Image and Influence: The Political Uses of Music at the Court of Elizabeth I

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Declaration of Authorship

I, Katherine Butler, hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

Signed: _____

Date: _____

Abstract

In their *Cantiones sacrae* (1575), court musicians William Byrd and Thomas Tallis declared that 'music is indispensable to the state' (*necessarium reipub.*). Yet although the relationship between Elizabethan politics and literature has been studied often, there has been little research into the political functions of music. Most accounts of court music consist of documentary research into the personnel, institutions and performance occasions, and generally assume that music's functions were limited to entertainment and displays of magnificence. However, Elizabethans believed that musical concord promoted a social harmony that would ease the process of government; hence politics and music were seen as closely connected.

This thesis is an interdisciplinary investigation into the role of music in constructing royal and courtly identities and influencing Elizabeth's policies and patronage. It considers the political meanings of music within court entertainments (plays, masques, tournaments, progresses and royal entries), social life (accompanying dancing or dinner) and private recreation. Firstly, through the exploitation of music's ambiguously gendered connotations of feminine seductiveness and masculine order, Elizabeth and her courtiers were able to use music as a source of authority. Courtiers used music to fashion their aristocratic identities, petition the Queen, sweeten unpalatable political messages, or offer political counsel. Finally, music was a valuable tool for shaping national identities, either to promote harmony within the kingdom during civic entries and with Accession Day ballads, or to maintain the international reputation of the English court.

Combining insights from musicology, political history and literary studies, my thesis adds fresh dimensions to our knowledge of the distinctive political situation under Elizabeth's female monarchy, as well as a new depth of understanding as to how music functioned in Renaissance courts.

Table of Contents

List of Tables 6

List of Figures 6

Abbreviations 8

Editorial Note 10

1. Introduction 11

Approaches to Court Music 15

The Production of Secular Court Music 20

Politics and Music 31

Communication through Music 41

2. Music and Queenship 46

Sensuality and Rationality: Queenship and the Gendered Meanings of Music 50

Music, Marriage and Age 62

Performance, Intimacy and Power 72

Musical Imagery for Political Authority 78

Conclusion 90

3. Music and Noble Identity in Elizabethan Tournaments 92

Music and Noble Masculinity 100

Philisides, The Shepherd Knight 105

Noble and Princely Relationships: The Four Foster Children of Desire 114

Music for Transforming Identity: Sir Henry Lee's Retirement 125

Conclusion 140

4. Counsel, Complaint and Courting Royal Favour 142

Moral Advice and Political Counsel 152

Complaints and Petitions during Elizabeth's Progresses 164

Love Songs: Favour and Intimacy 180

Appeals from Musicians 201

Conclusion 207

5. Music and National Identity 211
Imagining Community in Music 218
Creating Harmony: Local and National Identity in Royal Entries 225
Creating Harmony: Music for National Celebration on Accession Day 235
Music and the Representation of England to Foreigners 255
Conclusion 264

6. Conclusion 266

Bibliography 271

Appendices
A: Musicians Employed at the Court of Elizabeth I 303
B: Evidence for Music at Elizabethan Tournaments 312
C: Songs connected to Elizabeth and the Court 315
D: Progress Entertainments with Evidence of Music 327
E: Political Broadside Ballads from Elizabeth's Reign 333

List of Tables

Table 3.1: A Comparison of the lyrics 'Yeelde, Yeelde, O Yeelde' and 'Allarme, Allarme'. 120

Table 5.1: Broadside Ballads for Accession Day. 239-41

List of Figures

Figure 2.1: Nicholas Hilliard, 'Elizabeth I Playing the Lute' (c.1580). 50

Figure 3.1: John Dowland, 'Times Eldest Sonne', Bars 1-10. 129

Figure 3.2: William Byrd, 'The Trumpets', from *The Battle*, Bars 1-4. 130

Figure 3.3: Dowland, 'Times Eldest Sonne', bars 11-14. 130

Figure 3.4: Dowland, 'Times Eldest Sonne' (Part 2), bars 1-5. 132

Figure 3.5: Dowland, 'Times Eldest Sonne' (Part 3), bars 8-10. 132

Figure 3.6: Byrd, *Second Preces*, Bars 16-19. 133

Figure 3.7: Byrd, *Second Preces*, Bars 21-23. 133

Figure 3.8: Dowland, 'Times Eldest Sonne' (Part 3), Bars 19-22. 134

Figure 3.9: Dowland, 'His Golden Locks'. 136-37

Figure 3.10: Dowland, 'Humor Say What Makst Thou Heere', Bars 14-17. 137

Figure 3.11: Dowland, 'Behold a Wonder Here'. 139-40

Figure 3.12: *Alegra Anglia.* 141

Figure 4.1: John Dowland, 'Time Stands Still'. 145-46

Figure 4.2: Edward Johnson, 'Elisa is ye Fairest Quene'. 148-49

Figure 4.3: Edward Johnson, 'Com Agayne'. 150

Figure 4.4 Nicholas Strogers, 'Mistrust Not Truth', opening line. 161

Figure 4.5: Strogers, 'Mistrust Not Truth', third line. 162

Figure 4.6: Edward Dyer, 'The Songe in the Oke'. 169

Figure 4.7: Robert Jones, 'Scinthia Queene of Seas and Lands', bars 19-35. 178-79

Figure 4.8: Daniel Bacheler, 'To Plead My Faith'. 189-91

Figure 4.9: Richard Martin, ‘Change Thy Mind Since She Doth Change’. 194

Figure 4.10: Dowland, ‘Sorrow Stay, Lend True Repentant Teares’. 195

Figure 4.11: Dowland ‘My Heart and Tongue were Twinnes’, bars 1-5. 206

Figure 4.12: Dowland ‘My Heart and Tongue were Twinnes’, bars 18-27 (with the words from the progress). 207

Figure 5.1: Wylliam Birche, *A Songe Btwene the Quenes Maiestie and Englande* set to the tune of ‘Ouer the Broome Bessy’. 218

Fgure.5.2: Wylliam Birche, *A Songe Btwene the Quenes Maiestie and Englande* set to the tune of ‘Brown Bessy, Sweet Bessy’. 218

Figure 5.3: R. Thacker, *A Godlie Dittie to be Song for the Preseruation of the Queenes Most Exclent Maiesties Raigne*, 1586 230

Figure 5.4: *The First Anointed Queene I Am, Within This Town Which Euer Came* [1573]. 232

Figure 5.5: *A Famous Dittie* (opening four lines) set to the tune of Wigmores Galliard. 233

Figure 5.6: John Awdelay, *A Godly Ditty or Prayer to be Song Vnto God for the Preseruation of His Church, Our Queene and Realme, Against All Traytours, Rebels, and Papisticall Enemies* (1569?). 238

Figure 5.7: I.C., ‘A Song of Reioysing for the Prosperous Reigne of our Most Gratious Soueraigne Lade Queene Elizabeth’ set to the tune of the 25th Psalm. 244

Figure 5.8: *A Pleasant Newe Ballad of the Most Blessed and Prosperous Raigne of Her Maiestye for the Space of Two and Fortye Yeeres* set to the tune of ‘The Hunt is Up’. 246

Figure 5.9: *A Hartie Thankes Giuinge to God for Or Queens Most Excellent Maiestie and is to be Sounge to Ye Tune of Ye Medley* set the tune of Edward Johnson’s *Medley.* 250-51

Figure 5.10: W. Patten, *Ann: Foelicissimi Regni Reginae Elizabeth XXVI (1583).* 252

Abbreviations

CSP Foreign	Joseph Stevenson et al, eds., *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth,* 23 vols (London, 1863-1950)
CSP Simancas	Martin Hume, ed., *Letters and State Papers Relating to English Affairs Principally Preserved in the Archives of Simancas*, 4 vols (London, 1892-99)
CSP Spain	Royall Tyler et al, eds., *Calendar of Letters, Despatches and State Papers Relating to Negotiations Between England and Spain,* 13 vols (London 1862-1954)
CSP Venice	Rawdon Brown et al, eds., *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives and Collections of Venice,* 38 vols (London, 1864-1947)
EEBO	*Early English Books Online* <http://eebo.chadwyck.com>
EIRE- Dm	Dublin, Trinity College
F-Pn	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
GB-AB	Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales
GB-BRO	Bristol Record Office
GB-CF	Chelmsford, Essex County Record Office
GB-Cfm	Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum
GB-Cu	Cambridge, Cambridge University Library
GB-Ckc	Cambridge, Kings College, Rowe Music Library
GB-Lbl	London, The British Library
GB-Lcm	London, Royal College of Music
GB-Lna	London, National Archives
GB-Ob	Oxford, Bodleian Library

GB-Och	Oxford, Christ Church Library
GMO	*Grove Music Online* <www.oxfordmusiconline.com>
IRL-Dtc	Dublin, Trinity College Library
L&P	J.S. Brewer et al, eds., *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII*, 21 vols (London, 1864-1920)
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, 2008) <www.oxforddnb.com>
OED	Oxford English Dictionary <www.oed.com>
REED	*Records of Early English Drama*
RECM	Ashbee, Andrew, ed., *Records of English Court Music*, 9 vols (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1992).
SPO	*State Papers Online* <gale.cengage.co.uk/state-papers-online-15091714.aspx>
STC	A.W. Pollard, G.R. Redgrave and Katharine Pantzer, eds, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475-1640*, 2nd edn (London: Bibliographical Society, 1976-1991)
US-NH	New Haven, Yale University, Irving S. Gilmore Music Library
US-NNSc	New York Public Library
US-Ws	Washington, Folger Shakespeare Library
Wing	Donald Wing, ed., *Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America, and of English Books Printed in Other Countries, 1641-1700* (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1982-1998)

Editorial Note

Dates have been altered so that the year begins on 1st January rather than 25th March. When quoting from primary sources (with the exception of modern editions), original spelling has been maintained to allow for ambiguity and double-meanings created through spelling, though contractions have been expanded.

This thesis does not intend to provide new editions of any of the examples discussed. However, for consistency the following editorial principles have been applied to musical examples: clefs have been modernised and regular barring added, but original note values and time signatures have been maintained. Where there is no time signature in the source, an editorial time signature has been added in square brackets, except for psalm tunes with no fixed metre. Ties have been introduced where notes are split across barlines. Editorial accidentals are placed above the note and unnecessary accidentals have been removed. As when using other primary sources in the thesis, original spellings have been used in the lyrics, but these have been made consistent throughout the parts by taking the spellings from the Cantus.

1. Introduction

In January 1595, Arthur Throckmorton wrote to fellow courtier Sir Robert Cecil with a plan to return himself and his family to royal favour:

> 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, the song, the substance I have herewith sent you, myself, whilst the singing, to lie prostrate at her Majesty's feet til she says she will save me. Upon my resurrection the song shall be delivered by one of the nine muses... I durst not do this before I had acquainted you herewith, understanding her Majesty had appointed the masquers, which resolution made me the unreadier… I desire to come in before the other masque, for I am sorrowful and solemn, and my stay shall not be long.[1]

The Throckmorton family had incurred the displeasure of Queen Elizabeth I because Arthur's sister Bess (one the Queen's Maids of Honour) had become pregnant by, and subsequently married, Sir Walter Ralegh. Throckmorton's masque was to be performed during the wedding celebrations of Elizabeth Vere, daughter of the Earl of Oxford, to William Stanley, Earl of Derby: a court occasion at which the Queen was present. The letter demonstrates how the affective powers of music might be used as a means to 'modify the easy softened mind of her Majesty'. While the music may also have been intended to make the song-text (which does not survive) more memorable, Elizabeth was also presented with a copy of it, allowing her to read and reflect on its message after the event. Throckmorton's plan illustrates how individual courtiers might employ musical entertainments to influence the Queen for their personal advancement.

It was not only courtiers who used music politically. In the dedication of their book of Latin motets, *Cantiones, quae ab argumento sacrae vocantur* (1575), William Byrd and Thomas Tallis asserted that music was 'indispensable to the state (*necessarium reipub.*)'.[2] As Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal, Byrd and Tallis both participated in and witnessed the musical life of the court. Tantalisingly they felt no need to explain their assertion further, because the dedicatee was Elizabeth and the two composers saw her musical skills and patronage as an indication that she shared their opinion:

> since the case is disputed before your Majesty, who have already made known your judgement according to your own opinion, and show to all that you approve the art of singing in that you have always encouraged the art so that you are outstandingly skilled in it... thus it would be enough to rely solely upon your skill and judgement, and not to cite numerous arguments to arouse confidence in the matter, lest either

[1] R.A. Roberts, ed., 'Arthur Throckmorton to Sir Robert Cecil', in *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Hon. the Marquis of Salisbury, Preserved at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire*, 23 vols (London, 1894), Vol.5, p.99 [January 1595].

[2] William Byrd, *Cantiones sacrae* (1575), ed. Craig Monson (London: Stainer & Bell, 1977), pp.xvii, xxv.

> by wavering we seem to engender suspicion of false esteem, or by excessively ingenious arguments we seem to detract from the distinguished judgement of your Majesty.[3]

Despite containing solely sacred music, the purpose of the *Cantiones sacrae* was more political than religious. The contents of the collection commemorated the seventeenth year of Elizabeth's reign and her Accession Day on 17th November with each composer contributing seventeen items (the composers sometimes counted the two parts of a motet as separate pieces to achieve this).[4] Furthermore the prefatory material hardly mentioned the sacred nature of the collection, but rather emphasised the reputation of Elizabeth and English music: on the opening page we read, 'blessed with the patronage of so learned a Ruler, she [English music] fears neither the boundaries no the reproach of any nation'.[5] Thus music participated in creating both Elizabeth's royal image and the international reputation of England.

At the same time, the *Cantiones sacrae* was itself an example of the inseparability of music and personal political advancement at the Elizabethan court. The publication was one of the earliest collections of polyphonic music printed in England and it was the first fruit of the monopoly for printed music and lined music paper granted by Elizabeth to Byrd and Tallis in response to a petition by the composers for a source of additional income in 1573.[6] It also shows the privileged status that skilled court musicians enjoyed, that two Catholic composers were rewarded with such a monopoly (especially as, while Tallis had served since c.1543, Byrd had only been a member of the Chapel Royal since 1572). This collection was representative of the pursuit of royal rewards and status common to all court servants from noblemen to humble musicians.

The power of music to influence and to create images, as shown by these two examples, also constitutes the overarching themes of this thesis. This dissertation explores how court music was used by both the Queen and her courtiers to serve their political aims, and it considers the political meanings of music in court entertainments (plays, masques, tournaments and royal entries), social life and private recreation. While music had little

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[3] ibid., pp.xvii, xxv: 'cum apud tuam Maiestatem res agatur que delectu tuo indicium tuum prodidisti, & canendi peritiam tibi probari, in eo probes omnibus, quod eis arti ita simper regime incubueris, ut in ea iam egregiem profeceris... satis erit in tua solius scientia & indicio conquietiscere, neque pluribus as fidem rei faciendam argumentis uti, ne vel dubitando suspicionem ementite luadis videamur alicui ingenerare, vel nimis curiosa argumentatione, ali quid tuæ Maiestatis præstantis iudicio detrahere' (trans. Craig Monson).
[4] ibid., pp.v-vi (Craig Monson's preface to the edition).
[5] ibid., pp.xvii, xxv.
[6] Paul Doe and David Allinson, 'Tallis, Thomas', in *GMO* <www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/27423> [accessed 01/03/11]

role in the day-to-day administrative and governmental aspect of politics, it was a means of fashioning courtly identities, shaping diplomatic and political relationships, conveying petitions or complaints intended to influence royal opinion, and creating images of English harmony to encourage political stability.

It was songs that were able to make the most explicit political statements. As much of the political meaning depends on context, the songs discussed in detail in this thesis are largely those which can be connected to specific events. Appendix C provides list of secular songs connected with Elizabeth and her court. This thesis primarily considers those songs in category 1 of Appendix C, which set lyrics from or have connections with specific progress entertainments or tournaments. I exclude songs that are dramatic but not specifically political (such as 'Awake Ye Wofull Wights') and those likely to be later compositions reusing a lyric from an earlier entertainment (such as Robert Jones's 'Behold her Lockes'). Songs in categories 2 to 3 are about Elizabeth or are likely to have been from a court entertainment of some kind, and I occasionally discuss these songs to illustrate potential uses of music where no direct example exists. In addition, when considering the Earl of Essex's known practice of having his sonnets sung to the Queen, I examine those songs where there is convincing evidence that the Earl wrote the lyrics. Choosing songs which can be considered in context assists in making the difficult distinction between songs written for direct political effect from songs which may merely be about a political figures (such as the 'Bonny Boots' madrigals) or reflect on political life (for example, John Mundy's 'Were I a King'). For the majority of songs in category 4 (those connected with courtiers) a lack of context prevents convincing interpretation of their function within court politics. The focus is on secular songs, though it has been necessary to include Accession Day psalms to trace the history of secular Accession Day ballads later in the reign (see Table 5.1, pp.239-41).

Throughout this thesis, the notion of music as a means of creating an image or identity builds on Stephen Greenblatt's concept of 'self-fashioning' – the conscious construction of a persona for one's own ends – to analyse how the numerous cultural associations of music led to it being exploited as a means to shape courtly identities.[7] These identities could be royal, aristocratic or national, and could therefore relate to either an individual person or the communal identity of a group. Chapter 2 of this dissertation explores the

[7] Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

power of music to fashion images of the Queen, whether through her own performances on the virginals or lute, or via the musical metaphors used by poets and courtiers. Through an analysis of tournament pageantry, chapter 3 shows how the military, religious and pastoral connotations of music could all demonstrate aspects of a nobleman's character or aspirations. Taken together, both chapters demonstrate the complex and often contradictory attitudes to music, femininity and masculinity in Elizabethan England. Music could be perceived as virtue or vice, a sign of education or foolishness, as heavenly or licentious, as promoting eloquence or causing effeminacy. Queen, courtiers, poets and musicians had to negotiate these contradictory connotations as they sought to use music to fashion their own identity or the image of their monarch. As Peter Burke notes, the status of these created identities is hard to define: were they, for instance, constructions of a reality or merely representations, which discrepancies between the image and actual behaviour might undermine?[8] We shall see examples of both: some portrayals were undermined by highlighting the discrepancy between image and reality (see chapters 3 and 5); yet, as self-fashioning shaped courtly and diplomatic relationships, image also constructed political reality.

Chapter 4 moves to consider the category of 'influence', placing greater emphasis on the use of music by courtiers, noblemen, the civic elite and even musicians and authors. It shows how music might be used as means to offer counsel to the monarch by those with limited opportunities to advise the Queen in person. It also analyses how both courtiers and musicians used music to communicate messages for their own advancement in public and private contexts. These messages included petitions for rewards, complaints over lack of recognition for their loyal service, or alternatively the use of flattery and praise in an attempt to gain greater favour with Elizabeth. The chapter shows how the many individuals involved in commissioning, writing and performing could affect the message of an entertainment and it extends our appreciation of music's ability to address topical political issues, to influence royal favour or provide an acceptable outlet for criticism and complaint.

Chapter 5 returns to the notion of 'image' but examines the different musical representations of England created or encouraged by the court. Images of national harmony were intended to inspire loyalty in English subjects and create a stable,

[8] Peter Burke, 'From Representation to Construction', in *What is Cultural History?* (Cambridge: Polity, 2004), pp.74-99 (especially p.87).

peaceful realm, while more elite musical imagery demonstrated English culture and prosperity to ambassadors and foreign visitors. However, metaphors of harmony could be subverted into discord. Both in Elizabeth's royal image and in representations of England, dissonance became an expression of criticism, especially in the later years of her reign.

As an introduction, this chapter compares recent approaches to court music with studies of the political importance of court literature and drama to Elizabethan politics. It outlines current knowledge of the musicians of the English royal household as well as considering the other groups who contributed to the musical life of the court and the implications of this for its functions. Finally, it explores how Elizabethans perceived the relationship between politics and music, and the properties of music which made it a suitable means of creating image and influence.

Approaches to Court Music

Although studies of music in courts are numerous, this thesis differs in using approaches from literary and political history to explain the significance of music as a tool in court politics. Much musicological literature on court music is documentary, focussed on the personnel and institutions of court music, the occasions for performance and the genres performed. Lewis Lockwood's study of the Ferrarese Court, though claiming to explore the 'role of music in the cultural life of the period', is primarily a study of the development of musical patronage, institutions and genres under successive dukes, with chapters on the organisation of musicians, the size and structure of musical institutions, social and economic status of musicians, benefices, and particular genres of music.[9] This approach to court music has continued with Allan Atlas describing his book on *Music at the Aragonese Court of Naples* as a 'documentary account of the musical life at the court'[10] and Paul and Lora Merkley defining their book on *Music and Patronage at the Sforza Court* as:

> Largely a documentary study based on a selection of a great many records recovered over the course of the past nine years... a vivid portrait of the lives,

[9] Lewis Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara, 1400-1505: The Creation of a Musical Center in the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984), pp.3-4.
[10] Allan Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court of Naples* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p.xii.

> professional activities, and working circumstances of some of the most celebrated and important singers, composers, and instrumentalists of Europe.[11]

The epitome of such a documentary approach is Andrew Ashbee's *Records of English Court Music* which presents a calendared transcription of references to music in court records.[12] Other studies related to the Tudor period have focussed on particular consorts or families of musicians employed by the court, including Peter Holman's *Four and Twenty Fiddlers* and David Lasocki's 'Professional recorder players in England, 1540-1740' and *The Bassanos*, or particular manuscripts, such as John Stevens's study, *Music and Poetry in the Early Tudor Court*.[13] The many important insights found in these studies form the basis for this dissertation's enquiry into the political significance of music at Elizabeth's court.

Previous studies of an array of European courts have usually assumed the role of music to be either social or ceremonial. Stevens, for example, explained music as an ingredient of spectacle, a pleasant diversion in court plays and as social recreation in private and domestic contexts.[14] Any political role for music is usually limited to either praising the monarch or displays of royal grandeur: Lockwood argued that the Italian courts sought a high artistic reputation to compensate for their political and military weakness, while more recently Theodore Dumitrescu interpreted the importance of music for Henry VIII on international occasions as creating magnificence to enhance England's prestige in Europe.[15] There are a few exceptions: Peter Walls suggested that the music and dance of the masque could be a model of the peaceful, ordered commonwealth, while Kate van Orden's recent *Music, Discipline and Arms* argued that musical genres such as the *ballet* and *air de cour* could be used by the monarch as a means of civilising and controlling the military aspirations of the nobility in a court confronting civil war.[16] In a 1989 chapter, Craig Monson began to attribute some political importance to Elizabethan court music. He pointed out that performances might be shows of royal favour to foreign

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[11] Paul Merkley and Lora Merkley, *Music and Patronage in the Sforza Court*, Studi Sulla Storia Della Musica in Lombardia 3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), p.xi.
[12] *RECM*, Vol.6:1558-1603 and Vol.8:1485-1714.
[13] Peter Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court, 1540-1690* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993); David Lasocki, 'Professional Recorder Players in England, 1540-1740' (PhD Dissertation: University of Iowa, 1983); David Lasocki and Roger Prior, *The Bassanos: Venetian Musicians and Instrument Makers in England, 1531-1665* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1995); John Stevens, *Music and Poetry in the Early Tudor Court* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).
[14] Stevens, *Music and Poetry*, pp.233-95.
[15] Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara*, pp.3-4, 290; Theodor Dumitrescu, *The Early Tudor Court and International Musical Relations* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp.41, 61. See also Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court*, p.113.
[16] Peter Walls, *Music in the English Courtly Masque, 1604-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), p.304; Kate van Orden, *Music, Discipline and Arms in Early Modern France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), pp.4, 7, 36.

visitors, and how the musical ceremonies of the Chapel Royal might reassure Catholic countries that the English services were not so different from their own.[17] He even briefly suggested that music might be an 'essential means of treating with Elizabeth' for courtiers seeking favour, though he does not explore this any further.[18] These studies indicate the need for a detailed analysis of the full breadth of music's functions within court politics, which this thesis will begin to undertake.

In disciplines outside musicology Tudor government has begun to be interpreted as a 'politics of intimacy' where power lay in access to the monarch and in which individual personalities had great influence on political events.[19] Until the 1980s the approach of many political historians was epitomised by G.R. Elton, who focussed on administration, economics and institutions , arguing that 'we need no more reveries on accession tilts and symbolism, no more pretty pictures of gallants and galliards'.[20] More recently, however, historians such as David Starkey, John Guy and Penry Williams have demonstrated the importance of social networks and personal contacts to the processes of government.[21] The court has become viewed as central to Tudor Government, with politics not seen as confined to the Privy Council but rather as permeating throughout the court's activities, including its entertainments and literature. These entertainments are increasingly regarded as vital to the creation or challenging of royal authority, the advancement and ambition of courtiers and as a forum for addressing topical political issues.

