display, whether they are heard at the event or read subsequently in the text.

Munday concedes a certain amount of leeway in the matter of interpretation in his presentation of the emblems of his 1616 Show *Chrysanaleia* (although this flexibility of signification only applies to certain parts of the text). For instance, the inclusion of a crowned dolphin is explained as ‘alluding som way to the Lord Maiors coate of Armes, but more properly to the Companies, and therefore may serve indifferently for both’ (ll. 84-6). The dolphin is then linked to music, to which, Munday alleges, it is ‘inclined much (by nature)’, appealing to a knowledge of pre-existing sets of associations, without justifying his own use of them at all (l. 87). In contrast to the absolute, singular and transparent signification asserted by some pageant texts,⁵⁷¹ Munday acknowledges a multiplicity of possible interpretations.

The question of signification had been of much more concern to Munday in *The Triumphs of Reunited Britannia*, his 1605 Show, which concentrates obsessively upon the importance of language and naming. This text gives careful explanations of the origins of the names Britain and England as well as Albion, Albany, Cambria, Loegria, Humber, and Severn. Munday engages with alternative theories at some points, but only in order to discount them. For instance, he explains that the name England derives from a decree by King Egbert in 800 A.D., and that ‘neither *Hengist*, nor anye Queen named *Angla*, or derivation *ab angulo*, is to be allowed before this sounde and sure authoritye’ (ll. 101-3). Munday’s obsession with the debate over names reveals a preoccupation with them in the pursuit of historical understanding. For Munday, names hold a mystical significance which gives access to the truth in historical debate.

⁵⁷¹ See above, p. 24.

In *Sidero-thriambos* (1618), however, Munday abdicates any responsibility for explaining the various pageants' meanings, asserting confidence that common knowledge will be sufficient. He declares that all of the personages portrayed 'have all Emblemes and Properties in their hands' so that even those of the 'weakest capacity' will understand 'the true morality of this devise' (ll. 189-91). Paradoxically, however, later in the Show, Munday's sense of his own verbal inadequacy is transferred into the speeches themselves. The character of the 'Brittish Barde' declines to 'expresse' the meaning of 'Thaese Shewes and Emblems' for fear of 'tediousnes', and instead directs the Lord Mayor to wait 'Until thilke Buke, whilke speaks them aw' (ll. 257-61). The actual details of the Show's meaning, then, hover somewhere in between the performance and the printed text.

In this Show, even the visual manifestation of words becomes emblematic, because the letters of words themselves are construed as possessing power. The Bard declares that when looking through his 'ancient volumes' he discovered that 'in this yeare of 1618. the letter *H.* shall have predominance in three distinct persons' (ll. 197-9). The historical importance of names is transferred to the present day in a mystical significance drawn from the fact that the Lord Mayor and both sheriffs during that year all shared the same initial letter of their surnames.

The letters collapse the distinction between pictorial signification and textual meaning when the Barde decides to make 'triall of his divination by his staffe'. This he does as he 'smiteth the Staffe upon his foot' whereupon 'suddenly issueth forth the three severall letters of *H.* apparently to be discerned of all' (ll. 204-9). This sounds rather awkward and unimpressive in the description, but one can imagine that a well-executed conjuring trick might work well in these circumstances. The letters symbolise the three new men in authority and imply both a sense of unity in the governing classes.

and a mystic justification for their power. This kind of historicised mysticism is explicitly linked with harmony:

Eyne letter *H* beginnes them aw
 And in so soote concordance faw:
 That *Hervey, Herne* and *Hemersley*,
 Maken ey pleasing Sympheny (ll. 247-50).

Despite Munday's claims that emblems can speak for themselves, it is clear that these symbols, whilst giving the impression of inherent meaning, require explanation. As we shall see, this emblematic process also characterises the presentation of music within the Lord Mayors' Shows.

Music and Power in the Lord Mayors' Shows

The published descriptions of public pageantry often give only minimal indications of the types of musical provision made at the events, but there is evidence that there was often more music present than the texts make apparent. For example, music was a regular feature of the Lord Mayor's water pageant on his journey to Westminster, but is not mentioned by Middleton. Munday, however, often gives details in his accounts. For instance, in *The Triumphs of the Golden Fleece* (1623), he notes that the Lord Mayor went onto the water 'accompanied with the Knights and Aldermen, his worthie Brethren of severall Societies, and all the other Companies in their Triumphall Barges, with Drummes, Fifes, Trumpets, and other Joviall instruments' (ll. 15-8).⁵⁷² The aim of this description seems to be the intimation of a great abundance and variety of music, and the records do seem to back this up. This particular Show required payments for nine drums, four fifes, the city waits and thirty-one trumpeters, as well as several individual

⁵⁷² One wonders at the possibilities of the adjective 'Joviall', which, as well as connoting goodwill, perhaps gives the impression of specifically regal and majestic musical instruments and style.

child musical performers, and this level of provision does not seem to have been unusual.⁵⁷³

A similar description in *Himatia-Poleos* yields further insights when Munday tackles the problem of describing music in his account of the Show, or rather, refuses to tackle it. His own poetic gifts are not potent enough to match the power of music, he argues, and so he relinquishes the task, saying

for the Drums, Fifes, Trumpets, and other musicall Instruments, whereof each Company maketh their choice, to grace this honourable service out and home againe, in the true affection of loving Citizens, not suffering their chiefe Magistrate to want any part of their kinde respect and furtherance: they can much better speake for themselves than I
(ll. 184-9).