Literary scholars have long recognised the relationship of Elizabethan drama and literature to political culture. In 1968, David Bevington argued that art was viewed as a 'weapon of propaganda' and suggested that, while attempts to identify characters and plot lines with particular real-life people and events were unconvincing, plays did present political 'ideas and platforms'.[22] He inspired numerous studies in this vein, with

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[17] Craig Monson, 'Elizabethan London', in *The Renaissance: From the 1470s to the End of the 16th Century*, ed. Iain Fenlon (London: Macmillan, 1989), pp.304-40 (pp.308-10, 320-24).
[18] ibid., pp.332-33.
[19] David Starkey, 'Introduction: Court History in Perspective', in *The English Court: From the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War*, ed. David Starkey (London: Longman, 1987), p.13; Natalie Mears, 'Court, Courtiers, and Culture in Tudor England', *The Historical Journal* 46 (2003), 703-22 (p.704).
[20] G.R. Elton, 'Tudor Government: The Points of Contact III: The Court', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th Series 26 (1976), 211-38 (p.225).
[21] Including: Starkey, 'Introduction'; John Guy, 'General Introduction' in *The Tudor Monarchy*, ed. John Guy (London: Arnold, 1997), pp.1-8; Penry Williams, 'Court and Polity Under Elizabeth I', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 65 (1982-3), 259-86.
[22] David Bevington, *Tudor Drama and Politics: A Critical Approach to Topical Meaning* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968), pp.1-26.

the issues of marriage, gender and succession being particularly prevalent. Marie Axton, for example, considered the theory of the Queen's two bodies (natural and political) and debates surrounding the succession in plays and entertainments ranging from the play *Gorboduc* and the *Masque of Desire and Beauty* in 1561/2, through the plays of John Lyly in the 1580s to the speeches and masque of the *Gesta Grayorum* (1594).[23]

Furthermore, in the 1980s the 'New Historicism' trend began to view literary and historical texts alongside one another, regarding historical texts as rhetorical acts and exploring how literary texts could not only reflect wider culture but actively shape it. As Jean Howard puts it:

> Literature is part of history… Rather than passively reflecting an external reality, literature is an agent in constructing a culture's sense of reality... instead of a hierarchical relationship in which literature figures as the parasitic reflector of historical fact, one imagines a complex textualized universe in which literature participates in historical processes and in the political management of reality.[24]

Louis Montrose, a key proponent of New Historicism, has viewed plays as both recreating and creating culture, exploring ideas of gender and power and the representations of Elizabeth in literary, artistic, social and political discourses.[25] Greg Walker has shown the practical function of plays in politics as means of persuasion and of offering political counsel.[26] Historians too are increasingly using such products of court culture as evidence of political culture. John King used evidence from parliamentary speeches, plays, portraiture and progress entertainments to illustrate the changing imagery of the Virgin Queen throughout Elizabeth's reign, while Susan Doran has shown how courtiers used court plays and progress entertainments to urge Elizabeth to marry or to dissuade her from individual suitors.[27]

It would be surprising if music did not also play a role in this informal politics, particularly given its frequent use within these plays and entertainments. However, until recently any discussion of music had been conspicuously absent from most analyses of

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[23] Marie Axton, *The Queen's Two Bodies: Drama and the Elizabethan Succession* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1977).

[24] Jean Howard, 'The New Historicism in Renaissance Studies', *English Literary Renaissance* 16 (1986), 13-43 (p.25).

[25] Louis Montrose, ' "Shaping Fantasies": Figurations of Gender and Power in Elizabethan Culture', *Representations* 2 (1983), 61-94; *The Subject of Elizabeth: Authority, Gender, and Representation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), p.341.

[26] Greg Walker, *Plays of Persuasion: Drama and Politics at the Court of Henry VIII* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); *The Politics of Performance in Early Renaissance Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

[27] John King, 'Queen Elizabeth I: Representations of the Virgin Queen', *Renaissance Quarterly* 43 (1990), 30-74; Susan Doran, 'Juno Versus Diana: The Treatment of Elizabeth I's Marriage in Plays and Entertainments, 1561-1581', *The Historical Journal* 38 (1995), 257-74.

court plays or Elizabeth's progresses. Helen Hackett's *Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen* was an exception in using musical lyrics (including broadside ballads and John Dowland's 'Time's Eldest Son') as evidence of the creation of Elizabeth's image.[28] However, she treated the song lyrics as poetry rather than examining the extant musical settings or asking how the musical performance might affect the function of such a text.

Several recent investigations into the political use of music have come from literary historians studying progress entertainments and seventeenth-century masques. Despite the importance of music to the Stuart masque, only the literary elements had been analysed for their political import until David Lindley examined how the associations of musical styles with particular social classes and musical power with monarchical power could emphasise the authority of king and court. [29] He also suggested that ambiguities in these associations – for example, slippage in the matching of musical style and class within the masque, or the undermining of theory of the music of the spheres through which music's power was explained – had the potential to threaten the ideology they were creating. However, Lindley was less concerned with the agencies and possible intentions behind the production of such meanings or with their practical implications for Stuart politics. Susan Anderson's 2006 dissertation analysed entertainments for Elizabethan progresses, emphasising how music could serve the hosts of these occasions as much as Elizabeth. As well as analysing the dramatic functions of music, such as marking transitional moments like entries or creating a fantasy-world setting for the visit, she explored the importance of the type of instruments, the performers, and the adherence to musical fashions for increasing the prestige of the noble or civic host. She also considered the use of musical myths of Pan, Apollo and Amphion to stage compliments to the Queen and the use of notions of harmony, 'making the idea of music emblematic of social orderliness and submission'. It could provide an emotional structure to pageantry by portraying the relationship between monarch and hosts.[30] Yet in Anderson's thesis, as in previous studies, music's political function still emerges as largely one of magnificence and ceremony.

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[28] Helen Hackett, *Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen: Elizabeth I and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), pp.56-63, 134-35, 144-50.
[29] David Lindley, 'The Politics of Music in the Masque', in *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque*, ed. David Bevington and Peter Holbrook (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp.273-95.
[30] Susan Anderson, 'Music and Power at the English Court, 1575-1624' (PhD Dissertation, University of Leeds, 2006), pp.6-111 (p.82).

A few musicologists have also considered music's role in Elizabethan political culture. In 1969 Lillian Ruff and D. Arnold Wilson proposed connections between the rise and fall of Robert Devereux, the Earl of Essex, and the development, decline and changing tone of printed madrigal and lute-songs collections. They saw music as a 'vehicle for cloaked political expression' and identified ways in which sympathies and loyalties with Essex were voiced through these genres.[31] More recently, in 2005 Jeremy Smith suggested that Thomas Morley's madrigal collection, *The Triumphes of Oriana*, began as a publication designed to support the Essex faction and the succession of James I, which both Essex's supporters and Morley hoped would bring about a regime more tolerant of Catholicism. It was hastily adapted to function as a collection in praise of Elizabeth in the wake of Essex's rebellion and execution.[32] Both these studies of printed music collections focus on just one figure, the Earl of Essex, but point to the wider use of music for political persuasion and complaint. Music's ability to promote particular agendas can also be seen in Craig Monson's study of Byrd's Latin motets and their support for the Catholic cause.[33]

Compared to previous studies, this thesis is the first comprehensive account of the various political uses made of secular music by Elizabeth, her courtiers and noblemen, civic hosts, authors or musicians in both public and private contexts. By looking beyond music's role in ceremony and by recognising that even recreational uses of music could have political meaning in a court culture where closeness to the monarch brought power, it demonstrates the variety of political functions in which music was employed throughout Elizabeth's reign.

The Production of Secular Court Music

The court musical establishment was comprised of two institutions: the Chapel Royal and the musicians of the royal household. This thesis focuses on the secular music-making rather than the Chapel Royal, whose primary purpose was religious rather than political (though it did have a diplomatic role, as shown in chapters 2 and 5). The main

[31] Lillian Ruff and D. Arnold Wilson, 'The Madrigal, the Lute Song and Elizabethan Politics', *Past and Present* 44 (1969), 3-51.
[32] Jeremy Smith, 'Music and Late Elizabethan Politics: The Identities of Oriana and Diana', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 58 (2005), 507-58.
[33] Craig Monson, 'Byrd, the Catholics, and the Motet: The Hearing Reopened', in *Hearing the Motet: Essays on the Motet of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Dolores Pesce (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp.348-74.

challenge in studying secular music at the Elizabethan court is the difficulty in gathering evidence. Only very few manuscripts of instrumental music (mostly dances and un-texted Italian vocal music) linked to Elizabethan court musicians have survived including GB-Lbl: Royal Appendix MSS 74-76, connected with the violin consort in the 1550s-60s, and US-NH: Filmer 2 containing compositions by court musicians from c.1600.[34] However, no song manuscript used at the Elizabethan court exists. Individual songs from music manuscripts and printed collections can sometimes be connected with the court milieu if they set a text known to be from an entertainment or are otherwise connected to a court event, refer to Elizabeth or set lyrics written by a courtier (see Appendix C). Yet transmitted separately from accounts of their original circumstances, the political meaning of most courtly songs has become obscured. Sometimes songs seem to have become associated with a particular figure, such as John Dowland's 'Can She Excuse' whose galliard tune later became known as the 'Earl of Essex's Galliard' (p.186); but as it remains unclear whether the lyrics were by the man, about the man, or only later became associated with the circumstances of a prominent courtier, it is not possible to link this song convincingly with a specific political function.

The musical culture of the Elizabethan court must be reconstructed largely from historical and literary sources. Andrew Ashbee has collated the references to musicians found in the records of the Chancery, Lord Chamberlain and the Exchequer, Privy Seal office, Signet office and the declared accounts for the Audit and Pipe offices, from which we can identify the musical personnel employed in the royal household.[35] Published accounts (and occasionally manuscripts) of progress entertainments, tournaments and court plays contain brief references to the music heard or song lyrics. The travel diaries of foreign visitors and ambassadors' reports can describe court entertainments, the instruments found in royal palaces and performances by Queen Elizabeth herself, while the letters and memoirs of courtiers can illuminate informal music-making within the court. Yet evidence for the music survives for only a tiny number of events, and references to everyday court music are brief and scattered. Only by piecing together the fragments of information (often small and insignificant when viewed individually) from this multiplicity of sources can a detailed picture of

[34] Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, pp.90-99, 144-48. The Stuart manuscript GB-Cfm: Mu.MS734 also contains some wind consort repertory from Elizabeth's reign. The Mynshall lute book has Elizabeth's royal arms on the cover. It seems to been a blank royal lute book which became the property of Richard Mynshall: Matthew Spring, *The Lute in Britain: A History of the Instrument and its Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p.129.
[35] *RECM*, Vol.6:1558-1603, Vol.8:1486-1714.

Elizabethan court music be created. To interpret the meaning of these musical performances the cultural associations of music need to be reconstructed. Conduct books, such as Castiglione's *The Courtyer*, describe the role of music at court, while educational treatises explain why music was taught and the appropriateness or otherwise of music-making for both genders. Portrayals of music in courtly poetry or plays both represent contexts for music-making and demonstrate its potential connotations through its use in plots or descriptive metaphors. Hence this thesis combines extant music, documentary information on court musicians, evidence of musical practice and cultural attitudes towards music to demonstrate the contributions of musical performances and musical imagery to Elizabethan court politics.

To begin to understand how music had the potential to function politically it is necessary to examine who performed for the court and who commissioned these performances. Appendix A shows the musicians employed during each decade of Elizabeth's reign. Most striking is the stability of the musical household. As Peter Holman notes, the violin consort saw just nine changes of personnel in Elizabeth's 44-year reign, and this stability was typical of other ensembles and personnel.[36] Few alterations were made to the musicians who had been employed by Mary I, many of whom had been in the royal household since the reign of Henry VIII.[37] Most of the musicians of the royal household were employed in the consorts of the Presence Chamber, the public rooms of the palace open to anyone with access to the court. There were consorts of viols/violins, flutes, recorders and sackbuts with shawms, each with six or seven members. (The term 'consort' is used throughout this thesis in its modern sense of an ensemble of instrumentalists and their instruments, though in Elizabethan times 'consort' most commonly meant the mixed consort, see pp.27-28.) Trumpeters and a band of drums and fifes provided fanfares for entrances and exits on state occasions or accompanied processions. Unlike the other ensembles they played simple monophonic music.[38] The consort of sackbuts and shawms and the drum and fife band were suitable for outdoor music or performances in large halls during noisy events, while the softer

[36] Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, p.104.
[37] A few older members such as Walter Earle and Peter van Wilder retired. A group of three singers in the privy chamber who had existed since c.1543 was disbanded (William Mapperley, who continued to serve in the Chapel Royal, John Temple, Thomas Kent). The decision was probably made by the Lord Chamberlain or one of his staff, but the reason is unclear.
[38] Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, p.36.

ensembles such as the recorders and violins played mainly in indoor settings on quieter occasions.[39]

Players of instruments such as the virginal or lute would have performed in the smaller spaces of Privy Chamber, the monarch's private apartments to which entry was restricted.[40] In the late 1580s a small lute consort seems to have been created, as John Johnson, Mathias Mason and Walter Pierce began to be described as 'the three lutes'.[41] However, lutenists were also solo musicians either playing lute solos or accompanying their own singing. Robert Hales was one such singer-lutenist, particularly popular with Elizabeth for his singing.[42] Other solo musicians included virginal players, while early in the reign a harpist, a viol player and a rebec player were employed. These performers were suitable for intimate musical contexts and were probably invited to the Privy Chamber if a performance was required. Andrew Ashbee has pointed out that only a select group of musicians held posts which gave them the privilege of access to Privy Chamber.[43]

Identifying musical members of the Privy Chamber is difficult as they were usually employed as personal servants of the monarch, not musicians. In Elizabeth's reign most members of the Privy Chamber were female with only two paid gentlemen and eight paid grooms.[44] Many of the women of Elizabeth's Privy Chamber are known to have been musical, including maid of honour, Lady Penelope Rich.[45] It would be surprising if they had not participated in recreational music-making either with or for the Queen, though no evidence survives. Several gentlemen or grooms of the Privy Chamber were musicians, including Thomas Lichfield, Ferdinando Heybourne and Alfonso Ferrabosco I. However, only the Keeper of Instruments with his assistant (who required

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[39] ibid., pp.36-37.
[40] ibid., pp.36-38.
[41] Spring, *Lute in Britain*, pp.46, 103.
[42] Henry Wotton, *Reliquiae Wottonianae or a Collection of Lives, Letter, Poems with Characters of Sundry Personages and Other Incomparably Pieces of Language and Art*, 3rd edn (London, 1672), pp.165-66.
[43] Andrew Ashbee, 'Groomed for Service: Musicians in the Privy Chamber at the English Court, c.1495-1558', *Early Music* 25 (1997), 185-97 (pp.186-88).
[44] Pam Wright, 'A Change in Direction: The Ramifications of a Female Household, 1558-1603', in *The English Court: From the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War*, ed. David Starkey (London: Longman, 1987), pp.147-72.
[45] Violet Wilson, *Queen Elizabeth's Maids of Honour and Ladies of the Privy Chamber* (London: John Lane, 1922), pp.6, 10, 54-5; Charlotte Merton, 'The Women Who Served Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth: Ladies, Gentlewomen and Maids of the Privy Chamber 1553-1603' (PhD Dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1992), p.98. Sylvia Freedman, *Poor Penelope: Lady Penelope Rich, An Elizabethan Woman* (Abbotsbrook: Kensal Press, 1983), p.10.

free access to tune and maintain instruments) and possible Mathias Mason (described as 'Lute of the Privy Chamber' in Elizabeth's funeral accounts[46]) seem to have had access to the Privy Chamber primarily through their post as a musician. Additionally, there were further extraordinary Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber who were unpaid and are therefore hard to trace.[47] This may explain the case of Antony Holborne who claimed to be a 'gentleman and servant' to Elizabeth but who is not listed as an employee of the court.[48] These men were therefore often of a different class to other musicians – more courtier than professional performer.[49]

The musicians of the royal household were in daily attendance at the court. The main ritual of the day was dinner which was a highly ceremonial affair, announced by trumpets and accompanied by consorts of loud music such as trumpets, drums and shawms and sackbuts. The primary role of the violin consort was to accompany dancing, including practices, formal and informal dance occasions.[50] The recorder consort also played some dance music, but its repertory of fantasias and wordless madrigals suggests that it was also used for dinner music or in concert.[51] A letter by the Earl of Hertford relates such an occasion (though he is vague about the exact consort involved):

> At night when twelve of her Majesty's musicians were in concert, she came out and passing by saluted me, thanked me for my New Year's gift… so three or four times calling me to hear the music as she sat, saying I had judgement, she showed me the last new year's gift at her girdle.[52]

Finally, consorts might be used to provide music during court plays, as was required by *Gorboduc* (performed in 1561/2 by the Gentlemen of the Inner Temple), which used ensembles of 'Violenze', 'Cornettes' (who would have performed in consort with sackbuts), 'Fluites' and 'Howeboies' (probably shawms, again performing with sackbuts) to accompany the dumb shows.[53] Although the court employed no specific consorts of cornetts, musicians were frequently proficient on multiple instruments.

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[46] *RECM*, Vol.4:1603-1625, p.1.
[47] Wright, 'A Change in Direction', p.155; Steven May suggests that this practice of making unpaid 'extraordinary' appointments explains how John Lyly could be appointed as an Esquire of the Body even though there is no record of payments: Steven May, *The Elizabethan Courtier Poets: The Poems and their Contexts* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1991), p.35.
[48] Brian Jeffrey, 'Antony Holborne', *Musica Disciplina* 22 (1968), 129-205 (pp.129, 133-34, 136).
[49] Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, p.38.
[50] Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers* , pp.111-18.
[51] Lasocki, 'Professional Recorder Players', Vol.1.1, p.96.
[52] M. Blatcher, Report on the Manuscripts of the Most Honourable the Marquess of Bath, Preserved at Longleat, 5 vols (London: H.M.S.O, 1968), Vol.4, p.185 [21st January 1580].
[53] Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, p.118; Thomas Norton and Thomas Sackville, *The Tragedie of Gorboduc* (London, 1565), sig.A2^{v}, B3^{r}, C1^{r}, C5^{r}.

Nicholas Lanier, for example, was appointed to the flute consort but his letter of introduction also recommended him as a good cornett player.[54]

The court ensembles probably had a high degree of autonomy in producing this day-to-day court music. There was no official post of 'Master of the Music' until the reign of Charles I. This title was given to the singer-lutenist Nicholas Lanier but his attempts to exercise authority over other ensembles caused great resentment, suggesting that organisation of rehearsals and performances had previously been devolved to the leading members of each ensemble.[55] Before this some organisational role seems to have been taken by Thomas Lichfield, a Groom of the Privy Chamber, who is described as supervisor of the Queen's music by the cofferer who paid his wages.[56] However, he resigned his post in the Privy Chamber in December 1575. It is unclear what the position entailed or who continued Lichfield's role as supervisor. The instrumental consorts normally answered to the Lord Chamberlain (who also appointed the musicians) and his staff.[57] As much of the musical provision on a day-to-day basis was routine, it is probable that these ensembles were told where and when they should perform, but not exactly what to provide. It would be difficult for such instrumental music to be politically controversial.

Not all the music at court was performed by the court musicians, however. There were three companies of choirboys who performed in plays at court until the 1590s: the choristers of the Chapel Royal, St Paul's Cathedral and, until 1577, Windsor. These plays seem to have included much music, particularly consort songs (see pp.153-57). This music was probably provided by the choirboys themselves, who were trained to sing and play on instruments such as the lute and viol.[58] The London waytes might also be called to attend court, as they were during the Twelfth Night revels of 1601.[59]

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[54] Lasocki and Prior, *Bassanos*, p.156.
[55] Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, pp.232-34.
[56] Andrew Ashbee and David Lasocki, assisted by Peter Holman and Fiona Kisby, *Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians 1485-1715*, 2 vols (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), Vol.2, pp.722-24.
[57] Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, p.229.
[58] Harold Hillebrand, *The Child Actors: A Chapter in Elizabethan Stage History* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1926), pp.40-43, 75-151; G.E.P. Arkwright, 'Elizabethan Choirboy Plays and Their Music', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 40 (1913/14), 117-38; Reavley Gair, *The Children of Paul's: The Story of a Theatre Company 1553-1605* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp.33-36, 75-112.
[59] Leslie Hotson, *The First Night of Twelfth Night* (New York: Macmillan, 1954), p.181.

Court plays and their songs did provide an opportunity for political comment, and the plays were approved by the Master of the Revels. However, his job was not primarily one of censorship, but rather to make sure that plays would suit the tastes of the Queen. He potentially had influence over the way in which music was used in these plays or the musical styles and genres performed.[60] There is also evidence of Elizabeth herself appointing the performers for some of the more elaborate court entertainments. Arthur Throckmorton's letter concerning his masque (p.11) reveals that Elizabeth had appointed the masquers for this occasion. Leslie Hotson also uncovered a memorandum of the Lord Chamberlain for Twelfth Night 1601 which notes Elizabeth's requests for a carol to be sung at dinner by the Children of the Chapel Royal, for music to be appointed for the Queen and for the play in the hall, a place to be given to Robert Hales to sing and a play to be chosen which would have 'greate variety and change of Musicke and daunces'.[61] However, while Elizabeth indicated which ensembles and musicians she wanted to hear and when, she said very little about the content of the songs and plays, leaving this to the Chamberlain, the Master of the Revels and the musicians to determine. Only in the exceptional circumstances of the post-Armada celebrations of November 1588 did Elizabeth write a poem ('Look and Bow Down': a prayer and thanksgiving for the preservation of England) to be set to music by William Byrd and performed by the Children of St Paul's during her procession.[62]

Courtiers could also commission the household musicians for their own political purposes. For court tournaments, the participating courtiers needed musicians to accompany their entry into the tiltyard. Sir Henry Lee commissioned singer-lutenist Robert Hales to perform a song during his retirement pageantry, and hired a composer from outside the court to write the music: John Dowland (p.125). Courtiers might also call on the royal musicians to perform songs to convey political messages to the Queen. The Earl of Essex used Hales to sing his sonnet to Elizabeth when he was concerned he might be losing her favour (pp.185-86).

During Elizabeth's summer progresses she had relatively little control over what music was performed for her and by whom. When she visited noblemen, they planned her entertainments. Usually these aristocrats provided their own musicians, such as the

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[60] Richard Dutton, *Mastering the Revels: The Regulation and Censorship of English Renaissance Drama* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1991), pp.34-37, 89.
[61] Hotson, *First Night of Twelfth Night*, pp.180-81.
[62] William Byrd, *Madrigals, Songs and Canons*, ed. Philip Brett, The Byrd Edition 16 (London: Stainer and Bell, 1976), pp.197-98.

‘notable consort of six musitions, which my Lord of Hertford had provided to entertaine her Majestie’ at Elvetham.[63] They also borrowed musicians from other households, as when the Kytson family lent ‘Johnson’ to the Earl of Leicester for the Kenilworth entertainments.[64] This musician is likely to have been Edward Johnson, who also composed music for the Elvetham entertainment (1591).[65] John Dowland was employed by Lord Chandos as a composer and performer during Elizabeth’s progress to Sudeley (1592) (see p.204). Court musicians could be used, as at Cowdray (1591), when ‘her Highnesse musicians’ accompanied the nymph’s song ‘Behold Her Lockes’.[66] However, Cowdray is the only progress entertainment at a nobleman’s house where the Queen’s musicians are recorded as playing. Elizabeth could signal her approval (she asked for repeat performances of songs at Elvetham in 1591) or leave to indicate her displeasure (as she did during a show by the Earl of Essex for Accession Day in 1595).[67]

The ‘consort of six musitions’ at Elvetham was the six-man mixed consort of soft instruments (‘Lute, Bandora, Base-violl, Citterne, Treble-violl and Flute’).[68] This consort probably originated in aristocratic households and became a particular feature of progress entertainments because of its novelty in comparison to the ensembles of the court (which, apart from the shawms and sackbuts, consisted of instruments of the same family). It was also significant as the first standardised mixed ensemble of soft instruments in Europe.[69] The composition of the consort is clearly stated in the account of the Elvetham progress (1591), but its use can be identified in earlier progresses because in the sixteenth century the word ‘consort’ was used to mean a mixed ensemble.[70] The first known use of the word ‘consort’ is in George Gascoigne’s description of the ‘Song of Protheus’ at the Kenilworth progress (1575).[71] Gascoigne

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[63] Anon, *The Honorable Entertainement Gieuen to the Queenes Maiestie in Progresse, at Eluetham in Hampshire, by the Right Honorable the Earle of Hertford* (London: 1591), sig.C1^{r}.
[64] David Price, *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 76^{n5}.
[65] David Brown and Ian Harwood, ‘Johnson, Edward (i)’, in *GMO* <www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/14403> [accessed 11/07/2008].
[66] Anon, *The Speeches and Honorable Entertainment Giuen to the Queenes Maiestie in Progresse, at Cowdrey in Sussex, by the Right Honorable the Lord Montacute* (London, 1591), p.3.
[67] Anon, *Honorable Entertainement...Elvetham*, sig.D2^{v}, E1^{v}; Paul Hammer, ‘Upstaging the Queen: the Earl of Essex, Francis Bacon and the Accession Day celebrations of 1595’, in *The Politics of the English Court Masque*, ed. David Bevington and Peter Holbrook (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp.41-66 (pp.52-52).
[68] Anon, *Honorable Entertainement...Elvetham*, sig. C1^{r}, E1^{v}.
[69] Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, p.131.
[70] Anon, *Honorable Entertainement...Elvetham*, sig.E1^{v}; Warwick Edwards, ‘Consort’, in *GMO* <www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/06322> [accessed 01/03/2011].
[71] George Gascoigne, ‘The Princely Pleasures at Kenelworth Castle’, in *The Pleasauntest Workes of George Gascoigne Esquyre* (London, 1587), sig.A1^{r}-C8^{v} (B1^{r}).

was also connected with the first possible reference to a mixed consort through a play performed at court which he co-authored with Francis Kinwelmershe, *Jocasta* (1566). This contained a dumbshow accompanied by 'violles, cythren, bandurion, and such like'.[72] Edward Johnson and the Kytson family appear to be closely connected to the development of the ensemble, as Johnson was hired for both the Kenilworth and Elvetham progresses and lived just 30 miles from Norwich, where another early performance by a mixed consort is reported.[73] It is likely that the city called on the services of the Kytson's musicians to augment the ranks of its own civic instrumentalists.[74] The 'sound of vnacquainted instruments' described in the account of Elizabeth's visit to Woodstock (1575) may also refer to the mixed ensemble.[75] The ensemble was also used in other courtly events where musicians were brought in from aristocratic households, for example plays such as *The Tragedie of Tancred and Gismund* (1591) presented at court by the Gentlemen of the Inner Temple, and tournaments including *The Four Foster Children of Desire* of 1581 (pp.118, 123).[76]

Whereas a nobleman would have to organise his own entertainments for the Queen, when the host was a town, devisers were sent from the court to assist, though they were paid by the town. The records for Thomas Churchyard's payment for an aborted royal visit to Shrewsbury state that he was 'sent hether by my Lord President'.[77] As the Lord Chamberlain was the primary organiser of the route and accommodation for the progress, and also the person to whom noble hosts turned for advice, he may also have appointed such authors.[78] Towns used a wide range of musical resources. At Norwich the cathedral choristers sang the 'Te Deum' for Elizabeth on her first evening in Norwich, and are likely to have been involved in singing during the entry and in later spectacles; Churchyard described 'The Deaw of Heauen' as sung by the 'best voyces in

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[72] Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, p.132.
[73] Thomas Churchyard, *A Discourse of the Queenes Maiesties Entertainement in Suffolk and Norffolk with a Description of Many Things Then Presently Seene* (London, 1578), sig.E2^{v}; B[ernard] G[arter], *The Ioyfull Receyuing of the Queenes Most Excellent Maiestie into Hir Highnesse Citie of Norwich the Things Done in the Time of Hir Abode There* (London, 1578), sig.E1^{r}.
[74] Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, pp.133-34.
[75] Anon., *The Queenes Maiesties Entertainement at Woodstock* (London, 1585) sig.B4^{v}.
[76] Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, p.133; Henry Goldwell, *A Briefe Declaration of the Shews, Deuices, Speeches, and Inuentions, Done & Performed Before the Queenes Maiestie, & the French Ambassadours, at the Most Valiaunt and Worthye Triumph, Attempted and Executed on the Munday and Tuesday in Whitson Weeke Last, Anno 1581* (London, 1581), sig.A5^{v}, B8^{r}.
[77] C.E. McGee, 'Mysteries, Musters, and Masque: The Import(s) of Elizabethan Civic Entertainments', in *Progresses, Pageants and Entertainments of Queen Elizabeth I*, ed. Jayne Archer, Elizabeth Goldring and Sarah Knight (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp.104-21 (p.112); J. Alan Somerset, *REED: Shropshire* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), p.220.
[78] Mary Hill Cole, *The Portable Queen: Elizabeth I and the Politics of Ceremony* (Amherst, Mass.: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999), pp.40, 68-69.

the citie'.[79] The cathedral also paid Osbert Parsley (singer in the cathedral and composer of both sacred and instrumental music) for compositions for the progress, though none survives.[80] In addition, the waytes are recorded as performing during Elizabeth's entry and they may also have accompanied the cathedral choir as they were paid 6s 8d by the Dean and Prebends.[81] Norwich's records show rewards for the 'quenes retinue' including 'to the trumpeter', 'to the musicions of the violls', 'the viii musicions that follow the tent' (probably a canopy under which Elizabeth travelled) and 'the musicions cornettes'.[82] Towns might also borrow musicians from local noblemen: for Elizabeth's visit to Worcester (1575) the 'Accounts of Mr Christ Dyghton Hygh Bayliff' record payment to 'the Yerle of Leycester's Musecians' of 6s, 8d.[83]

From this survey of the commissioners and performers of court music, we see that the Queen and court witnessed performances from many ensembles apart from just the royal household musicians. In addition, this dissertation will also consider the amateur music-making of Elizabeth and her courtiers. Elizabeth herself sang and played the keyboard and lute, and courtiers too participated in private and informal music-making within the court (see chapters 2 and 4). Unless entirely private and solitary, music was unlikely to be an escape from political affairs. The diverse occasions for musical performance also brought varied audiences which ranged from the Queen's inner circle to the wider public who witnessed progresses and tournaments.

By showing the diversity of ensembles and soloists who performed for the queen, this thesis challenges the notion of the monarch as the sole patron controlling all court music (as, for instance, is implied in documentary studies of music at European courts such as those by Paul and Lora Merkley, Allan Atlas and Lewis Lockwood).[84] In this respect, my thesis resonates with the recent efforts of historians to deconstruct Roy Strong's idea of a 'Cult of Elizabeth' created and maintained by the Queen herself. He described the cult as 'skilfully created to buttress public order and, even more, deliberately to replace the pre-Reformation externals of religion'. For Strong, court pageantry was 'essentially

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[79] Churchyard, *Discourse...Suffolk and Norffolk*, sig.B4^{v}.
[80] David Galloway, *REED: Norwich, 1540-1642* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), p.59.
[81] ibid.
[82] Royal College of Arms, W.C. Ceremonies III, fol.89^{r-v}, in Galloway, *REED: Norwich*, pp.241-42.
[83] From the Norwich's Chamber Order Book, in John Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth: Among Which are Interspersed Other Solemnities, Public Expenditures, and Remarkable Events, During the Reign of that Illustrious Princess*, 3 vols (London, 1823), Vol.1, pp.548-49.
[84] Merkley and Merkley, *Music and Patronage*; Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court*; Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara*.

hers', represented her attitudes, and 'directly' reflected 'what she demanded and liked'.[85] Yet Susan Frye has criticised such portrayals of Elizabeth and her government as a 'monolithic entity manipulating her image' and assuming that 'her iconography was unquestionably created to serve the crown'. Instead she argues that, 'those who represented Elizabeth to herself and to one another had interests of their own that they attempted to make hers by dressing them in her image'.[86] Sydney Anglo has questioned the effectiveness of the dissemination of the royal image, suggesting that it was largely incomprehensible to the mass of subjects, and pointing to the limited publication of ceremonial literature and the small area of the country which had contact with Elizabeth and her court. Furthermore, Anglo has argued that the courtiers had far more to gain by the creation of such an image than Elizabeth herself:

> If this did amount to 'Queen cult' what was it supposed to achieve? Could this kind of exaggerated praise ever win over a disaffected suitor?; could it stop any noble from harbouring critical thoughts about governmental decisions?; or could it convince some aristocrat that he should support an issue on which he had hitherto been uncommitted or which was against his interests? The whole panoply of panegyric was aimed upward to please the monarch, not downward to persuade doubting courtiers of the rectitude of the regime. The highly coloured imagery was the currency of aspiring authors, poets, artists and courtiers to buy attention.[87]

However, Frye's model of the creation of Elizabeth's image has the advantage of still allowing Elizabeth to participate (consciously or unconsciously) in the 'process of self-representation and competition' through her words and actions.[88]

There were numerous opportunities for authors, composers, noblemen, courtiers, civic leaders and even performers to influence music-making for their own political ends. All these people might wish to represent the Queen differently, either in the hope of attracting rewards through pleasing her or by attempting to align Elizabeth's image with their own political beliefs. Indeed, this thesis suggests that the multiple commissioners, performers, occasions and audiences could lead to a proliferation of (sometimes dissonant) political meanings in Elizabethan court music.

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[85] Roy Strong, *The Cult of Elizabeth: Elizabethan Portraiture and Pageantry* (London: Pimlico, 1999), pp.16, 115-6.
[86] Susan Frye, *Elizabeth I: The Competition for Representation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp.8-10.
[87] Sydney Anglo, ' "Image-Making" the Means and the Limitations', in *The Tudor Monarchy*, ed. John Guy (London: Arnold, 1997), p.36.
[88] Frye, *Elizabeth I*, p.4.

Politics and Music

Today the word 'politics' encompasses a wide range of meanings, including the theory or practice of government and administration; government policies; the political beliefs and ideas of an individual or group; and the exercise and acquisition of power and authority.[89] However, the word was not in such common usage in Elizabethan times, and when it did occur, it most frequently referred to Aristotle's *Politics.* The definition of politics suggested by Aristotle was less concerned with power and the state and instead focussed on the city: how it should be organised to enable people to live together harmoniously. Richard Kraut summarises Aristotle's approach:

> Aristotle is not proposing a theory about what the government should do, but about what the whole body of citizens should do, and how they should be organised… That is why he thinks it appropriate for the *Politics* to discuss not only ways of distributing offices and power but also the household, property, education, religion, and the like. These all have to do with the *politeia*- the way we live together.[90]

Other uses of the term, as in 'politic laws' or 'politic governance', also referred to this Aristotelian meaning – government of the people – which Sir Thomas Elyot defined in his conduct book for governors in this way:

> Concernynge gouernaunce, eyther of one persone onely, and than it is called morall, or of a multitude, whiche for a dyuersytie maye be called polityke.[91]

Aristotle's influence on sixteenth-century English politics can also be seen in the similar concern for the harmony of the commonwealth and the wellbeing of all its members. Sir Thomas Smith in his *De Republica Anglorum*, for example, criticised the tyrant who 'is an euill king, & who hath no regard to the wealth of his people, but seeketh onely to magnifie himselfe and his, and to satisfie his vicious and cruell appetite, without respect of God, of right or of the law'. A king on the other hand 'commeth with the good will of the people to that gouernement, and doth administer the common wealth by the lawes of the same and by equitie, and doth seeke the profit of the people as much as his owne'.[92] Similarly, Sir Thomas Elyot wrote that good governors 'nothyng do acquire by the sayd influence of knowlege for theyr owne necessities, but do imploye all the powers of theyr wyttes, and theyr dylygence, to the only preseruation of other their inferiours'.[93] Both writers, themselves courtiers and holders of government office, saw it as the duty of the

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[89] *OED*, 'Politics, *n*', *OED Online* <http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/30006640> [accessed 01/12/2008].
[90] Richard Kraut, *Aristotle: Political Philosophy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).
[91] Sir Thomas Elyot, *The Boke Named the Gouernour* (London, 1537), fol.237^{v}.
[92] Sir Thomas Smith, *De Republica Anglorum. The Maner of Gouernement or Policie of the Realme of England* (London, 1583), pp.6, 9.
[93] Elyot, *Gouernour*, fol.5^{r}.

political elite to serve the common good by maintaining a just and peaceful order for the benefit of all people.

However, Maurizio Viroli has argued that the language of 'politics' underwent a significant change at the end of the sixteenth century, altering the meaning of the word and the theory of politics:

> Politics no longer meant the art of ruling a republic according to justice and reason... but instead had come to mean reason of state – in the sense of the knowledge of the means of preserving domination over people.[94]

Politics was no longer the art of good government, associated with morality, but rather a justification of any means of government that upheld the ruling power. This is particularly exemplified by Machiavelli's *The Prince* (which circulated in England in an unauthorised Italian version printed by John Wolfe in 1584 and in manuscript translations, seven of which are extant[95]):

> a prince... cannot observe all those things for which men are considered good, for in order to maintain the state he is often obliged to act against promise, against charity, against humanity, and against religion.[96]

In England in the last decades of the sixteenth century, the word 'politics' increasingly carried negative connotations related to Machiavelli's political theory: the maintaining of authority at whatever cost. Playwright and writer for the popular press, Thomas Nashe, in his book *The Terrors of the Night*, characterised a 'politique' statesman as influenced by 'spirits of the aire' who are 'all show and no substance, deluders of our imagination':

> Politique statesmen they [the spirits of the air] priuily incite, to bleare the worlds eyes with clowdes of common wealth pretences, to broach any enmitie or ambitious humor of their owne, vnder a title of their cuntries preseruation. To make it faire or fowle when they list to procure popularity, or induce a preamble to some mightie peece of prowling, to stir vp tempests round about, & replenish heauen with prodigies and wonders, the more to ratifie their auaritious religion.[97]

In contrast to Aristotle's concept of politics as working for the common good, the word 'politics' increasingly came to be applied to the scheming, deceitful and selfish actions of statesmen.

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[94] Maurizio Viroli, *From Politics to Reason of State: The Acquisition and Transformation of the Language of Politics 1250-1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p.2.
[95] Felix Raab, *The English Face of Machiavelli: A Changing Interpretation, 1500-1700* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1964), pp.52-53.
[96] Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Prince*, ed. Peter Bondanella, trans. Peter Bondanella and Mark Musa, Oxford World's Classics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p.59.
[97] Thomas Nashe, *The Terrors of the Night or, A Discourse of Apparitions* (London, 1594), sig.C2^{r}.

Elizabethan England lay poised on the transition from Aristotelian to Machiavellian notions of politics; these notions formed the framework within which Elizabethans might conceive of music functioning in politics. To understand how and why Elizabethans might have used music for political purposes it is necessary to examine their attitudes to music and its relationship to politics. Unsurprisingly, conduct books usually consider music's role in good governance; however, the strategies suggested also reveal how music might become a tool for more self-serving and ambitious types of politics.

Two Classical texts which particularly influenced Elizabethan attitudes to music and the state were Aristotle's *Politics* and Plato's *Republic*. Both works have a somewhat ambivalent attitude to music, being wary of its potential to make men soft and effeminate, but assigning to it the ability to teach men virtue – a vital trait for those with power within the State. Plato and Aristotle are cited in numerous Elizabethan printed works on music or politics including the anonymous *The Praise of Musicke* (1586), Sir Thomas Smith's *De Republica Anglorum* (1583), Castiglione's *The Courtyer* (1528, translated into English by Sir Thomas Hoby in 1561) and Sir Thomas Elyot's *The Boke named the Gouernour* (1537, inspired by Castiglione).[98] The latter two books represent sixteenth-century attempts to apply such Classical ideals to the circumstances of the contemporary court. Although Castiglione set his discussion in Urbino, the book circulated widely in Europe and was translated into numerous languages, including Thomas Hoby's English translation of 1561, which ran to four editions between 1561 and 1603, and a Latin translation by Bartholomew Clerke published in London in 1571, which accumulated six editions.[99]

Aristotle justified music for those 'receiving education with a view to political virtue', not because it was 'necessary' or 'useful' in the way of letters but for 'the cultured pursuits of leisure', arguing that, 'there is an education that sons must be educated in, not because it is something useful or necessary but because it is something free and

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[98] Anon., *Praise of Musicke Wherein Besides the Antiquitie, Dignitie, Delectation, & Vse Thereof in Ciuill Matters, is also Declared the Sober and Lawfull Vse of the Same in the Congregation and Church of God* (Oxford, 1586), pp.5, 41-42, 63, 66-68, 70-71, 85; Smith, *De Republica Anglorum*, pp.2, 8, 13, 104, 118; Conte Baldassarre Castiglione, *The Courtyer of Count Baldessar Castilio Diuided into Foure Bookes*, trans. Thomas Hoby (London, 1561), sigs.I2^{v}, Cc2^{r}, Vv4^{v}; Elyot, *Gouernour*, sigA2^{v} and fols.22^{v}-23^{r}, 39^{r}, 46^{v}, 73^{v}, 122^{r}, 160^{r}, 161^{r}, 167^{v}, 180^{v}, 193^{v}, 213^{r}, 221^{r}, 237^{v}.

[99] Peter Burke, *The Fortunes of the Courtier: The European Reception of Castiglione's Cortegiano* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995), pp.64-66.

noble'.[100] For Aristotle, music was a mark of status, culture and learning necessary for any young man being prepared for public life and a role in the government of the city. Aristotle also argued that music 'is able to endow the character of the soul with a certain quality'.[101]

As for Plato, he recommended music's ability to instil virtuous qualities in the listener:

> Rhythm and mode penetrate more deeply into the inner soul than anything else does; they have the most powerful effect on it... They make a person graceful, if he is rightly brought up, and the opposite if he is not. And secondly because anyone with the right kind of education in this area have the clearest perception of things which are unsatisfactory – things which are badly made or naturally defective... Delighting in it, and receiving it into his soul, he will feed on it and so become noble and good.[102]

The power of music is attributed to its capacity to penetrate the soul and promote gracefulness, appreciation of beauty, nobility and goodness. However, music might also have the opposite effect, so Plato restricted the modes and rhythms to two types in his ideal state: one of bravery and adversity for wartime, and one of prudence and freedom for peacetime.[103] He wanted his Guardian of the State to have a harmonious soul – one which was wise and gentle as well as spirited and courageous.[104] Excessive use of music was to be avoided, for:

> If you give music the chance to play upon your soul, and pour into the funnel of your ears the sweet, soft, lamenting modes... if you spend your whole life humming them, bewitched by song, then the first effect on a nature with any spirit in it is to soften it, like heating iron, making it malleable instead of brittle and unworkable. But if you press on regardless, and are seduced by it, the next stage is melting and turning to liquid – the complete dissolution of the spirit. It cuts the sinews out of your soul, and turns it into a "feeble warrior."[105]

Plato's ambivalence about the benefits or dangers of music was continued in Elizabethan sources, as we shall see throughout this thesis. Music's power to affect the soul could not only instil goodness but be bewitching, softening and effeminising. Aristotle similarly concluded that, although music was a useful training for political virtue, 'learning music must not be an impediment to later activities, nor must it make the body that of a mechanic and useless for training in war and politics – that is, for exertions now and for studies later'.[106] Although both Plato and Aristotle considered

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[100] Aristotle, *The Politics of Aristotle*, trans. Peter Simpson (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), pp.156-57, 165.
[101] ibid., p.163.
[102] Plato, *The Republic*, ed. G.R.F. Ferrari, trans. Tom Griffith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p.92.
[103] ibid., pp.88-89.
[104] ibid., pp.102-03.
[105] ibid., p.103.
[106] Aristotle, *Politics*, p.165.

music necessary for the State and its governors, music was treated largely as a sign of education and a moral training, rather than a skill directly applicable to political life.

Castiglione and Elyot show how Elizabethans adapted the ideas of Plato and Aristotle. Castiglione's characters represented the range of opinions on the necessity of music, ranging from Lord Julian's assertion that 'Musicke is not onelye an ornament, but also necessarie for a Courtyer' to Lord Gaspar's view that music is 'mete for women, & paraduenture for some also that haue the lykenes of men, but not for them that be men in dede'.[107] The first three books presented music primarily as a leisure pastime, aimed at relaxation and the pleasing of women.[108] However, in the fourth book, the character Lord Octavian questioned the value of such entertaining courtly skills in the reality of politics:

> You may see that ignorance in musike… hurteth no man, yet he that is no musitien is ashamed and aferde to singe in the presence of others… but of the vnskilfulnes to gouern people arrise so manie yuelles, deathes, destructions, mischeeffes and confusions, that it may be called the deadliest plagu vpon ye earth.[109]

Yet Lord Octavian did admit that music could be profitable if used judiciously as a means to achieve a virtuous end. Octavian's courtier was a counsellor to his prince, whose role was:

> To purchase him [the prince]... the good will and fauour of the Prince he is in seruice withall, that he may breake his minde to him, and alwaies enfourme hym francklye of the trueth of euerie matter meete for him to vnderstande, without feare or perill to displease him... to disswade him from euerie ill pourpose, and to set him in ye waye of vertue.[110]

Octavian is referring to one of the key political ideas of the period: counsel (the giving of advice to the monarch). Counsel was believed to be essential to good government and monarchs had a moral obligation to seek advice. As Francis Bacon explained in his *Essays or Counsels Civil and Moral* (1597):

> *In Counsell is Stability...* if they be not tossed vpon the Arguments of counsell, they will bee tossed vpon the waues of *Fortune*; and be full of inconstancy, doing, and vndoing, like the reeling of a drunken man.[111]

In their turn, counsellors had a duty to offer the monarch good counsel: Elyot wrote that for a governor, 'the ende of al doctrine & study, is good Counsayle… wherin vertue maye be founden, beinge (as it were) his propre mantion or palayce, where her power

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[107] Castiglione, *Courtyer*, sig.I2^{r}, I3^{r}.
[108] ibid., sig.I2^{r}.
[109] ibid., sig.Nn2^{r-v}.
[110] ibid., sig.Mm4^{v}-Nn1^{r}.
[111] Francis Bacon, *The Works of Francis Bacon*, ed. James Spedding, Robert Ellis and Douglas Heath, 14 vols (London, 1857-1874), Vol.12, p.147.

onely apperethe, concernynge gouernaunce.'[112] The monarch was to receive advice graciously, but was not bound by it. John Guy has explored this idea of counsel, describing its function as that of 'inspirational myth'.[113] In this political ideal, counsellors were serious and learned statesmen upholding values of virtue, order and commonwealth, while monarchs appointed wise men to assist them and disregard flatterers.

The importance of counsel in the minds of courtiers increased during Elizabeth's reign, because women were not considered as politically capable as men. Even John Aylmer, writing in defence of women's rule in 1559, admitted that:

> The male is by all lykelihod meter to rule, then the woman in many respectes. And vndoubtedly in the whole number of men, might be founde some one that shoulde in all respectes, passe the beste among women in wisdome, grauite, learning, vnderstanding, sobrietie, temperauncie, hablenes to take paines, warlyknes, iustice, fortitude.[114]

Alymer pointed out, however, that in England the rule of a queen was not too dangerous because she was not the sole governor; rather it was the laws that govern and these were executed by justices of the peace, judges and other officers. Furthermore he cited Elizabeth's choice of wise counsellors as proof that she was a divinely appointed monarch and fit to govern:

> it is not the lest token of all to perswade vs of hir happy and godly procedings, that she picketh out some such counselors to serue hir... as be neither of common wytte nor common experience... for their giftes and graces whiche they haue receiued at Gods hande, bee men mete to be called to suche roumes.[115]

The idea of counsel already encouraged participation in political affairs by noblemen, but they felt their advice to be even more necessary for a queen, as a letter from Sir Francis Knollys to Elizabeth reveals. Critical of her decisions to be more lenient to Mary Queen of Scots than her Council advised, Knollys told Elizabeth:

> Nowe as your Majestie's Judgement must nedes be ruled by sotche Affections and Passions of your Mynde, as happen to have Domynyon over youe: So yet the Resolutions digested by the diliberate Consultations of your most faythfull Cownsayllors owghte ever to be had in moste Pryce, in these so wayghtie Affayres.[116]

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[112] Elyot, *Gouernour*, fol.237^{v}.
[113] John Guy, 'The Rhetoric of Counsel in Early Modern England', in *Tudor Political Culture*, ed. Dale Hoak (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp.292-310.
[114] Aylmer, *Harborowe*, sig.I1^{r}.
[115] John Aylmer, *An Harborowe for Faithfull and Trewe Subiectes Agaynst the Late Blowne Blaste, Concerninge the Gouernment of Wemen* (London, 1559), sig.O2^{r}.
[116] Samuel Haynes, ed., 'Mr Vice Chamberlayn Knollys, to the Quenes Majesty', in *A Collection of State Papers, Relating to Affairs in the Reigns of King Henry VIII, King Edward VI, Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth, Transcribed from Original letters and Other Authentick Memorials, Left by William Cecill Lord Burghley*, 2 vols (London, 1740), Vol.1, p.498 [1 January 1569].

Returning to Castiglione, Octavian's suggestion that courtly skills including music could be applied to educate the prince in virtue show how courtly arts might be used to influence a monarch to accept good counsel:[117]

> In this wise maye he leade him throughe the roughe way of vertue (as it were) deckynge yt about with boowes to shadowe yt and strawinge it ouer wyth sightlye flouers, to ease the greefe of the peinfull iourney in hym that is but of a weake force. And sometyme with musike… and wyth all those wayes that these Lordes haue spoken of, continuallye keepe that mynde of his occupyed in honest pleasure: imprintynge notwythstandynge therin alwayes beesyde (as I haue said) in companie with these flickeringe prouocations some vertuous condicion, and beeguilinge him with a holsome craft.[118]

Octavian portrayed his prince as morally weak, perhaps a tyrant, one who must be beguiled by pleasurable pursuits and persuaded into virtuous governance by his courtiers. Thus court music was justified as a way of surreptitiously providing the prince with a moral education and encouraging him to govern virtuously.

Sir Thomas Elyot, a courtier of Henry VIII, had more trouble justifying the use of music for a governor, a term which implied a more serious political role than the courtier (who must also be a socialite and entertainer). For Elyot's governor:

> It were better, that no musike were taught to a noble man, than by the exacte knowledge therof, he shuld haue therin inordinate delyte: and by that be illected to wantonnes, abandonynge grauitie and the necessary cure and office in the publike weale to hym committed.[119]

For music to be useful to Elyot's Governor, it had to be shown to contribute to the understanding of politics and so prepare him to offer good counsel to his prince. Elyot therefore justified music as:

> Necessary… for the better attaining the knowlege of a publyke weale, which as I before sayd, is made of an ordre of astates and degrees, and by reason therof conteyneth in it a perfect harmony.[120]

Elyot drew on contemporary beliefs that music promoted social and political harmony, reflecting in microcosm the harmony which governed the motions of the celestial spheres. These beliefs were inherited from Classical authors such as Plato, Aristotle and Cicero, and particularly by Boethius's transmission of Classical ideas in his *De institutione musica* (sixth century), which remained an authority on music throughout the sixteenth century.[121] Boethius identified three different types of musical harmony:

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[117] Castiglione, *Courtyer*, sig.Pp3^{v}.
[118] ibid., sig.Nn3^{r}.
[119] Elyot, *Gouernour*, fol.22^{r}.
[120] ibid., fol.23^{r}.
[121] Calvin Bower, 'Boethius', in *GMO* <www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/0338624> [accessed 24/02/2011].

musica mundana, *musica humana* and *musica instrumentalis*.[122] *Musica mundana* was the heavenly harmony produced by the movements of the planetary spheres. Each sphere was believed to produce a sound which together formed the celestial harmony. The sound was believed to be produced either by the supposedly glassy spheres rubbing against each other (Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*), or by a singing female muse or siren (or in Christian imagery, an angel) which governed each sphere (as in Plato's *Republic* Book 10).[123] *Musica humana* was the harmony of the human soul, and between the soul and the body, while *musica instrumentalis* was the audible music of everyday life produced by instruments and the voice. These three levels of musical harmony were seen not as separate, but as interconnected. Musicians could aspire to alter the passions of the human soul or even to command animals, plants and rocks if they succeeded in imitating the music of the heavens. Such legendary powers of music were transmitted in the myths of Orpheus taming wild beasts, Arion calling dolphins to rescue him from drowning and Amphion building the walls of Thebes through music.[124]

This idea that music could be used to create political order may have influenced the appearance of another intermediate level of musical harmony in Elizabethan thought (in addition to those set out by Boethius): the political harmony of the commonwealth, with the hierarchical ordering of the estates, was conceived as mirroring the ordered positioning of the spheres in their orbits from low to high tones. This harmony is explicitly compared to that of the planets in Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida* (1601-2), in a passage where Ulysses suggests that lack of respect for degree and hierarchy has caused the Greeks' lack of success in the Trojan wars:

> The heavens themselves, the planets, and this centre
> Observe degree, priority, and place
> …
> But when the planets
> In evil mixture to disorder wander,
> What plagues and what portents, what mutiny?
> ….
> Take but degree away, untune that string,
> And hark what discord follows. Each thing meets
> In mere oppugnancy.[125]

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[122] Leo Treitler, ed., 'Extracts from Boethius' *Fundamentals of Music'*, in *Strunk's Source Readings in Music History* (New York: Norton, 1998), pp.140-41.
[123] Plato, *Republic*, p.340; John Hollander, *The Untuning of the Sky: Ideas of Music in English Poetry 1500-1700* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), pp.29-30.
[124] Hollander, *Untuning of the Sky*, pp.14, 162-76.
[125] William Shakespeare, *The Norton Shakespeare*, ed. Stephen Greenblatt et al (New York: W.W. Norton, 1997), p.1847 (*Troilus and Cressida*, I.3, 85-111).