This denial of adequacy still gives us some practical details of the musical customs of the Lord Mayors' Shows. It indicates that martial music – drums, fifes and trumpets – made up the usual selection of instruments.⁵⁷⁴ It is the reference to 'other' instruments that creates, in the text at least, a sense of magnificence, while the usual music of trumpets, drums and fifes maintains a sense of tradition and continuity with previous Shows. Nevertheless, a sense of competitiveness between the guilds provokes a need to outdo previous demonstrations of loyalty, and music is here confirmed as a vital part of the Shows' magnificence. Munday asserts that it is the provision of music that signifies the esteem of the institutions for the particular Lord Mayor, and also the office itself. Omitting this musical confirmation would undermine the pageants' function of demonstrating respect and duty, because these very things are presented as being signified by music.

⁵⁷³ *MSC*, III, pp. 105-6.

⁵⁷⁴ As Carnegie shows, the galley-foist (which featured the same instruments) was essentially an imitation warship. This was the noisiest and possibly most noticeable element of the Shows, featuring elaborate painting, brightly coloured flags, and trumpets, drums, fifes, musketeers and cannons, all playing and firing incessantly (Carnegie, p. 55).

Yet Munday remarks later in *Himatia-Poleos*, that only a few props were included ‘as meane additions, to give some small luster to the Showe. because over many were thought inconvenient’ (ll. 235-6). Clearly, magnificence is being generated from a paradoxically tight budget. The elliptical ‘other musicall instruments’ leaves us with an opportunity to furnish the Show with imagined levels of musical resources. With this textual sleight of hand, the readers of *Himatia-Poleos* are being invited to remember a more richly supplied pageant than was really the case.

The music of the pageants also participates in their political gestures. *Himatia-Poleos*, for example, includes a song which articulates an idealised version of the relationship of the London elite to the labouring poor. Munday recounts a legend crediting Sir John Norman, an earlier Draper Lord Mayor, with initiating the custom of travelling to Westminster by barge instead of horseback on the day of his investiture. According to Munday, Norman bore the entire expense of the trip ‘at his owne cost and charge [...] for the reliefe of poore Watermen’ (ll. 144-5). History is preserved musically here because ‘in memories whereof, and the honest benefit yerely found thereby: the Watermen made a pleasant song called *Rowe thy Boate Norman*’ (ll. 149-51).⁵⁷⁵

The singing of ‘Rowe thy Boate Norman’ took place on the Thames, and was introduced in the pageant itself by a person representing Sir John Norman. It was sung by a group of ‘divers sweet singing youths’ (ll. 176), who presumably represented the boatmen of a previous age, dressed in waistcoats and caps, and each holding a silver oar. The character of Norman presented the song by addressing the choristers, commanding them ‘as in older days you declared your love to olde *John Norman*: so expresse somewhat nowe to delight my honourd Brother, singing cheerfully, *Rowe thy*

⁵⁷⁵ Munday does not give the words to this song in his account, which could indicate that it was a pre-existing song that was well-known enough not to require setting down, but this is by no mean certain.

Boate Norman' (ll. 173-5). The singing was probably supplemented by a kind of mime performance by the singers, as Munday tells us that they 'each having a silver Oare in his hand; do sing a most sweet dittie of *Rowe thy Boate Norman*, and so seeme to rowe up along to *Westminster*' (ll. 179-81). One can imagine a kind of choreographed rowing motion to match the rhythm of the song. This perhaps incorporates a suggestion of a kind of worksong to encourage the labourers in their toils. At the same time, the song's origin constantly reinforces the gratitude they owe to their employers for providing them with such work in the first place. Thus, labour itself is figured as the duty owed by the lower classes to their superiors through Munday's use of music.

This is somewhat similar to Middleton's construction of the virtue of providing employment through public works in *The Entertainment at the Opening of the New River* (see above, pp. 243-5), except that it conforms to a different set of criteria for desert. Norman's entitlement to have a song dedicated to him is due to his philanthropic act, but the moral force of his good actions is here passed on to a fellow Draper Lord Mayor, Sir Thomas Hayes, as Norman's instruction indicate. Munday seamlessly transforms Norman's earned praise into praise automatically owed to the position of Lord Mayor, regardless of the individual incumbent. The only thing connecting Hayes and Norman is the reference to the fact that they are both Drapers. Yet being a member of the Company of Drapers was not even a guarantee that the person was involved in the Drapery trade,⁵⁷⁶ which would be the one thing that such status might be expected to signify above all else. In marked contrast to Middleton, Munday constructs Hayes as deserving praise merely because he is the Lord Mayor. Music, particularly song, is here presented as the vehicle for the expression of this praise, and the gratitude and respect owed by the common people to those in power.

⁵⁷⁶ Ashton, p. 54.

A musical sequence is also recruited to support Munday's authoritarianism in *Sidero-thriambos* (1618) when he adds a musical dimension to his borrowings from Jonson's House of Fame from *The Masque of Queens*. On Munday's Mount of Fame, Fear and Modesty are sat next to Vigilancy and Providence, whom they alert 'when any disorder threatneth danger to *Majesty*, or to his carefull Deputie' (ll. 182-3). Vigilancy and Providence 'hearing the Larum and striking clock in the Castle [...] awake *Care* the *Sentinell*, to ring the Bell in the *Watch-Tower*, which calleth up *Courage* and *Councel*' (ll. 185-7). Although this emergency planning seems rather paranoid, especially in the context of a celebratory Show, it enables Munday to present rebellion in order to show its defeat and final futility,⁵⁷⁷ whilst integrating musical sound into the dramatic content of the Show. The quasi-magical ability of Fame to discern and quell dissent reinforces authoritarian rule. Munday's description of this aural process, especially his use of the present tense in the description of the chain of auditory signals which follows the warning from Fear and Modesty, implies that it may have been part of a dramatic vignette that was periodically staged throughout the procession.

Music's political agenda is again apparent in Busino's account of Middleton's *The Triumphs of Honour and Industry*. He describes a pageant car with musicians dressed as Indians, including a 'pastoral couple with fifes', who 'played the part of man and wife'. One is 'dressed entirely in red feathers', whilst Busino assumes the other is meant to be a tiger since he is 'wrapped in the animal's skin'.⁵⁷⁸ That these two are described as 'performing on their instruments in the Indian fashion' indicates that some kind of stereotypical racial musical vocabulary was being employed here. The extent of awareness of Indian styles of music would presumably have been more available to the

⁵⁷⁷ As he had done, for instance, in his treatment of the Wat Tyler rebellion in *Chrysanaleia* (1616).

⁵⁷⁸ *CSP Venetian*, pp. 59-62.

well-travelled merchants of the Grocers' company than most citizens, but it is hardly likely that any sounds which could be described as authentic were being heard here. The musicians were playing on instruments that were familiar enough, but were obviously employing melodic and harmonic styles that *sounded* to English (and Venetian) ears as foreign. Furthermore, there is a racially-appropriate dance style to go with this exotic music. Middleton's account describes 'a company of Indians' gathering fruits and spices. These 'active youths [...] ceasing in their labours, dance about the trees, both to give content to themselves and the spectators' (pp. 297-8). Busino's account adds that these

children danced all the while with much grace and great variety of gesture, moving the whole body, head, hands and feet, keeping excellent time and performing figures, first round one tree and then another, changing their positions, so as really to surprise everybody.⁵⁷⁹

The abandoned, whole-body dance styles employed here are very different from the discreet, repressed style of European court dance (see above, pp. 134-6). The account is reminiscent of Jonson's description of the hags' dance in *The Masque of Queens*, but instead of presenting a horrific and deformed alien spectacle, the outlandishness of the 'Indian' dancing gives a colourful show appreciated warmly by Busino. The threatening weirdness of foreign culture, contacted through trade, is neutralised by the pageant's emphasis on the benefits of such contact and the implicit privileging of European culture, which this musical representation of the exotic is recruited to support.

Musical Symbolism

The presentation of the idea of music in the Lord Mayors' Shows is also part of their transformation of courtly modes of pageantry. For example, Middleton turns to the

⁵⁷⁹ *CSP Venetian*, p. 62.

most musical of classical mythology's figures, Orpheus, to portray the duties and responsibilities, as well as the capabilities and worthiness, of those with civic power, in *The Triumphs of Love and Antiquity* (1619). Orpheus was one of the key figures of Classical myth used by humanists as evidence for the affective power of music.⁵⁸⁰ Middleton's use of the myth of Orpheus, however, bypasses these connotations, using music merely as a conceit. Middleton's description of the character as 'the presenter the musical Orpheus, great master both in poesy and harmony, who by his excellent music drew after him wild beasts, woods, and mountains' (p. 318) is reminiscent of Campion's use of the character in his *Lords' Masque* of 1613, where Orpheus appeared as a kind of impresario, organising the show. It also appears to refer to the idea of reunifying poetry and music, so important in humanist music theory.⁵⁸¹ Middleton's Orpheus does not demonstrate music, however, or enact his legendary abilities in any way. Instead, he is more concerned with speechmaking and imparting wisdom than with musical entertainment. Orpheus's speech to the Lord Mayor is a forceful assertion of the need for moral probity in the office-holder. In outlining his case, he criticises courtly entertainments by asserting the limitations of pretence.

Great lord, example is the crystal glass,
 By which wise magistracy sets his face,
 Fits all his actions to their comeliest dress,
 For there he sees honour and seemliness:
 'Tis not like flattering glasses, those false books
 Made to set age back in great courtiers' looks;
 Like clocks on revelling nights, that ne'er go right,
 Because the sports may yield more full delight,
 But when they break off, then they find it late,
 The time and truth appears: such is their state
 Whose death by flatteries is set back awhile,
 But meets 'em in the midst of their safe smile;

⁵⁸⁰ Winn, p. 164.

⁵⁸¹ Hollander, *The Untuning of the Sky*, p. 143.

Such horrors those forgetful things attend,
That only mind their ends, but not their end (pp. 318-9).