But was this elaborate theory of musical harmony simply a metaphor or was it believed by Elizabethan writers and courtiers? The musical praises of Elizabeth which drew on these theories of cosmic harmony were poetic or dramatic works, and John Hollander believes that 'we must recognize the metaphorical nature of such a notion, almost from the beginning'.[126] However, Elyot's *Boke of the Gouernour* shows the idea appearing in a non-literary source. His justification for musical education would make little sense as practical advice unless there was a widespread belief in these interconnected levels of musical harmony. Music was one of the mathematical disciplines of the medieval curriculum where speculative music was taught as part of the *quadrivium* in universities, along with mathematics, geometry and astronomy. Indeed, the connection between speculative and practical music can be seen in Roger Bray's analysis of academic pieces composed for music degrees in the early sixteenth century (such as Fayfax's 'O Quam Glorifica'), which illustrate Boethius' principles of speculative music through their notation and mensuration.[127] Yet it is probable that other sixteenth-century thinkers were sceptical about the idea of cosmic harmony, given that this concept had been refuted by no less a person than Aristotle in his *De Caelo* (II, ix). Aristotle had argued that the spheres could not produce a sound because:

> When... so many bodies are moving, and the noise disperses in relation to the moving magnitude, then it must reach here many times greater in magnitude than thunder, and the force of its destructive power must be inconceivable. Instead, it is fair to say that we do not hear it [the harmony of the spheres] and that bodies are not observed to suffer any violent effect because of the fact that no noise is produced.[128]

All the same, as Hollander shows, the metaphor of musical order was strong enough to be maintained despite seventeenth-century advances in astronomy undermining it.[129] Indeed chapters 2 and 5 will show how the associations of harmony with morality, divinity, reason, virtue and power made it a potent metaphor when applied to Elizabeth and England.

In emblems and paintings of the period, political harmony or discord was often symbolised with musical instruments. In Hans Holbein's painting *The Ambassadors*, the sitters, Jean de Dinteville and Georges de Selves, were ambassadors to England and were concerned with the threat that the Church of England would split from Rome. The

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[126] Hollander, *Untuning of the Sky*, p.31.
[127] Roger Bray, 'Music and the Quadrivium in Early Tudor England', *Music and Letters* 76 (1995), 1-18 (pp.1-2, 12-13).
[128] Aristotle, *On The Heavens I &II*, trans. Stuart Leggatt (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1995), p.141 (Book II, Chapter IX).
[129] Hollander, *Untuning of the Sky*, p.39.

painting includes a lute with a broken string that has been interpreted as symbolising the religious discord in Europe.[130] Images of lutes and the strings of men's hearts were common in emblem books such as Alciato's *Emblematum Liber* (1534), punning on the Latin words *cor* (heart) and *cordae* (strings). Here an image of a lute symbolized an alliance of princes in Italy:

> Difficile est nisi docto homini tot tendere chordas,
> Unaque si fuerit non bene tenta fides.
> Ruptave (quôd facile est) perit omnis gratia conchae,
> Illeque praecellens cantus ineptus erit.
> (When you are preparing to enter into fresh agreements with your allies it is difficult, except for a man of skill, to tune so many strings and if one string is out of tune or broken, which so easily happens, all the music of the instrument is lost and its lovely song disjointed.)[131]

John Manning has shown the influence of continental emblems in England in both manuscript emblem books and the first English printed emblem book, Geffrey Whitney's *Choice of Emblemes* (1586). This particular emblem by Alciato was known to George Whitney as he used its picture in a manuscript collection of emblems he presented to Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester in 1585 (though with very different verses).[132]

Thus sixteenth-century theories of music and politics suggested four functions of music at court: firstly, music was a form of relaxation and leisure after the labours of political life; secondly, it was a mark of education, social status, and even virtue (if correctly used); thirdly, it was a means of persuasion; and fourthly, musical order was considered comparable to political order. The following chapters show how all these principles informed Elizabethan musical practice. In addition, this thesis argues that some Elizabethans used music not for the greater good, but rather for the selfish pursuit of status and power. Unsurprisingly, the conduct books reveal little about either the function of music in competition for patronage and favour, or the use of music for criticism of and complaints to a monarch. To admit to the first would show selfish desire for promotion and personal gain rather than the pursuit of the common good,

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[130] John North, *The Ambassadors Secret: Holbein and the World of the Renaissance* (London: Phoenix, 2004), pp.159-62, 299-305. North similarly interprets the case of flutes with one missing as a symbol of discord (p.162). See also Mary Rasmussen, 'The Case of the Flutes in Holbein's *The Ambassadors*', *Early Music* 23 (1995), 115–23.

[131] Andrea Alciato, *Emblematum Liber* (Augsburg, 1534), sig.A2^{v}.

[132] John Manning, 'Continental Emblem Books in Sixteenth Century England: The Evidence of Sloane MS. 3794', *Emblematica* 1 (1986), 1-11; 'Geffrey Whitney's Unpublished Emblems: Further evidence of indebtedness to Continental Traditions', in *The English Emblem and the Continental Tradition*, ed. Peter Daly (New York, 1988), pp.100-01; 'An Unedited and Unpublished Sixteenth-Century English Translation of Some Alciato Emblems: British Library Additional MS. 61822', *Emblematica* 7 (1993), 181-82.

while the second might be censored for implying flaws in the governance of the monarch. Yet the principles which these writers suggest do bear a close relation to these methods of using music politically; it is largely the motives and purposes of those using music politically which are modified in practice.

Communication through Music

Music's political functions at court relied on its ability to communicate, either as a vehicle to convey a text persuasively or through evoking its own symbolic meanings and cultural associations to convey concepts such as education, status and political order. However, while detailed political communication relied on the listener's ability to decipher musical and poetic meanings, many listeners on public occasions must have responded largely to the spectacle and magnificence of the music-making.

Music was believed to have the power to influence the mind. This idea had both Biblical and Classical roots, which were summarised most completely in the anonymous treatise, *The Praise of Musicke* (1586). The effect of music on people is explained by the Platonic and Pythagorean notion that the human soul was 'nothing else, but a *Musical motion*, caused of the nature & figure of the whole body', and therefore, 'it must needs be, that *Musical concent* being like that *Harmonical* motion which he calleth the soule, doth most wonderfullie allure, & as it were rauish our senses & cogitations.'[133] *The Praise of Musicke* later described how different types of music produce different effects on the listener, and quoted this passage from Macrobius (*Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis*, c.430) in summary:

> As the eye is delited with the variety of coulours, so is the eare, with the diuersitie of sounds. Modus Dorius is a giuer of wisdome, and a causer of chastitie. Modus Phrygius prouoketh to fight, and maketh couragious. Aeolius quieteth the mind, & giueth sleepe to the pacified senses. Lydius sharpneth dul wits, & to men oppressed with earthly cares, it bringeth a desire of heauenly things: being a wonderfull worker of good motions.[134]

Several examples of these effects are then given: Agamemnon leaving the musician Demodocus to keep his wife Clytemnestra chaste with his skill in the Dorian mode, Pythagoras curing a young man who was overcome with love by changing his tune to take away the extremity of his passion, the biblical story of David playing his harp to drive away the evil spirits from Saul's mind, or this story of Alexander the Great who:

[133] *Praise of Musicke*, p.41.
[134] ibid., p.56.

> Sitting at a banquet... was... by the excelent skil of *Timotheus* a famous musician so inflamed with the fury of *Modus Orthius*, or as som say of *Dorius*, that he called for his spear & target as if he would presently haue addressed himself to war...The same *Timotheus* seeing *Alexander* thus incensed, only with the changing of a note, pacified this moode of his, & as it were with a more mild sound mollified & asswaged his former violence.[135]

Such stories were frequently cited and demonstrated that even monarchs were not immune from the powerful effects of music on the mind.

The Greek modes were not in fact equivalent to the plainchant modes which Renaissance musicians had inherited from medieval church tradition, but as the same names had been applied to both, musicians and theorists assumed that the characteristics attributed to the modes by Greek writers could apply those being used in the Renaissance.[136] Similarly, although both the Greek and the plainchant systems were based on monophonic music, the modes and their moods were also considered applicable to polyphony. However, some Renaissance theorists also applied a practical approach to defining mood using their experiences of polyphonic music. For example, Zarlino's *Le Istitutioni harmoniche* (1558) gives both the Classical martial associations of the Phrygian mode and his own assessment of the mode as suitable for laments.[137] Despite the proliferation of characterisations, the keen interest in conveying such moods in music can be seen in John Bull's two pieces entitled 'Dorick Music' for keyboard. While not in the Dorian mode, their opening pavan-rhythms leading into a contrapuntal texture with relatively frequent use of suspensions reflects the solemn and serious character attributed to the Dorian in *The Praise of Musicke* ('graue and staied', 'chast and temperate') and by theorists such as Glarean, Gaffurio and Zarlino.[138] Such beliefs in the power of music would have allowed Elizabeth and her courtiers to conceive of music as a potent persuasive force. It was no wonder that Arthur Throckmorton hoped that music would 'so modify the easy softened mind of her Majesty as both I and mine may find mercy' (p.11).

Music was seen as able to amplify the effects of poetry. Sir Philip Sidney, well-known for his literary talents, called music 'the most diuine striker of the sences', while

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[135] ibid. pp.57, 59-62.
[136] Claude Palisca, 'Mode Ethos in the Renaissance', in *Essays in Musicology: A Tribute to Alvin Johnson*, ed. Lewis Lockwood and Edward Roesner (Philadelphia: American Musicological Society, 1990), pp.126-39 (p.127, 129).
[137] ibid. pp.131-33.
[138] John Bull, *Keyboard Music I*, ed., John Steele and Francis Cameron, Musica Britannica 14 (London: Stainer and Bell, 1967), pp.154-157, 170-71; Palisca, 'Mode Ethos in the Renaissance', pp.131-32; *Praise of Musicke*, p.55. The scalic passages of the two Dorick Preludes convincingly attributed to Bull make them rather less solemn.

Thomas Campion wrote, 'Happy is hee whose words can moue,/ Yet sweet Notes help perswasion'.[139] John Dowland described his ayres as 'speaking harmony', consisting of: 'harmony naked of it selfe; words the ornament of harmony, number the common friend and uniter of them both'. For him, the best music was 'the liuely voice of man, expressing some worthy sentence of excellent Poeme' accompanied by 'sweetness of instrument'.[140] To try to harness the affective powers of music, Thomas Morley taught that the music should be 'aptlie applied to the words', and that:

> You shall haue a perfect agreement, and as it were a harmonicall concent betwixt the matter and the musicke, and likewise you shall bee perfectly vnderstoode of the auditor what you sing, which is one of the highest degrees of praise which a musicion in dittying can attaine vnto or wish for.[141]

He indicated how a composer might achieve this through word-painting, using harmony to convey the appropriate mood, applying appropriate tempo and rhythms, matching the structure of the music to that of the text, and setting the syllables with the length and accent appropriate to how one might speak the text.[142]

However, music might be designed to conceal a serious purpose with its sweetness. This was suggested by Sir Philip Sidney when he described how music assists the poet:

> Hee commeth to you with words sent in delightfull proportion, either accompanied with, or prepared for, the well inchaunting skill of Musicke; and with a tale forsooth he commeth unto you…. And, pretending no more, doth intende the winning of the mind from wickednesse to virtue.[143]

In this example, the use of pleasurable music masks the didactic purpose of the poet so that while the listener enjoys the song he is covertly being persuaded towards virtuous behaviour. It is reminiscent of Lord Octavian's description of music as a means of disguising a courtier's counsel to his prince by 'deckynge yt about with boowes to shadowe yt and strawinge it ouer wyth sightlye flouers' and 'beeguilinge him with a holsome craft'.[144]

Music also communicated through the cultural ideas with which it was associated and which its performance might evoke. Firstly, as we saw above in Elyot's *Boke of the*

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[139] Sir Philip Sidney, *An Apologie for Poetrie* (London, 1595), sig.G3^{r}; Thomas Campion, *The Description of a Maske: Presented in the Banqueting Roome at Whitehall, on Saint Stephens Night Last at the Mariage of the Right Honourable the Earle of Somerset: and the Right Noble the Lady Frances Howard* (London, 1614), sig.D2^{r}.
[140] John Dowland, *The First Book of Ayres (1597, 1600, 1603, 1606, 1613)* ed. Edmund Fellows, rev. Thurston Dart (London: Stainer and Bell, 1965, rpnt. 1998), pp.iv.
[141] Thomas Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke Set Downe in Forme of a Dialogue* (London, 1597), pp.178-79.
[142] ibid., pp.177-78
[143] Sidney, *Apologie for Poetrie*, sig.E4^{v}.
[144] Castiglione, *Courtyer*, sig.Nn3^{r}.

Governor, music could represent social order and political harmony. This meant that a performance of music might itself become a representation of political order, particularly on occasions such as progresses where significant organisational feats were undertaken to co-ordinate writers, designers, composers, musicians, actors, spectators and the royal processions itself to produce the music-dramatic spectacles. Bernard Garter, co-author of the entertainments for Elizabeth's progress to Norwich in 1578, described the nobility 'holding in tune' the 'harmony' of the occasion (see p.226).[145]

Secondly, music evoked certain topoi that might be used to suggest particular royal or noble qualities. Trumpets and drums indicated the military sphere with its associations of brave knights, honour and glory in battle, and ceremonial processions suggesting power and magnificence. Another common topos was the pastoral world with the musical and literary pastimes of shepherds. This was often presented as a rustic paradise, with values of honest simplicity in opposition to the deceitfulness of court.[146] Thirdly, music was associated with particular personal qualities such as youth, eloquence, learning, and, for women, marriageability. The ability to learn music indicated prosperity because one could afford musical instruments, lessons and books. Finally, the context of a musical performance shaped its meaning. For the nobility music-making was a private rather than public activity, so being present at such a private performance indicated intimacy and favour, even more so if the performer was the Queen herself. While none of these cultural ideas was in itself political, we shall see numerous examples of how they became so in specific courtly contexts.

Unfortunately there are virtually no sources that reveal how court music was received and interpreted by its audience. Greg Walker's discussion of an eye-witness account of a performance *Gorboduc* (1561/2) provides invaluable evidence that Elizabethan spectators interpreted court drama in terms of current political events and his comparison of this account to the later published version also shows the political interpretations were multiple and changeable.[147] No such eye-witness evidence on the reception of musical performances survives. However, Thomas Campion's poem about tournaments (pp.93-94) indicates that, like the drama, speeches and emblems, music could be examined for meaning by an educated audience who would 'close obserue, the

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[145] G[arter], *Ioyfull Receyuing*, sig.A2^{r}.
[146] Helen Cooper, *Pastoral: Mediaeval into Renaissance* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1977), pp.200-01.
[147] Walker, 'Strategies of Courtship: The Marital Politics of Gorboduc', in *Politics of Performance*, pp.196-224.

speeches and the musicks'.[148] Importantly, Campion suggested that common people viewing court spectacles might not understand the detailed political messages but respond mainly to the 'plum'd pomp'- the grandeur and spectacle. It is therefore likely that any performance received multiple interpretations. The audience might include monarch, courtiers, ambassadors, foreign visitors and servants, and on public occasions a full spectrum of people from the educated to the illiterate, the worldly-wise to the local-minded. All these might understand or misunderstand to varying degrees the intentions of the creators. Total control of meaning was impossible to achieve. Yet the ambiguity of meaning created by the artistic and allegorical presentation might also have been a useful protection if any offence was taken. It may have allowed the excuse that it was only entertainment, and therefore not to be taken seriously, or the opportunity to lay the blame for any subversive interpretation with the interpreter rather than the creator.

Despite the proliferation of meanings created by music, it remained a vital way to shape a particular identity, or influence the actions of a person or group through petitions, advice, criticism or manipulating diplomatic relations. Musical performances usually incorporated elements of both intentions; for example, a courtier might employ music to create a particular persona for himself as a means to persuade the Queen of his need for patronage. Simultaneously a tool of authority for the monarch and a tool of persuasion and critique for courtiers, music was a valuable means for both the tactful influencing of policies and patronage, and the construction of political identities.

[148] Thomas Campion, *Obseruations in the Art of English Poesie* (London, 1602), p.30.

2. Music and Queenship

Elizabeth had a reputation for musicality. Sir James Melville, the Scottish ambassador, famously heard Elizabeth playing the virginals (pp.75-76) and Monsieur de Maisse, the French Ambassador, reported that Elizabeth composed dance music.[1] Although David Scott declares there to be no clear evidence that Elizabeth played the lute – citing only a portrait miniature (discussed below, fig.2.1) and John Playford's seventeenth-century account that she played the poliphant (an instrument 'not much unlike the lute, but strung with Wire')[2] – in fact two Imperial ambassadors heard Elizabeth play the lute in 1559 and 1565.[3] In addition a letter by Lord Burghley compared the purpose of his sending of an allegorical letter to the Queen's lute playing, suggesting this was a regular pastime:

> when her Majestie alloweth of me, that I made myself merry, in very truth I did it rather to make her some sport (myself therein not altered, no otherwise then her Majestie's lute is in her own hand, that maketh others merry, and continueth itself as it was).[4]

In addition, the nobleman Frederick Duke of Württemberg visiting in 1592, heard her play on an instrument with 'strings of gold and silver', which could refer to a poliphant, though there were other string instruments with wire strings such as the orpharion, bandora and cittern.[5] John Clapham (a servant of Lord Burghley) and John Stanhope (a prominent courtier) suggest that Elizabeth sang.[6]

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[1] André Hurault de Maisse, *A Journal of All that was Accomplished by Monsieur De Maisse, Ambassador in England from King Henri IV to Queen Elizabeth Anno Domini 1597*, ed. Robert Jones and George Harrison (London: Nonesuch Press, 1931), p.95. Elizabeth also is described as playing the spinet by another French ambassador in 1572 (see p.69)

[2] John Playford, *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick in Two Books* (London: 1674), sig.A7^{v}; David Scott, 'Elizabeth I, Queen of England', in *GMO* <www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/08717> [accessed 03/04/2009].

[3] Victor Klarwill, ed., *Queen Elizabeth and Some Foreigners: Being a Series of Hitherto Unpublished Letters from the Archives of the Hapsburg Family* (London: John Lane, 1928), pp.228, 96. (See below pp.61-62, 68)

[4] Thomas Wright, ed., *Queen Elizabeth and Her Times: A Series of Original Letters Selected From the Inedited Correspondence of Lord Treasurer Burghley...*, 2 vols (London, 1838), Vol.2, p.428.

[5] William Brenchley Rye, ed., *England as Seen by Foreigners in the Days of Elizabeth and James the First* (London, 1865), p.12. Frederick Duke of Württemberg's travels were recorded by his private secretary: Jacob Rathgeb, *Warhaffte Beschreibung zweyer Raisen, welcher Erste... der Dorchleuchtig fürst unnd herz, Friderich Hertzog zu Württemberg* (Tübingen 1603), fol.15^{v}; ' ihrem Instrument, welches Saiten dan von Gold vnd Silber seind'.

[6] For example: John Clapham, *Elizabeth of England: Certain Observations Concerning the Life and Reign of Queen Elizabeth by John Clapham* [1603], ed. Evelyn Plummer Read and Conyers Read (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1951), p.89; John Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth: Among Which are Interspersed Other Solemnities, Public Expenditures, and Remarkable Events, During the Reign of that Illustrious Princess*, 3 vols (London, 1823), Vol.3, p.32 [22 December 1589].

Elizabeth's musicality – frequently praised by Englishmen, ambassadors and foreign visitors alike – was a significant aspect of her image and persisted even after her death. An anecdote published in Paris in 1715 records that:

> Queen Elizabeth of England, on her death-bed, remembered the power of music and ordered her musicians to her chamber so that, in her words, she might die as gaily as she had lived. To dispel the horror of death she listened to the music [symphonie] with great tranquillity until her last breath.[7]

The story is almost certainly untrue as most sources agree that Elizabeth could not speak for several days before her death.[8] However, the persistence of such a story so long after her death demonstrates the continuing musical reputation of Elizabeth, even abroad.

Elizabeth's musicality was not in itself exceptional. Princesses and noblewomen of the sixteenth century were commonly educated in music to become the eloquent, attractive centrepieces of Renaissance courts.[9] However, as a ruling Queen, Elizabeth had greater control of her own musical performances and could use their connotations of marriageability, youth and female attractiveness to manipulate political situations, manage diplomatic relationships and shape her royal image. Yet music is not a facet of Elizabeth's image that has received scholarly attention.

Elizabeth had a continuing need to defend her monarchical abilities against misogynist critics. In the very year of her accession 1558, John Knox had published his polemical *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women.* In this he claimed that 'Nature... doth paynt [women] furthe to be weake, fraile, impacient, feble and foolishe: and experience hath declared them to be vnconstant, variable, cruell and lacking the spirit of counsel and regiment.'[10] In Elizabeth's defence, John Aylmer wrote *An Harborowe for Faithfull and Trewe Subiectes Against the Late Blowne Blaste Concerninge the Gouernment of Women* (1559), yet he still displayed an ambivalent attitude to women. Rather than denying Knox's representation, he merely distinguished

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[7] Quoted in Peter Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court, 1540-1690,* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p.22.
[8] ibid.
[9] For example: Janet Pollack, 'Princess Elizabeth Stuart as Musician and Muse', in *Musical Voices of Early Modern Women: Many-Headed Melodies*, ed. Thomasin LaMay (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), pp.399-424; Linda Austern, 'Women's Musical Voices in Sixteenth-Century England', *Early Modern Women: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 3 (2008), 127-52 (pp.135-38, 141-46).
[10] John Knox, *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstruous Regiment of Women* (Geneva, 1558), p.10.

between those who are female in sex and those who are womanish in behaviour. Those he condemned are:

> not women in sexe, but in feblenes of wit, and not suche as some women be wiser, better learned, discreater, constanter, then a number of men, but such as women be of the wurst sort, fond, foolish, wanton. Flibbergibbes, tattlers, triflers, wauering, witles, without counsel, feable, careless, rashe, proude, deintie, nise, talebearers, euesdroppers, rumor raisers, euell tongued, worse minded, and in euerye wise doltefied with the dregges of the Deuils dounge hill, as these minions be; such shall senatoures and rulers be that shallbe neither hable to rule them selfes nor you. No Deborahes, no Iudiths, no Hesters, no Elyzabeths.[11]

More than forty years later, anxieties still remained about Elizabeth's gender, with Robert Cecil remarking in a letter to Sir John Harington on 26th May 1603 (after Elizabeth's death) that she was 'more than a man, and (in troth) sometyme less than a woman'.[12]

Like Robert Cecil, modern scholars have recognised that Elizabeth exceeded traditional gender expectations. Louis Montrose and Carole Levin characterise representations of Elizabeth (by the Queen herself or her courtiers) as both exploiting conventions of femininity and escaping them by insisting on her exceptional nature. Louis Montrose has argued that representations of Elizabeth both politicised traditional images of womanhood and eroticised the political sphere through the rhetoric of courtly love which characterised her relationships with courtiers. Her authority was justified by her exceptional role as a female monarch and by emphasising the difference between herself and other women.[13] Similarly, Carole Levin presents Elizabeth as able to 'capitalise on the expectations of her behaviour as a woman and use them to her advantage', placing herself 'beyond gender expectations by calling herself king'.[14] However, Philippa Berry has emphasised the tensions between courtiers and monarch created by Elizabeth's gender, with male courtiers uneasy at their subjection to a woman and Elizabeth frustrating their masculine military aspirations by her reluctance to allow military expeditions when her gender prohibited her from participating directly.[15] Berry polarises masculine and feminine authority within the court and presents Elizabeth's

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[11] John Aylmer, *An Harborowe for Faithfull and Trewe Subiectes Agaynst the Late Blowne Blaste, Concerninge the Gouernment of Wemen* (London, 1559), sig.G3^{v}.
[12] Sir John Harington, *Nugæ Antiquæ: Being a Miscellaneous Collection of Original Papers, in Prose and Verse*, ed. Henry Harington and Thomas Park, 2 vols (London: Vernor and Hood, 1804), Vol.1, p.345.
[13] Louis Montrose, ' "Shaping Fantasies": Figurations of Gender and Power in Elizabethan Culture', *Representations* 2 (1983), 61-94.
[14] Carole Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King: Elizabeth I and the Politics of Sex and Power* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), p.1.
[15] Philippa Berry, *Of Chastity and Power: Elizabethan Literature and the Unmarried Queen* (London: Routledge, 1989), pp.76-77.

courtiers as constantly struggling to come to terms with her gender, authority and style of government.

Music is significant to our understanding of the impact of gender on Elizabeth's government because it was capable of evoking both feminine and masculine qualities. On the one hand, music was considered sensual, feminine and frivolous. It was associated with the attractiveness and marriageability of young women and charged with making young men effeminate. Conversely, music could evoke masculine attributes of rationality and order, through its traditional basis as a mathematical art and the belief that musical harmony governed the heavens, the political world and the human soul. Music could therefore act as a symbolic means to reconcile Elizabeth's female gender with her masculine position of political authority. Music was one of the means through which Elizabeth could eroticise the political sphere, while traditional ideals of women's music-making (such as its association with marriage) frequently became politicised during diplomatic negotiations. Rather than escaping gender expectations, music allowed Elizabeth to fuse them, simultaneously exploiting music's traditional femininity to shape her relationships with courtiers and ambassadors, yet also appropriating its connotations of power and harmony as an image of authority.

This chapter examines music's ambiguous gender connotations, considering the expectations that royal and noble women were accomplished musicians, as well as the potential problems of musicality for the reputation of both women and monarchs (of either gender). It shows how Elizabeth's own music-making often exploited the intimacy and eroticism of female musical performance to charm and control diplomatic relations with ambassadors and foreign noblemen. Yet at the same time the musical imagery surrounding Elizabeth evolved connotations of rationality and order that subverted gender stereotypes and became a means of legitimising or critiquing Elizabeth's authority.