Time cannot be halted and appearances cannot be changed even through pageantry's fantastic assertions of disguise and display. Although this idea applies equally to both the court masque and the Lord Mayor's Show itself, both of the negative examples used by Orpheus are presented in courtly terms. It is 'courtier's looks' that 'flattering glasses' distort, and 'clocks on revelling nights' which 'ne'er go right' so that the participants can allow themselves to stay out for longer. These are both contrasted with the 'crystal glass | By which wise magistracy sets his face'. The emblems of civic pageantry have a veracity that, it is implied, courtly symbolism lacks, and the participants of courtly revels, it seems, are willingly deceived. Orpheus forcefully, and perhaps contemptuously, commands 'Leave them to their false trust, list thou to me' (p. 319). The London magistrates have graver responsibilities, he implies, but they also have the greater moral fibre to deal with them.

The role of the civic authorities is figured in terms of the magistrate as an Orpheus. The commonwealth must be pruned and the multitude, like Orpheus's beasts, must be tamed. Orpheus describes the effect of good government upon the common people thus:

[...] by fair example, musical grace,
Harmonious government of the man in place,
Of fair integrity and wisdom fram'd,
They stand as mine do, ravish'd, charm'd, and tam'd:
Every wise magistrate that governs thus,
May well be call'd a powerful Orpheus (p. 320).

Orpheus's speech harnesses some of the traditional ideas of harmony to support his case for the beneficence of city government. The pattern of hierarchy within musical harmony is mapped onto the structure of society, and the powerful ethical effects of

music are here part of a process of civilisation.⁵⁸² This also implicitly asserts the importance of the role of the pageant itself in promulgating its patrons' authority.

Pageantry, Orpheus implies, is a necessary part of setting a good example, of binding the community together, providing an ideology that articulates, and in doing so reinforces, hegemony. It displays the 'fair example' of the 'wise magistrate', encouraging the populus to support the city authorities. Thus, this pageant both calls upon the myth of Orpheus, and also claims to enact it. Its portrayal of unity is therefore important in achieving it in the first place, making the sponsoring of the pageant part of good governance. Middleton is not just arguing for his own employment here. For good works and virtue to be inspirational to future generations, public acknowledgement of them must be made, as seen in relation to *The Entertainment at the Opening of the New River*.

Middleton's most sustained and consistent use of music in a pageant's symbolic scheme came in his first attempt at the form in his 1613 Show for the Company of Grocers, *The Triumphs of Truth*. The first part of the Show took place at Soper-Lane End, where 'musicians sit playing; and more to quicken time, a sweet voice married to these words' (p. 235). Music here is a diversion before the important part of the day gets started, merely a prelude and later an accompaniment to the theatricals which are the real focus of interest. Note, however, the use of the word 'sweet' in this description: 'sweet' was a common adjective in both Middleton's dramatic works and in those of other Jacobean writers, as evinced by the work of Brittin.⁵⁸³ Its association with music as a stock epithet had been well established since the early fifteenth century, as shown by

⁵⁸² Earlier treatments of this concept, such as Bacon's 1609 *De sapientia veterum* are discussed in Hollander, *The Untuning of the Sky*, pp. 169-70. See also Chapter 4.

⁵⁸³ Norman A. Brittin, 'Middleton's Style and Other Jacobean Styles: Adjectives and Authorship' in *Accompaning the Players: Essays Celebrating Thomas Middleton 1580-1980*, ed. Kenneth Friedenreich (New York: AMS Press, 1983), pp. 39-66 (p. 46).

Wegman.⁵⁸⁴ Middleton's use of the word here is hardly unusual, therefore, but its recurrence throughout the entertainment is indicative of a particular view of music, and it is a musical configuration of the opposition between Truth and Error that forms the basis of the pageant's narrative. This is an opposition between the plain, unadorned and recognisable (non-musical), and the elaborate and deceptive (musical), established through the repeated use of 'sweet' as a qualifier for the latter.

The first occurrence of this link between the sweetness of music and the deception of Error came during the Angel of Truth's speech to the Mayor when he disembarked from the water-bound part of the procession at Baynard's Castle. The Angel warns the Mayor of the ever-lurking problem of Error that is to confront him as he makes his way through the city: 'Thou wilt be still assaulted, thou shalt meet | With many dangers that in voice seem sweet' (p. 240). The risk of music, this suggests, is that it can make anything seem attractive, and is thus a tool of the forces of evil. Music does make one appearance in the Show as part of the entourage of the forces of good. The Angel of Truth is himself accompanied by 'a trumpeter before him on horseback' (p. 239), but the appearance of this trumpeter is, I would argue, more of a gesture towards an ideal music which remains silent and symbolic (see below, pp. 268-9), unlike the insinuating sounds of Error.

Error's speech advises the Lord Mayor on how to maximise his personal profit from his year in office. At first, he uses visual terminology, when he instructs him to 'Keep thy eye winking and thy hand wide ope' (p. 242). Error's tone soon becomes quasi-musical when he asks 'what's he locks his ears from those sweet charms. | Or runs not to meet gain with wide-stretch'd arms?' (p. 243). The quality of sweetness is again associated with deception and corruption, specifically that achieved by aural means.

⁵⁸⁴ Rob C. Wegman, 'Musical Understanding in the 15th Century', *Early Music*, 30 (2002), 46-66.

such as the smooth rhetoric of a character like Error. This is suggestive of seduction, especially because of its association with the subsequent image of sensual embrace. The ‘wide-stretch’d arms’ suggest both a damaging *over*-stretching and a sense of greedy, grasping over-eagerness, intensifying the ungainly fervency of the corrupt official who ‘runs’ into the arms of vice. The rhetorical questioning of Error invites us not to imagine, as he nominally requests, the sort of person who would *not* take part in corrupt activity, but to concentrate on a nexus of dishonesty, sexual laxity and musical persuasiveness.

The connection between these ideas was not an invention of Middleton. As Baldwin points out, many of the references to music in the Cheshire prosecution records come as intensifiers in descriptions of ‘bad characters’. Even when their offences were unrelated to music, when examples of a defendants’ general behaviour were listed they often included propensities for music and dancing, as well as drunkenness, riotousness and lewdness.⁵⁸⁵ The suggestiveness of Middleton’s use of language makes full use of this confluence of ideas.⁵⁸⁶

As Finney notes, ‘sweetness’ in music is portrayed by Castiglione as the quality which enables it to stimulate the human heart and mind, making the listener receptive to love.⁵⁸⁷ This positive portrayal of music’s persuasiveness is easily converted in Middleton’s *Show* to link music’s sweetness to lasciviousness and general moral weakness. The *Show* as a whole displays the triumph of discipline over this musically-figured sensuality, defeating Error, who, as Truth notes, ‘Counsels thy appetite to master thee’ (p. 246).

⁵⁸⁵ Elizabeth Baldwin, *Paying the Piper: Music in Pre-1642 Cheshire*, with a contribution by David Mills, Early Drama, Art, and Music Monograph Series 29 (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2002), p. 50.

⁵⁸⁶ See Austern, ‘Sing Againe Syren’, on the negative associations of music in relation to sexuality and gender.

⁵⁸⁷ Finney, p. 94.

Error's warning to the Lord Mayor against listening to Truth instructs him that 'if she speak, | Stop both thine ears close' (p. 243). The speech of Truth is, it seems, as persuasive as that of Error, but this is not because it is seductively sweet. Instead, Truth's speech is portrayed as unvarnished and unrhetorical. Truth does not need sweetness to make her point. Her costume, according to Middleton's description 'makes her appear thin and naked, figuring thereby her simplicity' (p. 244). Error characterises the path of Truth as straight and single and his own as multiple and multi-directional:

There is a poor, thin, threadbare thing call'd Truth
 [...] 'Las, poor simple stray!
 She's all her lifetime finding out one way;
 Sh'as but one foolish way, straight on, right forward,
 And yet she makes a toil on't, and goes on
 With care and fear, forsooth, when I can run
 Over a hundred with delight and pleasure,
 Back-ways and by-ways, and fetch in my treasure
 After the wishes of my heart, by shifts,
 Deceits and slights. (p. 243)

Like polyphonic music, Error's path is multivarious and meandering, and therefore lacks moral discrimination. The sinister sweetness of Error's musical persuasiveness is a potent symbol of the temptations of office-holding, to which the Lord Mayor must make himself deaf.

Musical affect does appear in a positive context in some Lord Mayors' Shows, however. The most obvious examples are instances where music revivifies a dead or forlorn character. This type of scene recurs fairly frequently in the Shows, but it is not exclusive to them. For example, Jonson included a similar device in the entertainments marking James I's first official entry to the City in 1604. In Jonson's Fenchurch Street arch, a tableau of Euphrosyne with 'timbrel, harp, and other instruments, all ensigns of gladness' was covered with silk painted as cloud. On the King's approach, this 'cloud' was to 'be drawn'. Jonson explains: 'the allegory being, that [...] as at the rising of the

sun, all mists were dispersed and fled'.⁵⁸⁸ This is similar to a scene in Middleton's Lord Mayor's Show, *The Sun in Aries* (1621), which featured a pageant called the Tower of Virtue or the Brazen Tower, where 'a trumpet's sounding suddenly starts and wakes' one who represents 'the new Standard'. He is wearing 'a cloudy, ruinous habit', but in his 'amazement, throws off his unseemly garments' (pp. 344-5). Again, as in Jonson's 1604 arch, music is the signal for rebirth and reawakening in a dramatisation of the moment of renewal at the top of the hierarchy of power.

Munday also includes resurrections which are more or less musically-achieved in both *Chruso-Thriambos* and *Chrysanaleia*. In the former, when Time '*strike*th on the Tombe with his silver wand' (l. 235), the long-dead ex-Mayor John Faringdon rises from his grave. An attempt at a comic realism is evident here, as Faringdon exclaims in fright and (somewhat bad-temperedly) asks

Cannot graves containe their dead,
Where long they have lien buried,
But to Triumphs, sports, and shoves
They must be raisd? (ll. 239-42).

Time has to explain the circumstances to the disoriented Faringdon, who wonders 'How? Whence? or where | May I suppose myselfe?' (ll. 248-9).

The description of the raising of the dead Lord Mayor William Walworth in *Chrysanaleia* even includes marginal stage directions, in which Munday indicates 'Here the *Genius* strikes on him with his wand, whereat he begins to stir, and comming off the Tombe looks stangely [sic] about him' (marginal note, ll. 218-225). Walworth's reaction is more gracious than Faringdon's, partly because the Genius of London manages to explain what is going on during the process of rousing him, so there is no need for astonishment or questioning on Walworth's part. Instead, he bows to the

⁵⁸⁸ Dutton, *Jacobean Civic Pageants*, p. 45-6.