Sensuality and Rationality: Queenship and the Gendered Meanings of Music

A multiplicity of gendered meanings surrounded Elizabeth's music-making and the representation of her musicality by courtiers, poets, musicians or authors of entertainments. This can be illustrated through considering the possible interpretations of a portrait miniature of Elizabeth playing the lute (fig.2.1).

Figure 2.1: Nicholas Hilliard, 'Elizabeth I Playing the Lute' (c.1580).[16]

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The portrait is something of an enigma: it is unusual as a miniature for including more than the head and shoulders of the sitter and because Elizabeth is not only sitting, but playing the lute; it is also the only portrait of the Queen that shows her with a musical instrument. It was rare for upper-class women to be shown in portraits playing lutes. Although early seventeenth-century portraits of Lady Mary Wroth, Lady Isabella Rich and Lady Anne Clifford show them with a lute (or archlute in the case of Lady Wroth), rather than playing they hold it in a way which suggests that the instrument is a

[16] Nicholas Hilliard, 'Elizabeth I Playing the Lute' (c.1580), Berkeley Castle.

symbolic object. Julia Craig-McFeely argues that in these cases the lute represented sensibility, expressive power and marriageability.[17] However, she also shows that in continental paintings, women who played lutes were conventionally courtesans and Carla Zecher agrees that the iconography of a lute-playing woman invited erotic interpretations.[18] The lute was the badge of the courtesan in Venice and these connotations were likely to have been known in England, given the European travels undertaken by young noblemen, the services undertaken by her noblemen abroad as her ambassadors and the cosmopolitan nature of the Elizabethan court. In French poetry the lute was likened to both the male and female sexual organs.[19] These were hardly appropriate connotations for an image of the Virgin Queen.

Instead, Elizabeth's portrait seems to make a conscious effort to avoid such negative associations. She is not pictured in the open-breasted dresses which were the fashion for young, unmarried women, although other paintings and descriptions by ambassadors and travellers suggest she wore these throughout her life, even in old age.[20] The high-necked dress – splendid and regal with its silver trim, but also dark, a colour associated with chastity and modesty – and the throne on which she sits are both designed to lessen such connotations. We might, therefore, presume that the lute functions like that in Holbein's *The Ambassadors* (pp.39-40) as a representation of political harmony or discord if broken.[21] Yet Holbein's lute was a symbolic object, displayed on a shelf, not a functioning musical instrument in the hands of a renowned player as it is in this miniature.

Another interpretation is suggested by considering the portrait in terms of its function as a gift. The provenance of the miniature implies it belonged to Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon, and it is likely that it was a gift from the Queen.[22] Hunsdon was a cousin of

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[17] Julia Craig-McFeely, 'The Signifying Serpent: Seduction by Cultural Stereotype in Seventeenth-Century England', in *Music, Sensation, and Sensuality*, ed. Linda Austern (New York: Routledge, 2002), pp.299-317 (pp.312-15).
[18] Craig-McFeely, 'Signifying Serpent', pp.300-01, 312; Carla Zecher, 'The Gendering of the Lute in Sixteenth-Century French Love Poetry', *Renaissance Quarterly* 53 (2000), 769-91 (pp.772-74).
[19] Zecher, 'Gendering of the Lute', pp.769-91.
[20] In 1598 Paul Hentzner recorded how she had her 'breast uncovered, because it is a sign of virginity among English nobles; for married women are covered': Paul Hentzner, *Itinerarium Germaniae; Galliae; Angliae; Italiae* (Nuremberg, 1612), pp.135-36: 'pectore erat nuda, quod virginitatis apud Anglos Nobiles signum est; nam maritatae sunt tectae'. Hentzner was a German lawyer and tutor to a young Silesian nobleman with whom he toured Europe, visiting England in 1598.
[21] John North, *The Ambassadors Secret: Holbein and the World of the Renaissance* (London: Phoenix, 2004), pp.159-62, 299-305.
[22] Roy Strong, *The English Renaissance Miniature* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1983), p.95.

the Queen and became her Lord Chamberlain in July 1585.[23] His sister and two of his daughters were ladies of Elizabeth's Privy Chamber. The Carey family was therefore close to the Queen and may have heard her play the lute in her private apartments (she would not have played in public as this was considered inappropriate for high-class women). It was also Lord Hunsdon who took the Scottish ambassador to hear Elizabeth playing the virginals in 1564, suggesting Hunsdon often heard her playing music.[24] The miniature may therefore have been intended to express the Carey family's privileged and intimate relationship with the Queen.

This analysis of the portrait illustrates both the political use of music as a symbol of harmony or a sign of intimacy and favour, as well as the potentially problematic aspects of Elizabeth's music-making. Attitudes to female musicians were especially ambivalent in sixteenth-century England. Elena Calogero has shown how depictions of women as Siren-like could encompass the traditions of both the angelic Siren and the deceitful Homeric Siren, while Linda Austern has similarly explored how women and music were believed capable of inspiring both lust and divine contemplation.[25] Yet it is also apparent that there were social pressures for noble and royal women to learn music and that these women gave private musical performances for male listeners without violating social conventions (as shown on pp.63-72). I analyse the social expectations surrounding Elizabeth's musical education and examine music's relationship with both sensuality and rationality in the light of its potential to either enhance Elizabeth's royal image or to become a cause for criticism.

Courtly women and princesses were expected to be educated in music so that they could participate in the social life of the court and attract suitable husbands. Discussing the education of young ladies in a treatise dedicated to Elizabeth, Richard Mulcaster (Headmaster of the Merchant Taylors School) wrote that:

> Such personages as be borne to be princes, or matches to great peeres or to furnish out such traines, for some peculiar ornamentes to their place and calling, are to receive this kinde of education in the highest degree, that is conuenient for their

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[23] Wallace MacCaffrey, 'Carey, Henry, First Baron Hunsdon (1526–1596)', in *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, 2009) <www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4649> [accessed 31/03/2009].

[24] Sir James Melville, *The Memoires of Sir James Melvil of Hal-Hill*, ed. George Scott (London, 1683), p.50. See below pp.69-72.

[25] Elena Calogero, ' "Sweet aluring harmony": Heavenly and Earthly Sirens in Sixteenth-Century Literary and Visual Culture', in *Music of the Sirens*, ed. Linda Austern and Inna Naroditskaya (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006), pp.140-75; Linda Austern, ' "Sing Againe Syren": The Female Musician and Sexual Enchantment in Elizabethan Life and Literature', *Renaissance Quarterly* 42 (1989), 420-48.

> kind. But princely *maidens* aboue all; bycause occasion of their height standes in neede of such giftes, both to honour themselues, and to discharge the duetie, which the countries committed to their hands, do daily call for, and besides what match is more honorable, than when desert for rare qualities, doth joine it selfe, with highnesse in degree?[26]

In other words, a lady's wisdom and education should concord with her status and she should be equipped with all the skills required to entertain foreign ambassadors and dignitaries and present a sophisticated image of court and country. Mulcaster suggested that this education should consist of '*Reading* well, *writing* faire, *singing* sweete, *playing* fine'.

There were several levels of musical education available to a sixteenth-century princess. Simplest of all was to play and sing by ear. A basic level of musical literacy was required to play solo instruments such as the lute or virginals, whose music was notated in tablature; it is likely that Elizabeth possessed this level of skill. The reading of mensural notation was a more advanced skill and the ability to perform in ensembles even more so. As shown on page 64, Henry VIII played the recorder and cornett, which were instruments used for ensemble playing, and could also sing at sight from notated music, but there is no evidence that any of his children had these exceptional abilities.

Yet a princess's musical education was intended not just to enable her to perform, but also to give her the knowledge to judge the performances of others and prepare her to be a patron of musicians. Dietrich Helms has argued that 'Henry VIII's Book' (GB-Lbl: Add MS 31933) – a selection of well-known continental songs, pieces from court festivals and compositions by Henry VIII (1491-1547) – was compiled to instruct the royal children in forms of secular music.[27] By getting acquainted with such models they would gain what Castiglione termed the 'knowleage to praise and make of Gentilmen more and lesse accordinge to their desertes' in the context of a musical performance.[28] The importance of musical taste to a monarch is also illustrated in John Lyly's play *Midas*, (performed at court by the choirboys of St Paul's and published in 1592) in which the king is given ass's ears for his inability to recognise the superiority of Apollo's lute song over Pan's piping. Whereas the nymphs recognise Pan's piping as

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[26] Richard Mulcaster, *Positions Wherin those Primitiue Circumstances be Examined, Which are Necessarie for the Training Vp of Children, Either for Skill in their Booke, or Health in Their Bodie* (London, 1581), pp.180-81.
[27] Dietrich Helms, 'Henry VIII's Book: Teaching Music to Royal Children', *Musical Quarterly* 92 (2009), 118-35.
[28] Conte Baldassarre Castiglione, *The Courtyer of Count Baldessar Castilio Diuided into Foure Bookes*, trans. Thomas Hoby (London, 1561), sig.Cc1^{v}.

‘neither keeping measure, nor time; his piping as farre out of tune, as his bodie out of forme’, Midas foolishly declares that ‘theres more sweetnesse in the pipe of *Pan*, than *Apolloes* lute; I brooke not that nice tickling of strings, that contents mee that makes one start. What a shrilnes came into mine eares out of that pipe, and what a goodly noise it made’.[29] Midas thus exposes his musical ignorance, for wind instruments were regularly castigated as uncouth. *The Praise of Musike* describes how Minerva threw away her pipe after seeing how it disfigured her face and how Alciabiades argued that ‘the harpe is to be preferred before the whistling pipe or pshalms, because it leaues roume for the voice’.[30] Castiglione’s character, Sir Friderick forbids a courtier to play on ‘the instrumentes that *Minerua and Alcibiades* refused’ (‘shalmes’ are mentioned in a marginal note) which he describes as ‘noisome’ (meaning annoying, unpleasant or offensive rather than noisy).[31] Midas gets his ass’s ears for failing to show the musical taste and cultural judgement fitting for a king.

Although musical skill could be a sign of learning and taste, in unmarried girls it was also a sign of marriageability. Mulcaster noted a young gentlewoman’s talents should be commensurate with her social status, so that ‘the young maidens being well trained are verie soone commended to right honorable matches, whom they may well beseeme, and aunswere much better, their qualities in state hauing good correspondence, with their matches of state... for the procuring of their common good’.[32] Although Mulcaster justified the advantages of music for young women using the gender-neutral notion of ‘common good’, it was not only music’s status as a social accomplishment which made it useful in attracting a husband, but also its sensual connotations. As Richard Burton noted in his 1621 analysis of love melancholy, music was ‘the way their parents thinke to get them husbands’ because ‘tis a great allurement as it is often vsed, and many are vndone by it’. Music was a tool of courtship through which a young woman might make herself desirable to a young gentleman, because ‘to heare a faire young gentlewoman to play vpon the Virginalls, Lute, Viall, and sing to it, must needs be a great entisement’.[33]

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[29] John Lyly, *Midas Plaied Before the Queenes Maiestie Vpon Twelfe Day at Night, By the Children of Paules* (London 1592), sig.E1^{v}.
[30] Anon., *The Praise of Musicke Wherein Besides the Antiquitie, Dignitie, Delectation, & Vse Thereof in Ciuill Matters, is also Declared the Sober and Lawfull Vse of the Same in the Congregation and Church of God* (Oxford, 1586), pp.13, 17.
[31] *Oxford English Dictionary*, ‘Noisome’, in *OED Online* <http://www.oed.com:80/Entry/127667> [accessed 14/02/2011]; Castiglione, *Courtyer*, sig.M4^{v}.
[32] Mulcaster, *Positions*, p.180.
[33] Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy What it is with all the Kindes, Causes, Symptomes, Prognostickes, and Seuerall Cures of it in Three Maine Partitions with their Seuerall Sections, Members, and Subsections* (London, 1621), pp.580, 586.

A late sixteenth-century epigram by the courtier Sir John Harington captures this relationship of music to beauty and female attractiveness:

> *In praise of my Lady R:*
> *and her musick.*
>
> Vpon an instrument of pleasant sounde
> a lady playd more pleasing to the sight
> I being askt in which of theis I found
> greatest content, my sences to delight
> Ravisht in both at once as much as may be
> said sweet was Musick, sweeter was the Lady.[34]

The poem contains a typical poetical image, where a man is captivated by an attractive woman's eloquent and beautiful music. Music represented an intimate bond between the female performer and the male listener. Roles might be reversed with a woman being serenaded by a man, with the lady inspiring his musical creativity like one of the Muses. In Castiglione's *The Courtyer*, Lord Cesar asks, 'Who learneth to daunce featlye for other, but to please women? Who applyeth the sweetenesse of musicke for other cause, but for this?'[35] Count Lewis explains that a woman's 'tender and soft breastes are soone perced with melody and fylled with swetenesse'.[36]

However, the sensual aspect of music was widely criticised, especially in relation to women. Juan Luis Vives's *The Instruction of a Christian Woman* (1524, translated into English in 1529 with numerous subsequent editions until 1592) was written at the request of Catherine of Aragon for the education of her daughter Mary (the future Mary I) and also used for Elizabeth.[37] Vives considered women particularly susceptible to sensuous pleasures such as music:

> Loue is breade by reason of company and communication with men: for among pleasures, feastes, laughing, daunsing, and volupties, is the kingdome of *Venus* and *Cupide*. And with these things folkes mindes be entised and snared, and specially the womens, on whome pleasure hath sorest dominion.[38]

While agreeing with Castiglione's Count Lewis about the effect of music on women, for Vives this would inevitably lead to wanton and unchaste behaviour. Elsewhere Vives argued:

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[34] Sir John Harington, *The Epigrams of Sir John Harington*, ed. Gerald Kilroy (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009) p.215.
[35] Castiglione, *Courtyer*, sig.Ii1^{v}.
[36] ibid., sig.I2^{r}.
[37] Charles Fantazzi, 'Vives, Juan Luis (1492/3–1540)', in *ODNB*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, 2008) <www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28337> [accessed 17/02/2009].
[38] Juan Vives, *A Verie Fruitfull and Pleasant Booke, Called the Instruction of a Christian Woman*, 7th edn (London, 1585), p.137.

> I cannot see her idle as were the Women of *Perseland*, drowned in voluptuousnesse and pleasures, sitting among the company of gelded men, singing and banketting continually.[39]

The oriental connotations of 'Perseland' define music as a threatening 'other' whose indulgent sensuality overturns norms of gender and emasculates young men. Women might be most susceptible to the effects of music, but men were not immune either. The parallels with the condemnation of music at feasts in Thomas Salter's *A Mirrhor Mete of all Mothers, Matrones, and Maidens* (1579) are striking:

> It [music] is conuerted to a poison, for it is onely at bankettes and feastes, to whiche as if the delicious and sweete meates, did not sufficiently effeminate the myndes of men and women: the excellentest Musitians are called, where to the sweete accordes of sondrie Instrumentes, often tymes artificiall lasciuious songes are adioyned therby, no other wise, then as dried wood beyng laied on the fire with little blowyng, will kindle and burne, to kindle in their hartes the flames of leude affections, that are not yet strongly staied vp by vertue, and by suche newe deuises to burne theim.[40]

Salter draws on the same themes of lust and effeminacy, while swapping Vives's metaphor of the trap with those of poison and burning. Yet such banquets and feasts were just the kind of activities which took place at court, and Elizabeth's was no exception.

Delighting in music and dancing might also be seen as a sign of foolishness and lack of education. Vives implied that music was for silly young maids rather than serious, educated women:

> And the minde, set uppon learning and wisdome… shall leaue all such light and trifling pleasures, wherein the light fantasies of maydes haue delight, as songes, daunces, and such other wanton and peeuish playes. A woman sayeth *Plutarch*, giuen unto learning, will neuer delight in dansing.[41]

There was therefore a potential for conflict between Elizabeth's reputation as music-lover and dancer and the wisdom and gravity appropriate to a monarch. For monarchs the sensuality of music was a threat to serious governance, as illustrated by Salter's retelling of this common story of Alexander:

> *Philip* of *Macedon* did very wisely reproue his sonne *Alexander*, in saiyng that he had profited too muche in Musicke, and was therein become to excellent, and that to other it might seme meete to bee a Musicion, and not to a Prince.[42]

A musical reputation might reinforce stereotypes of weak, foolish womankind and prevent her establishing an image as a wise and capable monarch. Perhaps for this reason, John Clapham describes Elizabeth as, 'in matters of recreation, as singing,

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[39] ibid., p.10.
[40] Thomas Salter, *A Mirrhor Mete for all Mothers, Matrones, and Maidens, Intituled the Mirrhor of Modestie* (London, 1579), sig.C6^{v}-C7^{r}.
[41] Vives, *Instruction of a Christian Woman*, p.27.
[42] Salter, *Mirrhor Mete for all Mothers*, sig.C8^{r}.

dancing and playing upon instruments, she was not ignorant nor excellent: a measure which in things indifferent best besemeth a prince.'[43]

A particular fear was that women's music could undermine male rationality and authority. In Harington's epigram above, the delight in a lady's music is non-threatening, reinforcing rather than destabilising the gender hierarchy. Although 'ravisht', the male listener maintains his wits and position of power, acting as judge and observer of the sweetness of the music and the lady. By contrast, in his didactic love story, *Mamillia A Mirrour or Looking-Glasse for the Ladies of England*, Robert Greene describes how a woman can 'enchaun[t] him with her voyce' so he is 'drawne by the qualities of her mind, and the sweetnesse of her voyce, as with a Syren's songue'.[44] The Sirens were frequently used as a warning of the dangerous power of women's music,[45] as in this version by Thomas Salter:

> *Ulisses* a Prince famous emong the Grekes, and saied to be nourished with heauenly foode, in the verie bosome of *Sapiencs Iupiters* doughter, could hardly escape, and shall wee then without feare, giue so muche trust to a young Maiden, daintely and tenderly trained vp, that she not onely by hearyng, but by learnyng so wanton an Arte, will not become wanton and effeminate.[46]

Not only is the hearing and learning of music detrimental to the young woman, but her music, like that of the Siren will be hazardous for the young men who hear her. The reference to Ulysses as fed by 'Sapiencs Iupiters doughter' (who was Athena, goddess of Wisdom) implies that it is male intelligence and rationality which is threatened.

Yet the same myth of the Sirens was also retold as a positive example of female musical talent in *A Womans Woorth, Defended Against all the Men in the World* (a 1599 English translation of Alexandre de Pontaymeri's *Paradoxe Apologétique, où il est fidellement démonstré que la femme est beaucoup plus parfaite que l'homme en toute action de vertu*, 1594):

> The Syrens… had songs so wonderfull sweete and mellodious: as they could outeare the windes, and rob all mouthes of their naturall offices. The Greekes returning from the warres of Troye, rested themselues a long while in those Isles… little caring for returne home to their owne country, by being rapt, or rather charmed by such an hermonious delight.[47]

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[43] Clapham, *Elizabeth of England*, p.89.
[44] Robert Greene, *Mamillia A Mirrour or Looking-Glasse for the Ladies of Englande* (London, 1583), p.26.
[45] Calogero, 'Sweet aluring harmony'.
[46] Salter, *Mirrhor Mete for all Mothers*, sig.C7^{r}.
[47] Alexandre de Pontaymeri, *A Womans Woorth, Defended Against all the Men in the World Proouing them to be More Perfect, Excellent, and Absolute in all Vertuous Actions, Then any Man of What Qualitie Soeuer* (London, 1599), fol.24^{r}, 26^{v}.

Here traditional gender hierarchy was inverted by acknowledging music as a skill in which women naturally excelled: 'the glory which women have gotten thereby [is] ouer-far beyond men'. The women's great skill in music gave them the power to control not only men, but also mythological heroes, and even the winds. Pontaymeri's transformation of this story demonstrates the flexibility of music's gendered connotations and the way in which mythological stories about music could be manipulated to suggest different images of musical women. With care, such images of female power might be usefully appropriated by a ruling Queen.

On the other side of this debate, music was associated not with sensuality, foolishness or idleness but with a power that was rational and logical, inspired by music's tradition as a mathematical art and by beliefs in a universal harmony. In the Introduction we saw how Elizabethans believed in a chain of musical harmony extending from the heavens, through the social hierarchy, to the human soul and to earthly music (pp.37-38). This rationality could be applied to women, particularly in their role as a patron. John Dowland praised Lady Lucy, Countess of Bedford (1581-1627) in these terms in the dedication to his *Second Booke of Songs or Ayres* (1600):

> I send vnto your La[die] … as to the worthiest Patronesse, of Musicke: which is the Noblest of all Sciences: for the whole frame of Nature, is nothing but Harmonie, as wel in soules, as bodies… your La: shall be vnthankfull to Nature hir selfe, if you doe not loue, & defend that Art, by which, she hath giuen you so well tuned a minde.
> Your Ladiship hath in your selfe, an excellent agreement of many vertues, of which: though I admire all, Yet I am bound by my profession, to giue especiall honor, to your knowledge of Musicke: which in the iudgement of ancient times, was so proper an excelencie to Woemen, that the Muses tooke their name from it, and yet so rare, that the world durst imagin but nine of them.[48]

Lucy was an important noblewoman, active within court life, known for her intelligence, musically-talented, and patron, not only of Dowland, but of poets, dramatists and translators, including Michael Drayton, John Florio, Samuel Daniel, John Donne and Ben Jonson.[49] As in Pontaymeri's story of the Sirens, Dowland uses the Muses to imply that musical excellence is a special talent of women. However, his image of her 'well tuned... minde' evokes *musica humana* with its connotations of intelligence, rationality and virtue. The following dedicatory poem (an acrostic) adds connotations of piety:

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[48] John Dowland, *The Second Booke of Songs or Ayres, of 2. 4. and 5. Parts with Tableture for the Lute or Orpherian, with the Violl de Gamba* (London, 1600), sig.A2^{r}.
[49] Helen Payne, 'Russell, Lucy, countess of Bedford (*bap.* 1581, *d.* 1627)', in *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, 2008) <www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24330> accessed 20/02/2009].

> **B**y this thy tunes may haue accesse,
> **E**uen to hir spirit whose flowring treasure,
> **D**oth sweetest Harmonie expresse,
> **F**illing all eares and hearts with pleasure
> **O**n earth, obseruing heauenly measure.[50]

Lucy's *musica humana* is now explicitly that of the soul as well as the mind. This poem uses the interconnected levels of musical harmony to associate Lucy's harmonious qualities with the heavens. *The Praise of Musicke* argued that music 'hath a certaine diuine influence into the soules of men, whereby our cogitations and thoughts... are brought into a celestiall acknowledging of their natures'.[51] Lucy's harmonious soul was therefore also a sign of her piety.

While such imagery might prove a useful defence against music's sensual connotations, it was the affinity between music and political authority that would be most useful for a queen. Government was the ability to maintain the harmony of the different social orders to create a concordant kingdom. As the Duke of Exeter said in Shakespeare's *Henry V* (published 1602):

> For gouernment though high or lowe, being put into parts,
> Congrueth with a mutuall consent like musicke.[52]

For this reason Thomas Elyot recommended a musical education for his 'Gouernour' (p.37) and, as we shall see later in this chapter, Elizabeth's musicality could symbolise her ability to govern her kingdom.

As Elizabeth's posthumous reputation has become so positive, it is easy to assume that all aspects of Elizabeth's royal image were assured of such an interpretation by her contemporaries. While music could clearly be politically useful in creating images of power or signalling Elizabeth's eloquence, intelligence and rationality, there were many negative associations to be carefully avoided. Elizabeth's performances to male ambassadors or guests and the festivities of her court provided potential opportunities not only for her womanly virtue to be criticised, but also her seriousness as a ruler. The central problem of music was its connotations of sensuality and the body.

Nanette Salomon has found similar incongruities surrounding Elizabeth's visual image. She argues that while Elizabeth's portraiture intended to display her glory and power, her elaborate clothing, jewellery and hairstyles nevertheless played into the hands of the

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[50] Dowland, *Second Booke of Songs*, sig.A3^{v}.
[51] Anon., *Praise of Musicke*, p.40.
[52] William Shakespeare, *The Cronicle History of Henry the Fift with his Battell Fought at Agin Court in France* (London, 1602), sig.A3^{v}.

discourse of Vanity, a vice particularly associated with women. Furthermore, her portraits influenced images of 'Lady World,' a representation in female form of the deceit and manipulation of the world of political relations, who was pictured with an orb or in contact with a map. The Ditchley portrait of Elizabeth standing on a map is one example.[53] Nor did this go unremarked at the time: John Foxe's praise of the young Elizabeth for taking 'so little delight in glisteringe gases of the worlde, in gaye apparell, riche attire, and preciouse iewelles' was a backhanded criticism of the style of opulent display Elizabeth had adopted by the time Foxe was writing in 1563.[54]

It was treasonous to criticise the monarch, hence no direct condemnation of Elizabeth's musicality by her contemporaries survives. However, the potential for criticism and dire consequences are hinted at in the low reputations of other musical queens. Elizabeth's own mother, Anne Boleyn, was accused of having an affair with the musician Mark Smeaton. He pleaded guilty to 'violation and carnal knowledge of the Queen' and was executed in 1536 along with courtiers Sir Henry Norris, Sir William Bryerton, and Sir Francis Weston, as well as Anne herself.[55] In the investigations surrounding the infidelity of another of Henry VIII's wives, Katherine Howard, an account of misconduct from three or four years previously with a player of the virginals called Henry Monoxe, was collected as evidence, including details of the exchanging of love tokens, unchaperoned meetings, and Monoxe's claim that Katherine had promised him her maidenhead.[56] In Scotland, the court criticised the close relationship of Mary Queen of Scots (ruled 1542-1567) with David Rizzio, who was first employed as a singer but later became her Secretary for French Affairs. In his historical memoirs (which survive in a mid-seventeenth-century abridgement of an original manuscript) Lord Herries wrote of the rumours which were spread around the court: 'Tales were sometimes minced out, as though David Rizius was many tymes too intimatt with the Queen, more than was fitting' and, 'it was openlie said that she tooke more pleasure in his companie than in the King's, her husband's; that she made him sitt at her table with her, and had

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[53] Nanette Salomon, 'Positioning Women in Visual Convention: The Case of Elizabeth', in *Attending to Women in Early Modern England*, ed. Betty Travitsky and Adele Seeff (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1994), pp.64-94 (pp.71-75).
[54] John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments of these Latter and Perillous Dayes* (London, 1563), p.1710.
[55] J.S. Brewer, R.H. Brodie and James Gairdner, eds., 'Trial of Weston, Norris and Others', in *L&P*, 21 vols (London, 1864-1920), Vol.10, pp.351-52 [12 May 1536].
[56] William Fitzwilliam, Earl of Southampton, 'About Katharine Howard', in *State Papers, Henry VIII: General Series*, GB-Lna: SP 1/167, fol.110^{r}-111^{v} [5 November 1541], in *SPO*: <http://go.galegroup.com/mss/i.do?&id=GALE%7CMC4302781332&v=2.1&u=oxford&it=r&p=SPOL&sw=w> [accessed 23/02/2010].

free access to her bedchamber, at all hours'. Lord Herries was sceptical of the truth of these claims, but states that they were nevertheless 'cryed out with open mouth, to diffaim her and incense her husband'.[57] Such criticism was largely the result of the nobility's jealousy over the power given to a foreigner and someone of such low birth, but it led to Rizzio's murder by Mary's husband Lord Darnley and members of her nobility.

It was normal for a Queen to have musicians, particularly singers and keyboard players, among her Privy Chamber staff to give private performances for her entertainment and to offer musical tuition to members of the royal family. As we saw in the Introduction (pp.23-24 and Appendix A) Elizabeth too had male musicians in the staff of her Privy Chamber and she took particular pleasure in the singing of Robert Hales.[58] Yet these examples show how a queen's association with musicians could easily be used as a symbol of her immorality and unfaithfulness once her reputation became damaged, or if she had simply become unpopular. Not only did the intimate and private settings of the performances of Privy Chamber musicians provide the opportunity for rumours to be spread, but the association of music with lust, wantonness and prostitutes made such accusations all the more plausible for a musical or music-loving lady. Elizabeth never became unpopular enough for her musicality to become a source of criticism, but when considered alongside contemporary scandalous rumours such as her having had a child with Robert Dudley, the potential for a very different image of an immoral and licentious queen is evident.[59]

Although Elizabeth's musicality does not seem to have attracted accusations of lust, she was criticised for undue frivolity. In 1563 Francis Challoner, brother of Sir Thomas Challoner, English ambassador in Spain, condemned the court's inactivity:

> The Queen is entirely given over to love, hunting, hawking, and dancing; consuming day and night with trifles; nothing is treated earnestly; and though all

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[57] Lord Herries, *Historical Memoirs of the Reign of Mary Queen of Scots, and a Portion of the Reign of King James the Sixth*, ed. R. Pitcairn (Edinburgh, 1836), pp.69, 75.
[58] Andrew Ashbee and David Lasocki et al, *Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians 1485-1715*, 2 vols (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), Vol.1, pp.532-33.
[59] Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England 1500-1700* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), p.362.

> things go wrong they jest, and he who invents most ways of wasting time is regarded as one worthy of honour.[60]

Lodowick Lloyd, one of her sergeant-at-arms, also suggested his disapproval in *The Pilgrimage of Princes* (1573):

> thus was the auncient musicke in the beginning so necessary, that euery countrey endeuoured to haue skyll in musicke: then Mars claimed musicke in the féelde, nowe Venus occupieth musicke in Chaumbers, that kinde of gentle and softe musicke the Egyptians forbad the youth to bée taught therein, lest from men they woulde become againe women.[61]

Given Lloyd's court position, it is likely that his disapproval of effeminate music was intended as a mild criticism of the atmosphere in the court of the Queen. This was necessarily less warlike because, as a woman, Elizabeth could not participate directly in military affairs.

The volatile meanings associated with musical women may be one reason Elizabeth, her courtiers and her poets sought to control her musical image, emphasising music's connotations of rationality and authority. However, the political functions of Elizabeth's musical performances frequently relied on music's sensuality. Carole Levin has suggested that Elizabeth's success came from 'how fluid and multi-faceted her representations of self were'.[62] If so, then music's multiplicity of gendered meanings was also a powerful tool for her image-making, and one that was manipulated to great effect.

Music, Marriage and Age

We know little about Elizabeth's musical education or music tutors but it seems to have closely paralleled that of other queens and princesses of the time. Although Elizabeth's musicality was regularly praised, it is unlikely that her musical talents were extraordinary: such praises were no greater than those applied to her sister and predecessor Mary I, or her cousin, Mary Queen of Scots and she did not have the

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[60] Francis Challoner, 'To Sir Thomas Challoner', in *Secretaries of State: State Papers Foreign, Elizabeth I, 1558-1577*, GB-Lna: SP70/66, fol.94^{v} [18 December 1562], in *SPO* <http://go.galegroup.com/mss/i.do?&id=Gale%CMC4311401503&v=2.1&v=britlib&it=r&p=SPOL&sw=w> [accessed 26/02/2010]. 'Regina tota amoribus dedita est venationis accupiis choreis & rebus ludicris insumus dies noctesque, nihil serio tractatur, quanque omnia adverse cedant tamen iocamur hic perinde ac si orbem vniversum debellati fuerimus & qui plures vere nugandi modos ridiculo studio excogitauerit (quasi vir summio premio dignus) suspicitum'. Translated in *CSP Foreign*, Vol.6, pp.623-625 (p.624).

[61] Lodowick Lloyd, *The Pilgrimage of Princes, Penned out of Sundry Greeke and Latine Aucthours* (London, 1573), fol.115^{r}.

[62] Levin, *Heart and Stomach*, p.2.

extraordinary abilities of her father, Henry VIII. A comparison of musical performances by these four monarchs shows some of the areas in which Elizabeth's music-making gained particular political significance. This was initially a result of the numerous and protracted marriage negotiations of her early years, and subsequently because of her decision not to marry and to continue her performances into her old age to support her image of eternal youth, maidenhood and beauty.

The reports of Henry VIII's performances are concentrated in the first ten years of his reign, particularly in the period 1513-1517. This may be related to Castiglione's advice that old men should not perform music except for their own private recreation:

> He shall knowe his age, for (to saie the trueth) it were no meete matter, but an yll sight to see a man of eny estimation being olde, horeheaded and toothlesse, full of wrinckles with a lute in his armes playing vpon it & singing in the middes of a company of women, although he coulde doe it reasonablye well. And that, because suche songes conteine in them woordes of loue, and in olde men loue is a thing to bee iested at….. in case olde men wil sing to the lute, let them doe it secretly.[63]

In his youth, however, musical performances had been a significant aspect of his royal image. As well as playing the lute, virginals and organs, he deliberately sought to impress through his more exceptional abilities.[64] On 11th October 1513 the Milanese ambassador reported hearing him 'play the virginals [*clavacimbolo*] and the recorders [*li flavuti*] in company most creditably'.[65] Even more unusual was the performance the Venetian ambassador had heard Henry give on 7th October 1513 where he: 'sang and played on the gitteron-pipe (*flauto de cythara*), and the lute-pipes (*lira de' flauti*) and on the cornett (*corno*).'[66] As we saw above (pp.53-54) such wind instruments were usually considered unfitting for upper class amateur performers. For Henry these seem to have been a means to display his exceptional talents (for a monarch and amateur): his ability to play instruments usually associated with professional musicians and to perform in consort (recorders and cornets were ensemble rather than solo instruments). Another ambassador also recorded Henry's ability to 'sing from book at sight', a further indication of his high standard of musical literacy.[67] John Stevens likens Henry's

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[63] Castiglione, *Courtyer*, sig.M4^{v}.
[64] He may also have played the harp as he appears with on in an illumination in his Psalter: Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, p.37.
[65] John Stevens, *Music and Poetry in the Early Tudor Court* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), p.275.
[66] *CSP Venice*, Vol 2:1509-1519, p.139. Stevens suggests that the ambassador may have got his instruments slightly muddled here (perhaps itself a sign of the strangeness of Henry's performance) because an inventory of Henry VIII's instruments records that it held 'twoo gitteron pipes of Ivorie tipped with siluer and gilte; they are called cornettes'. The gitteron-pipes and the cornett would therefore seem to be the same instrument. Stevens, *Music and Poetry*, p.276.
[67] *L&P*, vol 2:1515-1518, p.117 [30 April 1515].

musical showing-off to his spectacular feats on the tiltyard, where he 'performed supernatural feats, changing his horses, and making them fly rather than leap'.[68] However, the ambassadors' reports do not suggest any specific significance to his performances in terms of topical political events, nor the close association with marriage negotiations we shall see with Mary I and Elizabeth.

By contrast, Mary I played only the typical instruments of amateur solo performance – the lute and virginals – but her performances quickly became important as a sign of her marriageability. Mary was heir to the throne until the birth of Elizabeth in 1533 and from the age of just four her musical talents were being employed to impress ambassadors. In July 1520 the Lords of the Council reported to Henry VIII that the four-year-old Mary had entertained three French gentlemen 'with most goodly countenance, proper communication, and pleasant pastime in playing at the virginals, that they greatly marvelled and rejoiced the same, her young and tender age considered'.[69] These performances continued throughout her time as heir to the throne, with Dodieu (the French ambassador's secretary) calling her in May 1527 'the most accomplished person of her age' after hearing her play on the spinet.[70] The entertainment of French ambassadors coincided with the period of Mary's betrothal to Francis, the French Dauphin (from 1518 to 1521), and she also danced for Charles V during his six-week stay in England in 1522 following the Treaty of Bruges (1521) which included their betrothal.[71] Dodieu's comment on her talents also came during negotiations, this time for another marriage to either Francis I or his second son, Henry, Duke of Orléans during 1527. Upon the annulment of her mother's marriage in 1533, Mary was declared illegitimate and no longer had such a role in the political life of the court.

After Mary became Queen in 1553 there are no extant records of any such diplomatic performances and very few comments on Mary's abilities. Even during marriage negotiations with Philip of Spain, the Spanish ambassador did not provide the character descriptions and the praise of her musical talents typical of the marriage negotiations of her youth.[72] In 1554 the Venetian ambassador, Giacomo Soranzo, reported:

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[68] Stevens, *Music and Poetry*, p.275
[69] Brewer, ed., 'The Lords of the Council to Henry VIII', in *L&P*, Vol.3, pp.322-23 [2 July 1520].
[70] Brewer, ed., 'Princess Mary and Francis I', in *L&P*, Vol.4, pp.1397-415 [8 May 1527].
[71] Ann Weikel, 'Mary I (1516–1558)', in *ODNB*, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, 2008) <www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18245> [accessed 23/02/2009].
[72] *CSP Spain*, Vols.11-12.

> Her Majesty takes pleasure in playing on the lute and spinet (*di liuto e di spinetta*), and is a very good performer on both instruments; and indeed before her accession she taught many of her maids of honour.[73]

Yet he did not indicate that he had heard Mary play, and his reference to the 'maids of honour' suggests that he was reporting knowledge gained from talking to members of her household. A report by the next Venetian ambassador, Giovanni Michieli, in 1557 corroborates that Mary played little music while she was Queen:

> She also practises music, playing especially on the clavicorde and on the lute (*di manicordo e di liuto*) so excellently that, when intent on it (though now she plays rarely), she surprised the best performers, both by the rapidity of her hand and by her style of playing (*per la velocità della mano e per la maniera del suonare*).[74]

This cannot simply be attributed to a lack of ability on the part of Mary or her court in using ceremony and the arts for political effect. David Loades's assessment that 'although she enjoyed ceremony and splendour [she] seems to have no notion of how to put it to constructive political use' has been challenged by Alexander Samson and Paulina Kewes who have explored the elaborate symbolism employed in both Mary's coronation and her marriage to Philip.[75] Instead, changes in Mary's musical habits when Queen perhaps suggests the difference between the musical performances of a princess and those of a queen who was in full control of when and if she performed. Mary's decision not to perform at court for ambassadors or guests may have been made on the basis of her age: she was thirty-seven on her accession to the throne in 1553. However, it may also be illustrative of the criticism of music's frivolity that we saw in many of the conduct books. Mary may have avoided public musical performances and dances as a sign of her seriousness and wisdom as a ruler and her Catholic piety, in answer to those who were sceptical about whether a woman could be a virtuous and capable monarch. After her marriage in July 1554 there were even fewer reasons for performances, as she no longer needed to show herself as an attractive marriage prospect. Certainly, while Paulina Kewes has demonstrated that many images of Elizabeth (including those of Deborah, Judith, Esther and the narrative of her providential preservation and accession)

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[73] *CSP Venice*, Vol.5, pp.532-64 (p.533) [18 August 1554]. Eugenio Albèri, ed., *Relazione degli ambasciatori Veneti al senato*, 15 vols (Florence, Società Editrice Fiorentina, 1839-63), Vol.8, p.323.
[74] *CSP Venice*, Vol.6, pp.1043-85 (p.1055) [11 May 1557]. Albèri, ed., *Relazione*, Vol.4, p.323.
[75] David Loades. *Mary Tudor: A Life* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), pp.333-34. Alexander Samson, 'Changing Places: The Marriage and Royal Entry of Philip, Prince of Austria, and Mary Tudor, July-August 1554', *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 36 (2005), 761-84 (pp.761-67); Paulina Kewes, 'Godly Queens: The Royal Iconographies of Mary and Elizabeth', in *Tudor Queenship: The Reigns of Mary and Elizabeth*, ed. Alice Hunt and Anna Whitelock (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp.47-62

appropriated those applied to Mary, Elizabeth's musical image does not seem to have a precursor in Mary's reign.[76]

Such an interpretation of queenly music-making is supported by the few known details about the musical activities of Mary Queen of Scots. During her upbringing at the French court and her marriage to the dauphin (later Francis II), her musical talent was highly praised by the poet, Pierre de Ronsard.[77] Pierre de Bourdeille, Lord (and abbot) of Brantôme, who had known Mary at the French court and accompanied her return to Scotland, later wrote that:

> Elle chantoit très bien, accordant sa voix avec le luth, qu'elle touchoit bien joliment de ceste belle main blanche, et de ces beaux doigts bien façonnez, qui ne devoient rien à ceux de l'Aurore.[78]
> [She sang very well, according her voice with the lute, which she played very prettily with her beautiful white hand and with her beautiful, well-fashioned fingers, which owed nothing to those of Aurora.]

Mary's music-making is here described in typical terms of an attractive female display for her male audience, emphasising the physical beauty of her hands and fingers. She was fulfilling the typical role of royal women as ornaments of beauty and culture within the Renaissance court. However, after Mary's return to Scotland as ruling Queen there are no records of Mary giving diplomatic performances, though she still clearly enjoyed music. She had musicians among her Privy Chamber staff, including a consort of singers, of which David Rizzio was a member.[79] Only John Knox comments on dancing at the court and, predictably, given his misogynistic, xenophobic and Presbyterian attitudes, he was unfavourable about her activities:

> In the presence of her counsall, sche keapt hirself very grave, (for under the dule wead, sche could play the hypocrite in full perfectioun;) but how soon thatever hir French fillocks, fydlaris, and otheris of that band, gatt the howse alone, thair mycht be seen skipping not very cunlie for honest wemen. Hir commoun talk was in secret, sche saw nothing in Scotland but gravitie, which repugned altogether to hir nature, for sche was brocht up in joyusitie; so termed sche hir dansing, and other thingis thairto belonging.[80]

Music was presumably a 'thingis thairto belonging' to dancing. The underlying issue behind Knox's criticism, however, was Mary's Catholicism in contrast to the largely

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[76] Kewes, 'Godly Queens'; Paulina Kewes, 'Two Queens, One Inventory: The Lives of Mary and Elizabeth Tudor', in *Writing Lives: Biography and Textuality, Identity and Representation in Early Modern England*, ed. Kevin Sharpe and Steven Zwicker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp.189-207.
[77] Antonia Fraser, *Mary Queen of Scots* (London: Folio Society, 2004), p.177.
[78] Pierre de Bourdeille, Seigneur de Brantôme, 'Vies des Dames Illustres Françoises et étrangères', in *Oeuvres Complètes du Seigneur de Brantôme*, 8 vols (Paris, 1823), Vol.5, pp.1-349 (p.86).
[79] Rosalind Marshall, 'Riccio, David (c.1533–1566)', in *ODNB*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23475> [accessed 23/02/2009].
[80] D. Laing, ed. *The Works of John Knox*, 6 vols (Edinburgh, 1846-64), Vol.2, p.294.

Protestant Scotland. For Knox, Mary's musicality and jollity were signs not only of a lack of seriousness to rule, but of a lack of piety.

Although Elizabeth played the same kinds of instruments as Mary I and Mary Queen of Scots, the records of Elizabeth's music-making are otherwise strikingly different. There is no record of Elizabeth's musical talents as a child save the comment of her tutor, Roger Ascham, that at age sixteen she was talented but did not take much pleasure in music.[81] David Starkey suggests that Elizabeth was styling herself as the 'Puritan Maid' at this point, proclaiming her virtue as an answer to the scandal of her early teens concerning her relationship with the 40-year old Thomas Seymour. Certainly, the early seventeenth-century historian, William Camden, reported that Edward VI called Elizabeth 'Sweet sister Temperance' while criticising Mary's attendance at 'foreign merriments and dances', though this view may be influenced by Camden's own Protestantism.[82]

However, once Elizabeth became Queen it seems that she immediately chose to put her musical talents on the lute and keyboard to political use. As with Mary I's childhood performances, Elizabeth's music-making gains political importance through its relationship to her marriage negotiations, but there is more suggestion that as an adult and the monarch Elizabeth was able to make more deliberate use of her performances for political effect. As early as 10th June 1559 she performed on the lute for Caspar Breuner, Baron of Rabenstein, (Imperial Ambassador from Ferdinand I) and, on 31st May 1565, Adam Zwetkovich, Baron of Mitterburg (ambassador from Maximilian II, Ferdinand's successor), wrote that he had seen Elizabeth dance and play on the lute and clavichord (see p.74).[83] Both ambassadors were in England to undertake marriage negotiations on behalf of Emperor Ferdinand's son, Archduke Charles of Austria, and Elizabeth's performances were statements of her marriageability.[84] Elizabeth performed for Breuner when negotiations were stalling because she neither made any firm commitment to marry, nor was prepared to break off negotiations. On 3rd June Breuner

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[81] Edward Grant, ed. *Disertissimi viri Rogeri Aschami, Angli, Regiae maiestati non ita pridem a Latinis epistolis, familiarium epistolarum libri tres magna orationis elegantia conscripti* (London, 1571), p.18: 'Musicae ut peritissima, sic ea non admodum delectate.' The modern translation, *Letters of Roger Ascham*, trans. Maurice Hatch and Alvin Vosin (New York: Peter Lang, 1989), incorrectly translates this as 'she is as skilled in Music as she is delighted by it.'
[82] David Starkey, *Elizabeth: Apprenticeship* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2000), pp.85, 87.
[83] Klarwill, ed., *Queen Elizabeth and Some Foreigners*, pp.96, 228.
[84] Susan Doran, *Monarchy and Matrimony: The Courtships of Elizabeth I* (London: Routledge, 1996), pp.26-31, 73-98.

thought that Elizabeth had rejected this suit altogether; however, she was keen for the ambassador to stay, informing him that: 'she would not like to say that my being here on account of the marriage question was disagreeable to her... for she was well content with me.' [85] On 7th June Breuner wrote to Archduke Charles:

> I have thrice had an audience of the Queen, and yet have been unable to obtain any answer except her excuse that she has not yet made up her mind to marry anyone in this world. She had, it is true, not forsworn marriage, as her mind might for various reasons change, but she could not at the moment come to any resolution and was also unwilling to bind herself for the future.[86]

Breuner's letter of 13th June, in which he describes her musical performance, contains an even greater mix of frustration and optimism at Elizabeth's behaviour. Referring to the negotiations he writes 'God knows what a sorry business that is'. However, he also observes that 'although the Queen affects a certain strangeness, she is quite otherwise in conversation', and especially since he has continued the marriage negotiations she has been behaving 'more confidingly' every day.[87] The musical performance is one of a series of stories Breuner relates to demonstrate the Queen's increasing openness and to indicate that continued negotiations might not be in vain. Thus music allowed Elizabeth to honour the ambassador with renewed intimacy and hint she might yet be open to negotiations, thereby maintaining a stalemate and avoiding any firm decision on the marriage proposal.

At the time of the performance to Zwetkovich on 31st May 1565, a marriage was looking increasingly likely. Elizabeth was taking the negotiations seriously rather than being evasive, and on 30th May had written her terms for inclusion in the marriage treaty.[88] This musical performance came at a highpoint in negotiations and was presumably designed to show off her feminine attractiveness and eligibility for marriage. It would have demonstrated her commitment to the negotiations, aiming to encourage Maximilian to accept her terms. Another performance by Elizabeth on 1st June was recorded in a summary of dispatches from the Spanish ambassador:

> On Ascension Day she summoned the King's Ambassador … in whose presence she played privately on a lute and a spinet, which she does very well.[89]

Martin Hume interprets 'the King's ambassador' as the Spanish ambassador Guzman de Silva. As the Spanish were supporting the Austrian match (which would ally England with the Habsburgs rather than France) and as the French were also promoting Charles

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[85] Klarwill, ed., *Queen Elizabeth and Some Foreigners*, pp.84-85.
[86] ibid., p.78.
[87] ibid., pp.95-96.
[88] Doran, *Monarchy and Matrimony*, p.79.
[89] *CSP Simancas*, Vol.1, pp.434-35 [8 June 1565].

IX as a possible suitor, this performance may have been designed to signal her preference for the Hapsburgs.[90] Given the closeness of dates and the similarity of the instruments played, however, it is quite likely that both the Imperial and Spanish ambassadors heard the same private performance.

In August 1572 Elizabeth chose to perform on the spinet for the French ambassadors, Sieur de la Mothe and Sieur de la Mole, during their negotiations concerning a potential marriage with Francis, Duke of Alençon.[91] The performance occurred after an audience in which Elizabeth declared her willingness to marry and requested a meeting with the Duke. Having just received a personal invitation to dinner:

> à bout de pièce, estantz retournés vers elle, la trouvasmes qu'elle jouoit de l'espinette, et continua, à nostre prière, d'en jouer encores advantage pour satisfaire au dict S^{r} de La Mole; et puis, au souper… elle nous fit devant toute l'assemblée les meilleures démonstrations qui se peulvent desirer… elle voulut bien monstrer qu'elle avoit agréable le message et le messager de…le Duc.
> (at the end of the room, having turned back towards her, we found that she was playing on the spinet, and continued since we asked her to play again to satisfy the said Sr de La Mole; and then at supper… she made for us before the whole assembly the best demonstrations which one could desire… she wanted to show that she had well-received the message and messenger of the Duke.)[92]

This musical performance is reported as an indication of Elizabeth's favour towards the ambassadors and the Duke and the significant progress of the marriage negotiations. However, these discussions were to proceed no further; the ambassador's next letter reports the court's horrified reaction to the news of the St Bartholomew Day Massacre that had taken place on the 24th August.[93]

These marriage negotiations were important in the long term for potential political alliances and if Elizabeth was going to produce an heir, but even in the short term they fostered peaceful diplomatic relationships. Elizabeth's musical performances encouraged these useful yet difficult negotiations, signalling her availability for courtship and implying that it was worthwhile persevering with them. The lute was a standard domestic instrument for accompanying singing (keyboard instruments were more expensive and therefore less common). Elizabeth played both, but the lute was a particularly appropriate choice of instrument during her marriage negotiations,

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[90] Doran, *Monarchy and Matrimony*, pp.65-66, 77-80.
[91] Cooper, ed., *Correspondance Diplomatique… Fénélon*, pp.91-112 (p.96) [28 August 1572].
[92] ibid., p.96.
[93] Anne Somerset also refers to Elizabeth playing the lute to a French ambassador in 1581 during further negotiations concerning Francis, now Duke of Anjou: Anne Somerset, *Elizabeth I* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1991), p.371. However, the reference she gives appears to be incorrect and I have been unable to trace the episode.

characterised by Julia Craig-McFeely as 'a weapon of last resort for the girl who was in danger of spinsterhood'.[94] The lute also symbolised marital harmony. In John Lyly's court play, *Sapho and Phao* (published 1584) the ladies talk about the interpretation of dreams:

> **Lamya:** Me thought that walking in the sunne, I was stung with the flye *Tarantula,* whose venom nothing can expell but the sweete consent of musicke. I tried all kinde of instruments, but found no ease, till at the last two Lutes tuned in one key, so glutted my thirsting eares, that my griefe presently seased, for ioye whereof as I was clapping my handes, your Ladyship called.
> **Milet.** It is a signe that nothing shall asswage your loue but mariage: for such is the tying of two in wedlocke, as is the tuning of two Lutes, in one key: for strikinge the stringes of the one, strawes will stirre vpon the stringes of the other, and in two mindes lincked in loue, one cannot be delighted but the other reioyceth.[95]

While the tale of the Tarantula bite being cured by music is a commonplace of sixteenth-century writings on music, the lutes are specific to the image of marriage which Lyly is constructing. Yet while evoking such notions of matrimony, Elizabeth's performances on the lute and other instruments could simply be intended to demonstrate her eloquence and education, to honour the ambassador, or to symbolise harmony between the two nations in negotiation. A musical performance therefore implied matrimonial possibilities but was also ambiguous enough to simply encourage diplomatic relations.