Genius and launches straight into a speech lauding the brotherhood of Fishmongers. What is most interesting about this episode is that Munday indicates, by means of directions in both the text proper and in the margins, at which points trumpet flourishes punctuated the action.

The sequence, which took place at a Bower-cum-Tomb set up in St Paul's Churchyard, appears to have been as follows. Firstly, the Genius of London explains that he has a magic wand which can raise the dead. Saying 'By me take power of life and breath' (l. 219), he taps Walworth with it, who, as indicated, sits up and looks about. At the same time, there is heard '*The first sound of Surden Trumpets*' (l. 220). The Genius then addresses Walworth, telling him he is to have the semblance of a body and the power of speech 'By power of sacred Poesie' (l. 225), on or after which line we hear '*The second Sound*' (l. 226). The Genius then explains to Walworth that he has been summoned to help celebrate the inauguration of a fellow Fishmonger as Lord Mayor. During the last few lines of this, a marginal note indicates 'A full flourish without Surdens' (marginal note, l. 234-5). By this point, Walworth is standing in front of the tomb, ready to deliver the speech which follows the sequence.

Music is here the driver of action, denoting powerful supernatural occurrences. That these are positive rather than sinister is made clear by the choice of instruments. The loud, confident trumpets connect the raising of Walworth with the announcement of official or royal presences. As Bergeron points out, Munday's use of Surden comes from sordine, that is, muted.⁵⁸⁹ Thus, the third flourish 'without Surdens' contrasts with the trumpets' earlier muffled sound, complementing and echoing the process of reviving the dead man. The music thus contributes further to the dramatic realisation of this

⁵⁸⁹ Bergeron, *The Pageants and Entertainments of Anthony Munday*, p. 121.

scene by embodying the vivification of Walworth, demonstrating magical affect by appearing to awaken the dead.

Yet music here seems to be the by-product of ‘magic’, rather than its manifestation. It is the Genius’s wand which actually awakens the dead, whereas the music merely indicates that this has taken place by the first flourish. The second flourish serves to reinforce the Genius’s claim that ‘sacred Poesie’ has given Walworth substance and speech, thus attributing musico-magical affectiveness to the words of the poet. The words of the Genius achieve the magical objective, whilst the music literally accompanies it, and signifies when it has taken place.

These moments of resurrection also hint at a more Christianised presentation of music than within the neoplatonic courtly tradition. This is more obviously apparent in Munday’s 1609 Show, *Camp-Bell*. The titular pageant car, which represented a ‘Faure Feild’ [sic] (punning on the name of the new Lord Mayor, Sir Thomas Campbell), featuring seven Virtues.⁵⁹⁰ The presence of these Virtues, according to St Andrew, foretells ‘seven gladsome and nourishing yeares of comfort’ (ll. 123-4), and because of this, the Virtues ‘do elevate their divine soules in sweete Hymnes, Paeans and pleasing Songs to heaven, that their hope may succeed in happines’ (ll. 129-31). This refers to Platonic doctrine and the idea of music’s capacity to refine the soul, but it more directly invokes St Paul’s ‘psalms, hymns and spiritual songs’.⁵⁹¹

Munday is deliberately linking the idea of music with the efficacy of prayer, as the Virtues are presented as appealing to heaven to grant their request. The reference to seven years of plenty and seven ‘sad and disconsolate yeares passed’ (ll. 124-5) reverses the order of the dream of the Pharoah in Genesis 41, but is clearly a reference to it. The

⁵⁹⁰ These were specifically meant to honour the Lord Mayor, in complement to the other main pageant featured in the procession, the *Insula Beata* (see above, p. 238), which had a more national and royal theme.

⁵⁹¹ Ephesians 5.19 and Colossians 3.16.

groups of seven also recall the seven step musical scale, and the seven days of creation, and a further possible echo of the sevenfold gifts of the Holy Spirit.⁵⁹² Musical myths are being combined with Christian beliefs to bolster the ideological weight of the pageant's praise of its objects with faith as well as prestige.

The Christianised gloss on musical imagery that the Lord Mayors' Shows increasingly adopt is linked to the emblematic way that these pageants generate meaning. In *The Triumphs of Truth*, Middleton identifies 'sweet' audible music with Error. Yet he also invokes a virtuous kind of music in this pageant, a kind of spiritual music that is specifically presented in Christian terms. This is introduced by the character of Time, who describes the Lord Mayor's future visits to Sunday services at St Paul's, where 'Truth's celestial harmony thou shalt hear | To which, I charge thee bend a serious ear' (p. 250). Celestial harmony is usually portrayed as inaudible, dissociated from heard music,⁵⁹³ and the idea that he will be able to hear it compliments the Lord Mayor, Sir Thomas Myddelton. Considering Myddelton's devout Puritan beliefs, it is unlikely that he would have accepted any other music than the singing of psalms in church.⁵⁹⁴ That the musical policy of St Paul's was in accordance with his beliefs is rather unlikely, since services included the use of the organ and other instruments, probably cornetts and sackbutts.⁵⁹⁵ Indeed, the cathedral's music was evidently one of the capital's tourist attractions.⁵⁹⁶ This makes it more likely that Middleton's use of celestial harmony does not refer to heard music, but instead stands in figuratively for the

⁵⁹² For more on musical-numerical symbolism, see Finney, p. 34.