Unlike all the monarchs discussed so far (and in direct contradiction to Castiglione's advice) as Elizabeth reached old age she continued to display her musical talents. By the time of the failed Anjou match in 1581 Elizabeth was 47 years old, but accounts of Elizabeth's performance are found throughout the 1590s until the end of her reign. She played to young men who were touring Europe, such as Frederick Duke of Württemberg in 1592 and Don Virginio Orsino, Duke of Bracciano in 1601, and the French ambassador, Charles de Gontaut, Duke of Biron, in 1601.[96]

In these later years of her reign, Elizabeth's musical image seems to have been used in creating the fiction of the ageless Queen. Elizabeth's motto was *Semper eadem* (always the same) and she did all she could to keep up the illusion of eternal youth. Louis Montrose has shown that Burghley had recognised in the early years of her reign that

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[94] Craig-McFeely, 'Signifying Serpent', p.312.
[95] John Lyly, *Sapho and Phao Played Beefore the Queenes Maiestie on Shroue-Tewsday by Her Maiesties Children and the Boyes of Paules* (London, 1584), sig.F1^{r} (Act VI.4).
[96] Rathgeb, *Warhaffte Beschreibung*, fol.15^{v}; Rye, *England as Seen by Foreigners*, p.12; Leslie Hotson, *The First Night of Twelfth Night* (New York: Macmillan, 1954), pp.211-12; Friedrich von Raumer, *The Political History of England During the 16th, 17th and 18th Centuries* (London, 1837), Vol.1, p.414.

contempt for an old, unmarried woman was a potential threat if Elizabeth remained a spinster.[97] Nanette Salomon argues that there was no appropriate positive image of ageing women that Elizabeth could employ. Portraits of ageing men communicated experience, wisdom and power. However, images of ageing women were positive only in the context of a woman with her children. In other contexts old women were associated with sin, vice and decay, as opposed to the virtuous Virgin Mary who was always depicted young. Women were only desirable as long as they could bear children.[98] Indeed from the early 1590s, Elizabeth no longer sat for portraits and in July 1596 an Act of the Privy Council ordered the seeking out of 'unseemly' likenesses of the Queen, with no further portraits to be produced without the approval of the Queen's Sergeant Painter. Nicholas Hilliard's miniatures show Elizabeth as increasingly youthful and his 'mask of youth' became the pattern for future portraits.[99] Images of timeless youth were also presented in poetry and song, including Dowland's 'Time Stands Still' and Arthur Gorges's verses sung by a mermaid as Elizabeth passed his house at Chelsea in November 1599:

> Seas, yeares, and beawties ever ebb and flow
> But shee still fixt doth shine
> When all things dyed; her Paigne began to growe
> To prove shee is devyne.[100]

Attraction and desire were part of Elizabeth's style of government; therefore the reality of ageing had to be disguised by pretence.

Elizabeth's music-making and dancing in the latter part of her reign were frequently interpreted as attempts to deny her old age. In 1589, the courtier John Stanhope reported that 'the Q. is so well as I assure yow VI or VII gallyards in a mornynge besydes musycke & syngyng, is her ordynary exercyse'.[101] A letter from Londoner, John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton reporting rumours from the court about the Queen's entertaining of Don Virginio (1601) shows a similar interpretation:

> The Queen entertained him very graciously, and to shew that she is not so old as some wold have her, daunced both measures and galliards in his presence.[102]

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[97] Louis Montrose, *The Subject of Elizabeth: Authority, Gender, and Representation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), pp.211-12.
[98] Salomon, 'Positioning Women', pp.82-83.
[99] Strong, *English Renaissance Miniature*, pp.118-21; Montrose, *Subject of Elizabeth*, pp.215-28.
[100] Sir Arthur Gorges, *The Poems of Sir Arthur Gorges*, ed. H.E. Sandison (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953), pp.131-32; Roy Strong, *The Cult of Elizabeth: Elizabethan Portraiture and Pageantry* (London: Pimlico, 1999), pp.47-54.
[101] Nichols, *Progresses*, Vol.3, p.32 [22 December 1589].
[102] Hotson, *First Night of Twelfth Night*, pp.211-12.

A woman in her late sixties, Elizabeth went out of her way to impress Don Virginio (then in his early twenties) with her singing, playing and dancing, and she seems to have succeeded (see p.73). Equally, her music-making kept up the illusion of her eternal youth and demonstrated her still sharp mental and physical faculties: 'It is a strange thing to see how lively she is in body and mind and nimble in everything she does,' wrote Monsieur de Maisse in 1597.[103] The fiction, however, was not accepted by all. The Spanish ambassador complained in 1599:

> On the day of Epiphany the Queen held a great feast, in which the head of the Church of England and Ireland was to be seen in her old age dancing three or four gaillards.[104]

While religious impropriety seems to be the ambassador's main criticism, he also suggests that dancing is inappropriate for her age.

Unlike Mary I and Mary Queen of Scots, Elizabeth put her musical talents to political use throughout her reign. The political meaning of this music changed during her long reign as Elizabeth's own position altered, from princess to marriageable Queen to ageing monarch. However, none of these political uses of music was outside the normal conventions of women's music. Instead, Elizabeth's position of power allowed her to control her music-making and exploit such conventions to achieve aims which were political rather than solely marital or domestic.

Performance, Intimacy and Power

Elizabeth's musical performances functioned as games of secrecy, in which she used the intimacy of private performance to charm foreign visitors, construct power relationships with her diplomats and courtiers, and influence the course of negotiations. Patricia Fumerton has described this ' "game" of secrecy' in relation to sonnets and portrait miniatures, arguing that, although it was characteristic of self-expression in Elizabethan court culture as a whole, for Elizabeth it became a particular tool of governance and politics:

> The uncovering of her secret self was a political "game" for Elizabeth, as intimate, sincere, and conniving as a game of cards between close friends. In both foreign and domestic relations, the queen played on the interface between public and private self, handling threats from foreign princes by dangling the possibility of

[103] Maisse, *Journal*, p.26.
[104] *CSP Simancas*, Vol.4, p.650 [24 January 1599].

> marriage with herself and managing her courtiers at home by encouraging the revival of courtly love.[105]

Elizabeth's use of musical performances in her relations with foreign ambassadors and visitors has much in common with Fumerton's description of this game of secrecy in sonnets and miniatures, 'the representing through "public" forms (of ornament, convention, rhetoric) the "private" and "true" self'.[106] The ambassadors' accounts, including the often-quoted story of the Scottish Ambassador, Sir James Melville eavesdropping on Elizabeth's virginal playing (1564), all demonstrate this mix of apparent intimacy with careful stage-managing.

Those who saw and heard Elizabeth's private musical performances reacted to them according to conventional notions of the sensual powers of the attractive female musician. Melville excused his trespassing into her chamber by saying: 'I heard such melody as ravished me, whereby I was drawn in e're I knew how.'[107] For Don Virginio, 'it seemed to me I had become one of the paladins who used to go to those enchanted palaces.'[108] Don Virginio's accounts are vague (he tells his wife he is saving the details until his return), but his comment follows a meeting in which Elizabeth had specifically promised to perform and the French ambassador confirms that she played and sang for him (see p.77).[109] Don Virginio's metaphor of 'enchanted palaces' employed the same oriental connotations as Vives (p.56); however, for Don Virginio these exotic resonances symbolised the captivating sumptuousness of Elizabeth and her court, rather than being a cause for condemnation.

Elizabeth even used her musical charms with her favourite courtiers, as suggested in a letter by Sir Walter Ralegh:

> My heart was never broken till this day, that I hear the Queen goes away so far off, whom I have followed so many years with love and desire… I that was wont to behold her riding like Alexander, hunting like Diana, walking like Venus…sometime singing like an angel, sometime playing like Orpheus.[110]

While it might be argued that these reactions limited Elizabeth's power by confining her to the conventional role of the woman as an object of male pleasure, Sir Francis Bacon

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[105] Patricia Fumerton, '"Secret" Arts: Elizabethan Miniatures and Sonnets', *Representations* 15 (1986), 57-97 (pp.58-9).
[106] ibid., p.59.
[107] Melville, *Memoires*, p.50.
[108] Hotson, *First Night of Twelfth Night*, p.210: 'che mi p[arve di] essere diventato un di quei paladini, che andavan[o in] quei palazzi incantati' (p.232).
[109] ibid., p.211.
[110] Sir Walter Ralegh, *The Letters of Sir Walter Ralegh*, ed. Agnes Latham and Joyce Youings (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1999), p.70.

recognised this language of courtly love as a strategy actively encouraged by Elizabeth herself. As he explained in his *In Felicem Memoriam Elizabethae* (1606):

> She allowed herself to be wooed and courted, and even to have love made to her; and liked it; and continued it beyond the natural age for such vanities.[111]

Similar to Don Virginio, Bacon compared Elizabeth with 'the accounts of romances, of the Queen in the blessed islands and her court and institutions' because she 'allow[ed] of amorous admiration but prohibit[ed] desire'.[112] Thus Elizabeth's music-making could be part of this fantasy-world of her court. As Elizabeth's music-making largely took place in the female-dominated space of the Privy Chamber, it was a privilege for male courtiers to be able to hear her perform. The conventional erotic and musical power which women had over men became a political tool as part of the personal charm through which she shaped relationships with courtiers and ambassadors.

The crucial factor in Elizabeth's performances was their intimacy. Her performances usually took place in her private rooms; for example, Zwetkovich described how he, 'had also seen her dancing in her apartments… and she also played very beautifully upon the keyboard and lute'.[113] Such intimacy was maintained even in more unusual settings, as when Breuner heard Elizabeth perform while on the river in 1559:

> I, after supper, to refresh myself, took a boat on the river, and the Queen came there too, recognized and summoned me. She spoke a long while with me, and invited me to leave my boat and take a seat in that of the Treasurer's. She then had her boat laid alongside and played upon the lute.[114]

Through the positioning of boats and the Queen's music-making Breuner was brought into the circle of intimates around Elizabeth.

Elizabeth's choice of instrument also encouraged an intimate atmosphere. David Fischlin has shown that lute performances were not public spectacles but took place in private contexts, while the lyrics of lute songs were often introspective and enacted seemingly personal confessions, especially of melancholy or love.[115] Lute performances were also believed to draw attention to the physical appearance of the performer. Mary

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[111] Bacon, *Works*, Vol.11, p.460.
[112] ibid.
[113] Klarwill, ed., *Queen Elizabeth and Some Foreigners*, p.228 reads 'clavichord' instead of 'keyboard'; this is unlikely to be a correct translation of the original letters (which cannot be located and may no longer be extant).
[114] ibid., p.96.
[115] Daniel Fischlin, 'The Performance Context of the English Lute Song, 1596-1622', in *Performance on the Lute, Guitar and Vihuela: Historical Practice and Modern Interpretation*, ed. Victor Anand Coelho (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp.47-71.

Burwell's seventeenth-century lute tutor stressed the visual enticements of a woman playing the lute:

> All the actions that one does in playing of the lute are handsome, the posture is modest free and gallant… The beauty of the arms, of the hands and of the neck are advantageously displayed in playing of the lute. The eyes are employed only in looking upon the company…Of all the arts that I know there is none that engages more the inclination of men than the lute. For ravishing the soul by the ear and the eyes by the swiftness and neatness of all the fingers.[116]

These performances to individuals or to an intimate group created a physical closeness between the Queen and her audience and alluded to music's association with erotic power. Yet the performance also focused attention on Elizabeth's person, her 'body natural' rather than her 'body politic'. This signalled a degree of openness with the ambassador or visitor, as Elizabeth seemed to allow the ambassador a glimpse of her personal self through sharing her pastimes and recreation.

Although such performances played on the erotic attractions of the musical woman and appeared spontaneous and intimate, they were in fact carefully-staged and framed in conventional rhetoric so that little of Elizabeth's personal self was revealed. None of these occasions was meant to be wholly private, but rather they were politically motivated, intended to be told to a wider audience through the publication of travel diaries or in the dispatches sent back to foreign courts. This is most obvious in the Scottish ambassador, Sir James Melville's account of being caught eavesdropping on Elizabeth's virginal playing in 1564. Having been brought up to a 'quiet gallery' by Lord Hunsdon to eavesdrop on Elizabeth's playing, Melville gave his presence away by stepping into her chamber. His account makes it clear that he believed the situation to have been staged by Elizabeth. He wrote that she '*appeared* to be surprized to see me, and came forward, seeming to strike me with her hand, *alledging* she used not to play before Men' (my italics).[117]

Melville was right to be suspicious, as Elizabeth had previously performed for Breuner with no such play-acting. Furthermore, this incident took place following an audience in which Elizabeth had asked Melville 'whether my Queens hair or hers was best, and which of them two was fairest … which of them was of highest stature?'[118]

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[116] Craig-McFeely, 'Signifying Serpent', pp.303-04. This contrasts with the opinion among modern performers that the instrument is not good for posture as it encourages the player to hunch over the instrument
[117] Melville, *Memoires*, p.50.
[118] ibid.

Significantly the audience had ended with Elizabeth asking what kind of recreational activities Mary enjoyed. Melville had told Elizabeth that Mary played the lute and the virginals and, being asked if Mary played well, he had responded 'reasonably for a Queen'. On this occasion, Melville had tactfully avoiding choosing between the two Queens by pointing out the exceptional qualities of each. However, after his eavesdropping Melville was 'obliged to give her the praise'. Melville was also forced to remain at the court two more days to see Elizabeth dance and again was forced to concede that Mary 'danced not so high, and disposedly as she [Elizabeth] did'.[119] Her staging of the performance was not, as Austern suggests, simply about managing the social respectability of the situation while ensuring Melville could report on her musical talents, but also had more political motives (see pp.77-78).[120]

The apparent intimacy of Elizabeth's performances was contained by the conventional rhetoric of her responses, including her show of feigned reluctance about playing to men. Castiglione's *The Courtyer* described the ritual whereby a gentlewoman should 'showe her musicke with suffringe her self to be first prayed somewhat and drawn to it'.[121] Therefore, Elizabeth performed for Frederick Duke of Württemberg in 1592 only after his escort, the French ambassador, Beauvois, 'so far prevailed upon her'.[122] A similar feigned modesty lay behind Elizabeth's complaint to Melville that she did not perform for men, when in fact there are several examples of Elizabeth performing to male ambassadors. More conventional rhetoric was employed when Elizabeth told Melville that she played 'when she was solitary to shun melancholly'.[123] It was a commonplace in plays that characters sang to relieve their melancholy. In Lyly's *Sapho and Phao*, for example, Sappho, suffering from love melancholy, tells Mileta, her maid, 'But giue me my lute, and I will see if in songe I can beguile mine owne eies.'[124] Salter's instruction book for women, though critical of music, accepts its necessity for 'those that bee ouerworne with greef, sorowe, trouble, cares, or other vexasion, [and] haue neede of recreation'.[125] Although Elizabeth's comment to Melville seems to be revealing information about her personal temperament and the strains of governance, in

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[119] ibid., p.51
[120] Austern, 'Sing Againe Syren', p.435.
[121] Castiglione, *Courtyer*, sig.Cc1^{v}.
[122] Rye, *England as Seen by Foreigners*, p.12; Rathgeb, *Warhaffte Beschreibung*, fol.15^{v}: 'ihr Man so weit gebracht'.
[123] Melville, *Memoires*, p.50.
[124] Lyly, *Sapho and Phao*, sig.E1^{r} (Act III.3).
[125] Salter, *Mirrhor Mete for all Mothers*, sig.C6^{v}.

fact she has told Melville nothing more than impersonal commonplaces concerning the use of music by women; in the game of secrecy, all and nothing must be revealed.

So what did Elizabeth intend to achieve through these musical performances and games of secrecy? On most occasions, the mood of intimacy enhanced the sense of personal honour and privilege at receiving a musical performance from the Queen. When the young Don Virginio visited the Elizabethan court in 1601 and saw Elizabeth dance, he was told by 'those informed of this court' that this was 'the greatest honour she could do me'.[126] To the French Ambassador, Monsieur de Boissise, it seemed that Elizabeth 'looked most favourably upon [the Duke], danced, played and sang for love of him'.[127]

The performances of music and dance for Melville were staged to gain an admission from the ambassador of Elizabeth's superiority compared to the Scottish Queen. However, such rivalry stemmed not from mere personal vanity or jealousy: there were important political reasons for Elizabeth to defend her reputation relative to Mary. These may explain the unusual circumstances surrounding this musical performance. Mary was a rival claimant for the throne of England. In 1558 she had claimed to be the rightful Queen of England and until 1560 had used the English royal arms. The danger of Mary was fully realised when she was became the focus of several Catholic plots in the 1570s and 80s.[128] To be seen as a better Queen than Mary was necessary to reinforce Elizabeth's political authority. Furthermore, Elizabeth and Mary were also rivals in the marriage market. The dispatches of the Imperial Ambassador, negotiating for a marriage with Archduke Charles in 1565, show him reminding Elizabeth of the comparisons taking place across Europe:

> I told the Queen that I myself had heard the French Ambassador when he came to Vienna, praise the Queen of Scotland, saying that she was very beautiful and the heir to the throne of England and therefore worthy of such a Prince as the Archduke. The Queen answered that she was superior to the Queen of Scotland.[129]

The themes of beauty, music and dancing on which Elizabeth had sought Melville's opinions were all related to female attractiveness and marriageability. Elizabeth had good reason to be concerned. Mary had been brought up at the Valois court in France, a centre of Renaissance culture and courtliness, while Elizabeth had had to make do with

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[126] Hotson, *First Night of Twelfth Night*, p.210; 'sua Maestà fû contenta di ballare, che è maggiore onore, che ella mi potessi fare, secondo il detto di questi informati di questa corte' (p.232).
[127] ibid., p.211: 'Ladicte Dame aussy l'a veu de très bon oeil, là festoyé, à dansé, sonné, chanté pour l'amour de luy' (p.211).
[128] Julian Goodare, 'Mary [Mary Stewart] (1542–1587)', in *ODNB*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, 2007) <www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18248> [accessed 01/04/2009].
[129] Klarwill, ed., *Queen Elizabeth and Some Foreigners*, p.215.

native tutors and spent many of her formative years away from court life as she tried to survive the Catholic regime of Mary I. Elizabeth had grounds to fear that she might be inferior to Mary Queen of Scots in some of these talents expected of princesses and queens. Elizabeth's use of music and dance in this diplomacy shows her desire to be recognised as superior not just in regal power but in the cultural and social skills expected of a royal woman.

Music's influence on Elizabeth's image and relationship with ambassadors could always affect negotiations indirectly; however, on occasions music played a more direct role in diplomacy. Placing Melville in a compromising position and manipulating his loyalties by forcing him to admit that Elizabeth was a better musician and dancer than his own Queen was a show of power. Furthermore, by overtly displaying her marriageability, Elizabeth may also have been indicating her own ability to provide for the English succession, therefore suggesting that Mary should not hope to become her heir.

While relying on male stereotypes of the attractiveness of musical women, Elizabeth appropriated these conventions to create performance-situations that could function as one means of manipulating her relationships with ambassadors and courtiers. The power Elizabeth exercised through these performances depended on a tightly controlled situation that was made to seem spontaneous, and an appearance of intimacy that was in fact carefully framed in rhetoric and convention to reveal nothing truly personal (as in Fumerton's '"games" of secrecy'). The social conventions of intimacy could be manipulated in the context of musical performance to manage political and diplomatic relationships.

Musical Imagery for Political Authority

Elizabeth's musicality became one of the many sources of inspiration for royal panegyric in the latter decades of her reign. Initially, praise of Elizabeth's musicality closely paralleled that given to other women, with the focus being on her practical skills. However, in the latter part of her reign Elizabeth's practical music-making became a sign of both her political power and personal virtue as poets and courtiers credited her with understanding the inaudible harmony of the heavens and creating it both in her own soul and in her state. This musical imagery simultaneously emphasised Elizabeth as a musical woman while attributing to her the political power, constancy

and rationality conventionally granted only to men. By blending the talents of Elizabeth's natural body with those of her political body, and by merging practical musicianship with speculative harmony, Elizabeth and her courtiers used music to create political authority.

Some of the first attempts to define Elizabeth's musical persona came in the dedication of Byrd and Tallis's *Cantiones sacrae* (1575). These two musicians dedicated their work to Elizabeth because she 'symbolise[d] practical skill' and praised 'the refinement of [her] voice' and 'the nimbleness of [her] fingers'.[130] Praise of female practical musicianship from the perspective of the male spectator was typical in the praise of musical women and, as we have already seen, music-making was associated with female attractiveness. However, Tallis and Byrd's dedication also attributed musical judgement to Elizabeth. They presented their work to Elizabeth because her practical skill made her able to judge their work. This is significant because musical judgement was more highly esteemed than practical skill. Such an opinion was set out in Boethius's *De institutione musica*, a work which, although written in the early sixth century, was still considered the authority on music in the sixteenth century.[131] Boethius distinguished performers (who have physical skill but little understanding of music) and composers (who he claims compose song by natural instinct) from those who have the ability to judge music, of whom he says:

> This class is rightly reckoned as musical because it relies entirely upon reason and speculation. And that person is a musician who possesses the faculty of judging.[132]

Tallis and Byrd, therefore, associated Elizabeth with the highest form of musicianship where music is no longer merely sensual but associated with reason. She matched the royal expectations suggested by Helms (p.53) through fulfilling her role as artistic judge and patron.

Elsewhere, Elizabeth's image as patroness and inspiration for music-making was often evoked by comparing her to the Muses. Poet Michael Drayton described Elizabeth as 'Queene of Muses' in the shepherd's tributes to the nymph 'Beta' in *Idea the*

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[130] William Byrd, *Cantiones sacrae* (1575), ed. Craig Monson (London: Stainer & Bell, 1977), pp.xvii, xxv: 'qua… es peritia' and 'vel vocis elegantia, vel digitorum agilitate facile'.
[131] John Hollander, *The Untuning of the Sky: Ideas of Music in English Poetry 1500-1700* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), p.24.
[132] Leo Treitler, ed., 'Extracts from Boethius', in *Strunk's Source Readings in Music History* (New York: Norton, 1998), pp.137-43 (p.142).

Shepheards Garland (1593).[133] Richard Mulcaster particularly emphasised Elizabeth's intelligence and virtue in his comparison:

> It is for our most worthy Princesse, to haue the presidencie ouer nyne men, the paragons of vertue: and yet to be so familiarly acquainted with the nyne muses, as they are in strife who may loue her best, for being best learned.[134]

Presenting Elizabeth as the best of the muses connected her intelligence, eloquence and musicality.

Elizabeth's image as an intelligent patroness allowed her musicality to become associated with the music of the spheres. John Bennet's song likened Elizabeth's ability to judge his earthly music to her capacity to hear heavenly harmonies inaudible to ordinary ears:

> Eliza, Eliza
> Her name gives honor to my singing
> Whose fame and glorie still are springing;
> Her name all blisse, with voyce demiss
> I sing adoringe humbly imploring
> That my rude voice may please her sacred ears,
> Whose skill deserves the musicke of the spheares.[135]

Bennet set the lyrics as a consort song, and it was probably performed during a court entertainment in the 1590s. This song connected two different types of music: the audible harmony of the singer and consort performing the song, and the inaudible music of the celestial spheres. While the skill of Elizabeth's ears refers primarily to her talents as performer and patroness, the music of the spheres could also evoke the ideas of harmony of the mind and soul. The implication that Elizabeth's 'sacred ears' can hear such usually inaudible music imbues her with piety or even divine qualities (perhaps subtly evoking the divine right of kings).

Sir John Davies developed these connotations of rationality further in his poetic *Hymnes to Astraea* of 1599 by comparing Elizabeth's mind both to earthly instruments and heavenly spheres. Sir John Davies was a lawyer and a servant-in-ordinary to Elizabeth from 1594.[136] Poem XIX, 'Of the Organs of her Minde' (an acrostic of Elizabeth's name), includes the lines:

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[133] Michael Drayton, *Idea the Shepheards Garland Fashioned in Nine Eglogs. Rowlands Sacrifice to the Nine Muses* (London, 1593), p.16.
[134] Mulcaster, *Positions*, pp.173-74.
[135] John Bennet, 'Eliza Her Name Gives Honor', in GB-Lbl*:* Add MSS 17786-91, fol.9^{v} (Add MS 17790, fol.5^{v}-6^{r}).
[136] Sean Kelsey, 'Davies, Sir John (bap. 1569, d. 1626)', *ODNB*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, 2008) <www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7245> [accessed 31/03/2009].

B y Instruments her powers appeare
E xceedingly well tun'd and cleare:
T his Lute is still in measure,
H olds still in tune, euen like a spheare,
A nd yeelds the world sweet pleasure.[137]

The reference to lutes and instruments evokes Elizabeth's own lute-playing and the ensembles of her court musicians, connecting the practical and speculative aspects of music. Although 'her powers' refers to the powers of Elizabeth's mind, the choice of word recalls the authority which this mind holds as that of a Queen, while the repeated word 'still' stresses the constancy of her mind and suggests Elizabeth's motto, 'semper eadem'. Constancy was not usually a quality associated with women: the French ambassador reported a complaint by the Earl of Essex in 1597 that, 'they laboured under two things at this court, delay and inconstancy, which proceeded chiefly from the sex of the Queen'.[138] Like Byrd and Tallis, Davies was concerned with portraying Elizabeth's stereotypically masculine virtues of intelligence, constancy and rationality rather than her feminine attractiveness and musicality. However, the description of these virtues as bringing 'sweet pleasure' remains reminiscent of conventional descriptions of the sensual delights of women's musical performances. Praises of Elizabeth's feminine musicality emphasised Elizabeth's virtues as a woman, not as Queen; while it made her a model of womanhood, it also made her conform to female stereotypes.

So far, such praises of women through musical imagery are not unique to Elizabeth. We saw above that similar imagery was lavished on other intelligent and musically-talented noblewomen such as Lucy, Countess of Bedford. However, whereas such images of women usually extended only to their personal virtues, Elizabeth's musicality became an image of power and even divinity, presenting her as an exceptional woman, divinely-appointed and with God-given abilities to rise above the weakness traditionally associated with her gender. In musical terms, this was made possible via an expansion of the metaphors used when describing Elizabeth's musicality. Elizabeth was presented not only as musician, patroness and pious woman, but as the bringer of heavenly harmony to earth and as controller of political harmony.

The earliest portrayal of Elizabeth as bringer of harmony used Classical mythology rather than the idea of the music of the spheres. In *The Shepheardes Calender* (1579),

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[137] Sir John Davies, *Hymnes of Astraea in Acrosticke Verse* (London, 1599), p.19.
[138] Maisse, *Journal*, p.115.