⁵⁹³ Finney, p. 83.

⁵⁹⁴ Heinemann, p. 125. For more on the Puritan position on music in church services, see Scholes.

⁵⁹⁵ Ian Spink, 'Music, 1540-1640', in *St Paul's: The Cathedral Church of London, 604-2004*, ed. by Derek Keene, Arthur Burns and Andrew Saint (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), pp. 312-6 (p. 315). Woodfill notes that these instruments were played during a service attended by the King in 1620 (Woodfill, p. 150).

⁵⁹⁶ See David J. Crankshaw, 'Community, City and Nation, 1540-1714', in *St Paul's: The Cathedral Church of London, 604-2004*, pp. 45-83 (p. 54).

Word of God, which the Lord Mayor must constantly re-examine. Godly music is something which requires ‘a serious ear’ – the Lord Mayor must listen actively and carefully if he is to avoid the Augustinian pitfall of listening to the music rather than the message.

The association of ‘harmony’ with Truth is made again in this Show by the personification of London, who, when she summons Perfect Love to give a speech declares ‘From thy harmonious lips let them all taste | The golden counsel that makes health long last’ (p. 257). This harmoniousness has little to do with actual music. Dutton’s notes to his edition of this Show connect these lines with the ‘traditional association of “sweet” sounds and tastes’,⁵⁹⁷ but I would argue that the harmoniousness of Truth and her acolytes forms a deliberate opposition to the ‘sweetness’ of Error discussed above. Part of the contrast is the suggestion of inaudibility. There is a similar contrast between the images of gluttony connected with Error, and Perfect Love’s description of the event as a ‘Feast of Joy’ (p. 257). The pageant celebrates a spiritual feast, in which mundane music, as well as food, is replaced with Christianised spiritual harmony and nourishment.

We have seen that meaning is generated emblematically in the Lord Mayors’ Shows. That is, it arises from the interaction between the different elements of the Show. The text forms one of these elements, offering an explanatory gloss to a reader who has already experienced the spectacle. In terms of music, the instrumentation and performance take part in both courtly and civic traditions, which bring with them their own associations. Yet because of music’s ability to absorb as well as bestow meaning, the Shows are able to adopt and develop musical connotations in ways which suit

⁵⁹⁷ Dutton, *Jacobean Civic Pageants* (Keele: Ryburn Publishing, 1995), p. 160.

distinctly non-courtly, non-aristocratic purposes. Music continued, in civic pageantry, to signify in the same way that it did in courtly entertainments. That sense of meaning, however, is enigmatic, requiring explanation from song lyrics, speeches or a descriptive text. Musical meaning is thus generated by exactly the same processes as in courtly contexts, yet those meanings pertain to a non-courtly conceptualisation of power. Any sense of inherent meaning in music is thus exposed as illusory. This in turn undermines the self-evidence of the aristocratic power it was, on other occasions, recruited to support.

Conclusion

As one of the most noticeable, and certainly one of the most audible aspects of the entertainments discussed in this thesis, musical resources, musical provision and musicality were crucial to extending the prestige of a particular event, and are therefore crucial to a contextualised interpretation of the textual traces the events have left behind. This thesis has shown how music can bring connotative meaning to the events it is part of, but also how the events themselves can shape musical meaning in particular ways.

We have seen how, in courtly and civic entertainments, the consumption of music is a densely intertextual process, and that perhaps the most significant proportion of the possible meanings of music in these contexts is generated by the interplay between musical qualities and extra-musical signifiers. Thus, the image of music has been shown to have been just as important as its essential quality, sound.

As Kendall Walton remarks, ‘music stands ready to take on an explicit representational function at the slightest provocation’. For example, merely by adding a title, the extra-musical can influence our response to the purely musical.⁵⁹⁸ This chameleon-like quality actually undermines music’s representational abilities in absolute terms, however, because it exposes a lack of continuity within musical signification. Stylistic musical ‘signs’ can and do take on alternative significations, depending on their context. Walton’s formulation therefore seems to imply that music actually *requires* exegesis in order to mean anything.⁵⁹⁹

This sense of the contingency of musical meaning can also be identified in contemporary perceptions of the significance of music. Debates surrounding the means

⁵⁹⁸ Kendall Walton, ‘Listening with Imagination: Is Music Representational?’ in *Music and Meaning*, ed. by Jenefer Robinson (London: Cornell University Press, 1997), pp. 57-82 (p. 58).

⁵⁹⁹ He goes on to discuss the input of the imagination in music, but does not address the question of which particular qualities in music ‘mandate’ the imagination to respond in certain ways.

to recreate ancient affective music centred around music's relationship to lyrics. As Goehr points out, music's 'referential significance' was conceived as dependent upon the words it accompanied.⁶⁰⁰ This thesis has shown how this referential significance was also shaped by other factors, such as movement, visual symbolism, scenery, scenario and location, and how, in fact, all of the elements of pageantry and spectacle interact with each other in a mode of meaning which is constituted in the interplay between these different aspects.

Music which is constructed as being specifically courtly, therefore, is also contingent upon other factors which govern its interpretation. Music in itself, regardless of style, could not be sufficient to signify magnificence – the right type of music was required, in the right context. The giant trumpeters who greeted Elizabeth at Kenilworth in 1575 are a clear example of the way magnificent music involves many different supporting elements. The sound of the trumpets, a traditional accompaniment to grand arrivals, brings with it certain connotations, but these connotations are emphasised and extended by the outsized trumpeters whose sheer size impresses the onlookers (Langham describes them as eight feet high, and their silver trumpets as five feet long).⁶⁰¹ They also hark back to popular religious drama. Furthermore, as we have seen, Gascoigne's textual representation of the event presented a further allegorical significance for the display, connecting the trumpeters, and through them, the host, Robert Dudley, to Arthurian myth. Not only are these associations prestigious, they also deftly articulate subtle political statements.

The use of music to announce Elizabeth's arrival is an example of the way music's customary functions enabled it to operate as an aural cue, referring to an accrued

⁶⁰⁰ Lydia Goehr, "'Music Has No Meaning to Speak of': On the Politics of Musical Interpretation", in *The Interpretation of Music: Philosophical Essays*, ed. by Michael Krausz (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 181.

⁶⁰¹ *Robert Langham: A Letter*, p. 40.

meaning from other contexts. As we have seen, entertainments use music in this way as a tool for creating certain impressions. During Elizabeth's visit to Norwich, as we have seen, the spectators were guided by musical cues which presented themselves as external manifestations of inner feelings, as well as being described as such in the printed texts. In *Chesters Triumph*, too, song was used to tell spectators how they should be reacting.

Thus, music provides an emotional structure to pageantry. This is also true of the Jacobean court masque where, over time, the form's structure became formalised to the extent that musical punctuation was an integral part of the genre. The dances of the masque were the sine qua non of the form, a hybrid display that combined apt music, graceful movement, elegant costumes and carefully co-ordinated scenery to achieve a portrait in motion of an ideal court. We have also seen how alternative modes of dance and music were characterised as an opposition to the main masque's perfection, but that these codes of behaviour and movement are also defined by their context rather than their actual content. This indicates a rather more complex relationship between the antimasque and main masque dance and song than has hitherto been acknowledged.

That the musical techniques of the courtly could be adapted and adopted by non-courtly individuals and organisations exposes the inherent lack of a connection between the signs of courtliness and the inner virtue that it was held to represent. The adoption of these techniques in Chester in 1610 provided a provincial entertainment with the terms for its claim to magnificence, and the London Lord Mayors' Shows, established a regular form of pageantry which celebrated civic values in very similar terms to courtly nobility, but which articulated a very different, non-aristocratic concept of virtue itself.

Music's malleability makes it suitable for all these purposes. It is peculiarly appropriate to pageantry's characteristic fusion of art forms because it can contribute to,

and interact with, aural, iconographic and verbal effects. Boethian notions of a universal *musica mundana* meant that music was conceived as something which always refers to something else, a mode which is unavoidably symbolic. This is also a by-product of the exegetical tradition, as McKinnon points out. The psalm commentaries of the Church Fathers heavily allegorised musical instruments, repeatedly characterising the instruments mentioned in the psalms as symbols for other things, such as the ten-stringed psaltery representing the ten commandments, or the clash of cymbals as symbolic of the motion of the lips of the faithful as they praised God. Musical imagery was thus part of a tradition where material objects are 'signs of spiritual reality'.⁶⁰² Such associations were, I would argue, ever-present in the visual impact of music in civic ceremony.

Yet as well as participating in a continuing tradition of symbolism, music also signified prestige through its newness, the importation of new trends. Margaret Murata argues that although the main social function of music – essentially the enhancement of its patron's prestige – remained constant in the period, musical style changed and developed in Western Europe far more rapidly than in other comparable musical cultures.⁶⁰³ Music is thus an element in conspicuous consumption which advertises its patron's sophistication through the adoption of new styles and instrumentation. The importance of fashion in music's development contributes to, but is also partly engendered by, music's referential instability.

The comparison of these entertainments has shown that music and dance can be used to create very different effects, even when what is being heard or seen may be

⁶⁰² James McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 6.

⁶⁰³ Margaret Murata, 'Scylla and Charybdis, or Steering between Form and Social Context in the Seventeenth Century', in *Explorations in Music, the Arts, and Ideas: Essays in Honour of Leonard B. Mayer*, ed. by Eugene Narmour and Ruth A. Solie (Stuyvesant: Pendragon Press, 1988), pp. 67-85 (pp. 77-78).

quite similar. Distinctions between high and low brow, new and old, indoor and outdoor, utilitarian and decorative are constantly, if sometimes only implicitly, applied to the music in the descriptions of these entertainments, but, as we have seen, these categories are imposed upon the music by its context, rather than arising from the inherent quality of musical style.

This thesis has explored the ways in which music intersects with courtliness, how music has the ability to both acquire and confer meaning and meaningfulness within different performance contexts, and how this transferability made it susceptible to channelling the contestations of power that were played out in these pageants. Music featured in many forms in all kinds of entertainment, with musicians often taking on bit part roles within the fantasy world of the pageant's fictional setting. Transcending the boundary between pageant and spectator, music furnished pageantry with a soundscape that both defined and was defined by its context.

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