Edmund Spenser traced Elizabeth's harmonious persona back to her birth and her parentage in this stanza:

> For she is *Syrinx* daughter without spotte,
> Which *Pan* the shepheards God of her begot.[139]

In the myth, Pan attempted to seduce the nymph Syrinx, but she was turned into reeds to preserve her chastity. So Pan cut the reeds and turned them into his pipe. The commentary that was published alongside Spenser's poem explained that Pan represented Henry VIII, a fitting persona because of Pan's position as god of the Shepherds.[140] Therefore, this passage created a mythic reinterpretation of Elizabeth's birth. Elizabeth's mother (Anne Boleyn) had been beheaded for adultery and Elizabeth declared a bastard. Furthermore, many Catholics did not accept the legitimacy of Henry's annulment of his marriage to Catherine of Aragon, which had allowed his union with Anne, and in 1570 a Papal Bull of Excommunication also declared Elizabeth illegitimate.[141] Spenser's creation of a divine parentage and an immaculate conception for the Virgin Queen compensated for this uncertain legitimacy. However, Philippa Berry noted that in this metaphorical representation of her birth, Elizabeth is a song and this suggests a further interpretation.[142] While music could be associated with social and political harmony, Pan, was not just god of Shepherds but was also associated with disorder, lust and chaos. Such associations might have been considered equally applicable to Henry by those who recalled the disruptions of the Reformation and Henry's stream of wives. Therefore, this mythical birth asserted the legitimacy of Elizabeth's birth and created a narrative by which she was the peaceful harmony born out of the disorder of Henry's reign.

A similar image of Elizabeth embodying a musical harmony capable of transforming chaos into ordered paradise was enacted on Elizabeth's arrival at Bisham during her 1592 progress. Lady Russell commissioned a series of tableaux, performed as Elizabeth travelled towards the house, in which characters underwent a metamorphosis in the Queen's presence. Moreover, Elizabeth's powers of transformation were presented as musical powers.

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[139] Edmund Spenser, *The Shepheardes Calender Conteyning Twelue Aeglogues Proportionable to the Twelue Monethes* (London, 1579), fol.12^{v}.
[140] ibid., fol.14^{v}.
[141] Carole Levin, *The Reign of Elizabeth I* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), pp.7, 41, 83.
[142] Berry, *Of Chastity*, p.79.

First, at the top of the hill, cornetts (who would have performed with sackbuts) sounded in the wood. A Wild Man appeared claiming to have 'followed this sounde, as enchanted, neither knowing the reason why, nor knowing how to bee ridde of it'.[143] The Wild Man's speech ended predictably with his transformation to civility, as had occurred in several earlier progresses;[144] however, here music initiated the change. In the middle of the hill, Elizabeth saw Pan attempting (unsuccessfully) to seduce two maidens. The end of this device returned to the musical theme when, upon the sight of Elizabeth, Pan declared:

> And heare I breake my pipe, which *Apollo* could neuer make me doe; and follow that sounde which followes you.[145]

The sound was presumably the cornetts following Elizabeth's procession towards the house. Pan also promised to make the landscape peaceful and safe during Elizabeth's visit:

> Greene be the grasse where you tread: clame the waters where you rowe: sweet the aire where you breathe… During your abode, no theft shalbe in the woods: in the fielde no noise, in the vallies no spies, my self will keepe all safe.[146]

The third and final tableau, while not explicitly musical (at least in the text – if in performance the cornetts were still following Elizabeth then the transformation may have seemed just as musical as the previous two), showed Ceres being transformed from being 'Queene of heaven', the only one on whom Phoebus shines, to become a servant of Cynthia/Elizabeth through a whispering in her ears.[147]

Both Pan and the Wild Man represent disordered and uncivilised nature, and both were civilised by the presence of the Queen. Peter Davidson and Jane Stevenson interpret the 'image of concord' in this way:

> Pan, like the wild man before him, abandons his essential nature, civilised (or emasculated) by one glance from the Queen's eyes. He breaks his pipe; his wild notes give way to the lyre of Apollo; controlled court music.[148]

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[143] Joseph Barnes, ed., *Speeches Deliuered to Her Maiestie this Last Progresse at the Right Honorable the Lady Russels, at Bissam, the Right Honorable the Lorde Chandos at Sudley, at the Right Honorable the Lord Norris, at Ricorte* (Oxford, 1592), sig.A2^{r}. There is no evidence to indicate whether the cornetts were royal or household musicians.

[144] For example at Kenilworth in 1575 and Cowdray in 1591: George Gascoigne, 'The Princely Pleasures at Kenelworth Castle', in *The Pleasauntest Workes of George Gascoigne Esquyre* (London, 1587), sig.A3^{v}-A7^{v}; Anon., *The Speeches and Honorable Entertainment Giuen to the Queenes Maiestie in Progresse, at Cowdrey in Sussex, by the Right Honorable the Lord Montacute* (London, 1591), sig.A4^{v}-B2^{v}.

[145] Barnes, ed., *Speeches Deliuered*, sig.A4^{r}.

[146] ibid., sig.A4^{r}.

[147] ibid., sig.A4^{r-v}.

[148] Peter Davidson and Jane Stevenson, 'Elizabeth I's Reception at Bisham (1592) Elite Women as Writers and Devisers', in *The Progresses, Pageants, and Entertainments of Queen Elizabeth I*, ed. Jayne Archer, Elizabeth Goldring and Sarah Knight (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp.207-26 (p.220).

However, their tableau did not simply present rustic music giving way to courtly music: Pan submitted not to Apollo, but to Elizabeth's music. At the beginning of this tableau, Pan mocked both his own and Apollo's music by comparing their respective instruments to farmyard sounds:

> You know my suite, loue, my virtue, Musicke, my power, a godhead. I cannot tickle the sheepes gutts of a Lute, bydd, bydd, bydd, like the calling of Chickens, but for a Pipe that squeeketh like a Pigg, I am he.[149]

Rather than presenting Apollo's music as superior, the author had Pan denigrate both. It was Elizabeth's music, not Apollo's, which represented harmony and order. Nor did this refer simply to *musica instrumentalis* as Elizabeth did not produce this music; instead, it followed her and she commanded it. It is a music that is sensual and 'enchanting' for the Wild Man, yet simultaneously a transformative power of order. This was how Elizabeth's music could exceed that of Apollo, god of music.

The tableaux assigned to Elizabeth all of the powers traditionally associated with music. Elizabeth's music could turn wild men civilised, convert lustful gods to chastity and even make goddesses submit to her authority. These transformations reworked conventional myths of musical power: Orpheus taming wild beasts with his music, and Plato and Aristotle's beliefs that music could incline people to virtue. Music was also believed to induce chastity: *The Praise of Musicke* recalled stories such as Agamemnon seeking to keep his wife chaste by hiring the musician Demodocus to play music in Dorian mode to her.[150] As musical magic could potentially control all of creation, the Bisham tableaux amplified Elizabeth's authority to divine levels. Music made Elizabeth's powers audible, if not tangible: those present could 'sense' Elizabeth's power through their ears. The progress emphasised Elizabeth's aspiration to maintain order in her kingdom using the symbolic powers of music.

However, the 1590s was a decade of increasing political uncertainty and tensions begin to appear in images of Elizabeth's harmonious government. Sir John Davies's poem, 'To the Queen' employs a similar conceit to Bennet's song in contrasting the musicality of the protagonist with speculative music. The final verse is also reminiscent of Bennet's song in praising Elizabeth's 'celestial ear'. Yet Davies's poem has greater emphasis on Elizabeth's abilities as a ruler along with suggestions of discord:

> What Musicke shall we make to you,

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[149] Barnes, ed., *Speeches Deliuered*, sig.A2^{v}.
[150] Anon., *Praise of Musicke*, p.57.

To whome the stringes of all mens harts
Make musicke of ten thousand parts
In tune and measure true,
With straines and changes new?

How shall wee fraime a harmony
Worthie your eares, whose princely hands
Keepe harmony in sundry lands,
Whose people divers be
In faction and degree?
Heavens tunes may onely please,
And not such aires as theise.

For you which downe from heaven are sent
Such peace upon the earth to bring,
Have hard the quire of Angells sing,
And all the sphæres consent,
Like a sweete Instrument.

How then should theise harsh tunes you heare,
(Created of the trubled Ayer)
Breed but distast, when they repaire
To your Cælestiall eare?
So that this Center here
For you no Musicke fynds,
But harmony of mynds.[151]

This poem exists only in manuscript but was probably written after 1594, when Sir John Davies was first presented at court by Lord Mountjoy and sworn in as servant-in-ordinary to Elizabeth.[152] The opening question 'what music shall we make to you?' seems to refer to audible earthly music, but the comparison with the music of men's hearts quickly leads into the realm of speculative music. Davies employed the same image of lutes and the strings of men's hearts as used in Alciato's emblem where a lute symbolised an alliance of princes in Italy (p.40). While Alciato warned of the difficulties of tuning many strings, Davies presented Elizabeth as maintaining a well-tuned and rhythmic 'musicke of ten thousand parts' in 'sundry lands,/Whose people divers be/ In faction and degree' creating music 'In tune and measure true'.

The third stanza expands the musical metaphors to the realm of *musica mundana*. Both Davies's poem and Bennet's song imply that, for Elizabeth, it is not earthly music which brings pleasure, but *musica mundana* as a sign of her piety, and *musica humana* as a sign of her just governance. This distinction was also found in the polemical writings of Protestant writer, Stephen Gosson:

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[151] Davies, *Poems*, pp.242-43.
[152] Kelsey, 'Davies, Sir John'.

> If you will bee good Scholers, and profite well in the Arte of Musicke, shutte your Fidels in their cases, and looke vp to heauen: the order of the Spheres, the vnfallible motion of the Planets, the iuste course of the yeere, and varietie of seasons, the concorde of the Elementes and their qualyties, Fyre, Water, Ayre, Earth, Heate, Colde, Moysture and Drought concurring togeather to the constitution of earthly bodies and sustenance of euery creature. The politike Lawes, in well gouerned common wealthes, that treade downe the prowde, and vpholde the meeke, the loue of the King & his subiectes, the Father and his childe, the Lorde and his Slaue, the Maister and his Man …are excellent maisters too shewe you that this is right Musicke, this perfecte harmony.[153]

Davies's musical imagery therefore associated Elizabeth with this 'right musicke' and 'perfect harmony', rather than frivolous instrumental and vocal music. It rescued his Queen's musical image from the potential criticisms which, as we saw, could be attached to musical women, instead asserting music as an image of piety, virtue and power. Moreover, Davies explained Elizabeth's harmonious political powers by turning her into an almost Christ-like figure sent from heaven to bring peace to earth. Elizabeth is presented as able to instil concord in her kingdom because she has heard celestial harmony. 'Verses of the Queene', addressed to Elizabeth at Christmas 1602 and possibly attributable to Davies, went further and presented Elizabeth as an angel, tuning earthly harmonies with her fellow angels:

> To see this birth did Angells sweetly singe,
> Nowe singes that nest of nightingalls againe,
> Joye, peace, goodwill [on earth] to men they bringe,
> Of fortie five yeares thus tuninge they remaine.
> Long maye they tune that sweete and pleasant songe,
> And longe maye she our angell singe amonge.[154]

Both the 1602 verses and Davies's poem evoked the notion of the divinely-appointed monarch in presenting Elizabeth as heaven-sent. This idea was connected with the image of her as God's chosen handmaid as found in Accession Day hymns and encouraged by Elizabeth herself in her speeches to Parliament and in published collections of her private prayers. It also had resonances with views of Elizabeth as Protestant champion, returning England to the true religion and also supporting Protestants in the Netherlands.[155]

Yet Davies juxtaposed his positive images of harmonious governance with allusions to 'harsh tunes' and 'trubled Ayer'. Although these are ambiguous enough both to refer to the *musica instrumentalis* of the opening line and to function as images of political

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[153] Stephen Gosson, *The Schoole of Abuse Conteining a Plesaunt Inuectiue Against Poets, Pipers, Plaiers, Iesters, and Such Like Caterpillers of a Comonwelth* (London, 1579), fol.8^{r-v}.
[154] Davies, *Poems*, pp.307, 424-25.
[155] Kevin Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy: Authority and Image in Sixteenth Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), pp.329-31, 341-44, 351-52, 397-99.

discord like the out-of-tune or broken string we saw in Alciato's emblem (p.40), such connotations of dissonance may relate to the economic crisis, social strain, political rivalry and warfare of the 1590s. The reference to 'faction' would have called to mind the conflicts between Robert Cecil and Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, especially after 1595. John Chamberlain likewise turned to musical imagery when describing their continuing struggles in February 1599: 'the jarres continue as they did, yf not worse, by dayly renewing, and out musicke runs so much upon discords, that I feare what harmonie they will make of yt in the end'.[156] Similarly the 'straines and changes new' might refer to the changing makeup of the Elizabethan court following the deaths of the Earl of Leicester (1588), the Earl of Warwick (1590) Sir Water Mildmay (1589), Sir Francis Walsingham (1590), Sir Christopher Hatton (1591) and Lord Burghley (1598) and their replacement by men such as Sir Walter Ralegh, Robert Cecil and the Earl of Essex.[157]

The 'harsh tunes' might be those of warfare, as England was at war with Spain (1585-1604), with further forces committed in the Netherlands (from 1585), France (1589-1594), and later Ireland (1594-1603). This was in marked contrast to Elizabeth's previous policy of non-intervention in the problems of Continental Europe and the nearly thirty years of peace this had brought prior to 1585.[158] The 'trubled Ayer' also evokes the problems of four successive harvest failures in 1594-97 causing famine and a sharp rise in food prices; the outbreaks of plague and influenza; the heavy taxation levied to pay for the war; the large-scale unemployment as overseas trade diminished; the increased crime and vagrancy; and fears of civil unrest which threatened to materialise in the Oxfordshire Rising of 1596.[159]

Davies's references to discord may also allude to the uncertainties caused by Elizabeth's refusal to name a successor, for numerous tracts circulated discussing the merits of as

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[156] John Chamberlain, *The Letters of John Chamberlain*, ed. Norman McClure (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1939), p.67.
[157] John Guy, 'The 1590s: The Second Reign of Elizabeth I?', in *The Reign of Elizabeth I: Court and Culture in the Last Decade*, ed. John Guy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp.1-19 (pp.2-4).
[158] Wallace MacCaffrey, *Elizabeth I: War and Politics, 1588-1603* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992) pp.3-9; Guy, 'The 1590s', p.1.
[159] Ian Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability: Social Relations in Elizabethan London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp.9-14; Guy, 'The 1590s', pp.8-11.

many as thirteen domestic and foreign candidates for the succession.[160] Brink argues that this topic is addressed by Davies in *Orchestra or a Poeme of Dauncing* (1596).[161] The poem is an adaptation from Homer's Odyssey, where the suitor Antinous's attempts to woo Penelope, Odysseus's wife. In Davies's poem the suit revolves around Antinous trying to persuade Penelope to dance. In the manuscript version of the poem Antinous celebrates the relationship of dance to the order seen throughout nature, but Davies pointedly omits any reference to political harmony. Even in the published version – into which an image of political concord was inserted – Penelope's unresolved indecision over Antinous's persuasion to dance remained as a symbolic rejection of order.[162]

Davies's final lines in 'To the Queen' return to images of concord, with the 'harmony of mynds' suggesting the loyalty and unity of English subjects. Yet the poem does not reconcile these troubling references to discord. Rather, Elizabeth's potential as a bringer of harmony is juxtaposed against the realities of unrest and the poem may be read not as praise but as criticism that Elizabeth is failing in her divinely-appointed duty to bring heavenly order to her earthly kingdom.

Nor was Davies the only poet of the 1590s to juxtapose images of discord and harmony. Like Spenser, Thomas Churchyard represented Elizabeth as a song in *A Musicall Consort of Heauenly Harmonie… Called Churchyards Charitie* (1595):

> O treble Queen, the sweete and highest part
> That we like best, and shrillest voice doth sound
> The onely meane, to shew deepe musicks art
> Where all the skill; of well set song is found.
> Grant silly man, a grace that meanes to sing
> Of heaunly loue, and of none other thing.
> He sings of peace, a song should lull asleep
> The fellest feends, and fearfull bugs below.[163]

As an author of civic entertainments for Elizabeth's progresses and also a frequent writer of broadside ballads and popular poetic collections, Churchyard represented a different type of poet from Spenser. Abandoning the more learned topics of the music of

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[160] Joel Hurstfield, 'The Succession Struggle in Late Elizabethan England', in *Freedom, Corruption and Government in Elizabethan England*, ed. Joel Hurstfield (London: Cape, 1973), pp.104-34; Nick Myers, 'The Gossip of History: The Question of the Succession in the State Papers', in *The Struggle for the Succession: Politics, Polemics and Cultural Representations*, ed. Jean-Christophe Mayer (Montpellier: Université Paul-Valéry Montpellier, 2004), pp.49-64; Susan Doran, 'Three Late-Elizabethan Succession Tracts', in *Struggle for the Succession*, ed. Mayer, pp.100-17.
[161] J.R. Brink, 'Sir John Davies's *Orchestra*: Political Symbolism and Textual Revisions', *Durham University Journal* n.s. 41 (1980), 195-201.
[162] ibid., pp.195-202.
[163] Thomas Churchyard, *A Musicall Consort of Heauenly Harmonie (Compounded Out of Manie Parts of Musicke) Called Churchyards Charitie* (London, 1595), sig.A1^{r}.

the spheres or the Classical gods, Churchyard nevertheless adopted the musical imagery through which Elizabeth was increasingly portrayed in the 1590s and adapted its themes to be accessible to a wider audience via print. Through a series of puns, Elizabeth becomes treble, mean and bass (‘treble Queen’, ‘the onely meane’ and ‘deepe musicks art’, ‘deep’ referring both to pitch and the exceptional quality of the music), and therefore had ‘all the skill of well set song’. Elizabeth represented the total harmony; as Queen she was the highest part and the one with the skill to maintain the whole song and order the harmony of the lower estates. Furthermore, the song that she created and which she taught men to sing was one of ‘peace’ and ‘heavenly love’. Yet as we have seen, 1595 was hardly peaceful and Churchyard’s ‘fellest feends’ and ‘fearfull bugs’ introduced a sense of discord. This juxtaposition of harmonious image and dissonant reality highlighted the gap between Churchyard’s praise of Elizabeth and the uneasy political situation.

Harmonious images of Elizabeth’s government become most frequent during the troubled times of the 1590s (we shall see further images of England as a harmonious kingdom in chapter 5). A poem aimed at wide distribution like Churchyard’s may have been intended to encourage future stability, in contrast to the current state of politics. These images may also be indicative of continued widespread affection for Elizabeth despite the uneasy times. Certainly Davies was content to glorify Elizabeth in his *Hymnes to Astraea* in 1599. Yet his ‘What musicke shall we make’ simultaneously praised and criticized Elizabeth, showing the concord that a person of her abilities should be able to create, rather than celebrating her actual achievements. Elizabeth’s musicality therefore offered ways of legitimising her rule, either by presenting images of intelligence and rationality that might counteract stereotypical claims of female weakness or by portraying her as a divinely-appointed monarch whose musicianship and piety gave her the ability to create political concord. Yet it was also an image that could be appropriated to register discontent at the political uncertainties of the period and offer a critical commentary on the rule of an ageing Queen.

Conclusion

Musical imagery was not in itself unique to Elizabeth, but occurred in pageantry across Europe. The Medici wedding festivities in Florence in 1589 (celebrating the marriage of Grand Duke Ferdinando I de' Medici and French Princess Christine de Lorraine) included *intermedi* based on the theme of the power of musical harmony to influence gods and men, including one that illustrated the notion of the harmony of the spheres with the sirens of each sphere singing wedding blessings.[164] In France, Henry IV was greeted by the musical heroes Amphion and Orpheus and the god Apollo during royal entries into Lyon in 1595 and Rouen in 1596: here music signified the social harmony and peace brought about by his reign after the civil wars of the 1560s-early 1590s.[165] Several other examples might be given; however, such music images are rarely applied with the same frequency and with the same direct relationship to the person of the monarch. Nor was the connection between audible practical music and speculative music harmony maintained. The musical imagery surrounding Elizabeth was intimate and frequently evoked her musical talents and her natural body: the praise of her 'worthy eares', 'princely hands' and her mind by Davies, or her 'sacred ears' and 'skill' by Bennet.[166] Furthermore, images of political concord combined with the stereotypical rhetoric of the sensual delights of female performances, when Elizabeth's harmonious rule was described as 'sweet pleasure' or enchantment and the Queen as 'the sweete and highest part/ that we like best'.[167] It was this interconnection of all the levels of harmony, practical and speculative, that was central to Elizabeth's musical image.

On Elizabeth's death, the musical imagery continued. In a memorial tribute, the playwright Henry Chettle wrote:

> But cease you Goblins, and you vnder Elues;
> That with rude rimes and meeters reasonlesse;
> Fit to be sung for such as your base selues,
> Presume to name the Muses Patronesse:

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[164] James Saslow, *The Medici Wedding of 1589: Florentine Festival as Theatrum Mundi* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), pp.30-33, 151-58.
[165] Kate van Orden, *Music, Discipline and Arms in Early Modern France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), pp.176-82.
[166] Davies, *Poems*, pp.242-43; Davies, *Hymnes of Astraea*, p.19; Bennet, 'Eliza Her Name Gives Honor', fol.9^{v} (MS 17790, fol.5^{v}-6^{r}).
[167] Davies, *Hymnes of Astraea*, p.19; Barnes, ed., *Speeches Deliuered*, sig.A2^{r}; Churchyard, *Musicall Consort*, sig.A1^{r}.

> Keep your low Spheres, she hath an Angell spirit:
> The learnedst Swaine can hardly sing her merit.[168]

Thomas Bateson's madrigal *Oriana's Farewell* imagines a musical tribute to Elizabeth: heavenly harmony and melody played by Jove upon the spheres, a choir of nightingales and finally nymphs and shepherds.[169] Another epitaph tells Elizabeth she can 'sing loud amongst the Angels with the best'.[170] In death as in life, musical imagery encapsulated a multi-faceted praise of Elizabeth's musicality, womanhood, intelligence, piety and power.

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[168] Henry Chettle, *Englands Mourning Garment Worne Heere by Plaine Shepheards, in Memorie of Their Sacred Mistresse, Elizabeth; Queene of Vertue While She Liued, and Theame of Sorrow Being Dead* (London, 1603), sig.D2^{v}.
[169] Thomas Bateson, 'Orianes Farewell', in *The First Set of English Madrigales to 3. 4. 5. and 6. Voices* (London, 1604), No.XXII (no foliation).
[170] I.F., *King Iames His Welcome to London With Elizaes Tombe and Epitaph, and Our Kings Triumph and Epitimie* (London, 1603), sig.A3^{v}.

3. Music and Noble Identity in Elizabethan Tournaments

The Elizabethan court may have been a stage for the creation of the monarch's identity, but many of its entertainments were commissioned and overseen by courtiers. Noblemen prepared shows for the Queen's visits to their houses during her summer progresses and designed their personal pageantry for entry into the tiltyard for tournaments. These occasions offered aristocrats the opportunity to perform their nobility and demonstrate their honour to the Queen, court and public audiences. Just as music served the reputation of Elizabeth, so too noblemen deployed music both to create a general air of magnificence and to fashion an individual image.

This chapter considers the position of music in the ideals of the titled nobility or those wealthy gentry who aspired to it, focussing particularly on the use of music to portray noble identity at Elizabethan tournaments. The tournaments were a significant opportunity for the performance of aristocratic identity, firstly because of the traditional association of nobility with military prowess and, secondly because the nobleman himself took to the stage. This personal involvement intensified the performance of identity in comparison to progress entertainments, which took the form of tableaux and mini-dramas performed by actors on behalf of the patron.

Tournaments had been a well-established court event since the reign of Edward I. Over time the element of disguise and pageantry had increased and the changing demands of warfare meant that by the sixteenth century the tournaments no longer functioned as military training. Henry VIII held numerous tournaments in his youth, and enjoyed participating in them himself, while Edward VI also delighted in participating in events such as 'running at the ring', which were considered suitable for his young age. A few tournaments were held in Mary's reign as attempts to promote amicable relations between the Spanish and English nobility at the court.[1] However, at Elizabeth's court the most prominent tournament of the year celebrated her Accession Day, 17th November. These yearly celebrations seem to have begun in the 1570s. Tournaments were also held to impress foreign dignitaries, occasionally to celebrate the

[1] Alan Young, *Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments* (London: George Philip & Son, 1987), pp.21-31.

Christmas/New Year season, to mark military victories such as the Armada (1588) or for the weddings of important nobles.

Tournaments were usually held at the specially constructed tiltyard at Whitehall. A public challenge was issued in advance, calling the knights to take part. On the appointed day, each pair of knights entered in their disguises and with their pageants, trains of supporters and accompanying music. A page presented each knight's *imprese* (a shield displaying his emblem and motto) to the Queen with a speech or song. This use of music was similar to early masques such as that provided by Henry Goldingham at Norwich (1578) where music accompanied the entry of the masquers (in the guises of Classical gods) who presented speeches, gifts and a song to Elizabeth.[2] Special effects such as hidden music were also employed, as seen in progress entertainments (see pp.118, 121, 149, 167 and Appendix D). The tournament consisted of three events: the tilt or joust where knights rode at each other with lances; the tourney, a mock combat between groups of knights on horseback; and barriers, where knights fought each other on foot.[3] For other European princes, tournaments offered the opportunity to socialise with his noblemen and to gain the respect of the aristocracy by proving his skill at arms.[4] As a woman Elizabeth was not expected to have martial skills and could not participate. However, the traditional aim of tournaments was to win the favour of ladies, and by emphasising this theme these events enhanced Elizabeth's royal image by demonstrating the loyalty and adoration of her noblemen. Furthermore, her Accession Day provided the opportunity for regular tournaments when a lack of royal family limited other royal occasions for festivities, such as marriages and births.

Thomas Campion evoked the idealised atmosphere of Elizabethan tournaments in this poem from his *Obseruations in the Art of English Poesie* (1602):

> Faiths pure shield the Christian Diana
> Englands glory crownd with all deuinenesse,
> Liue long with triumphs to blesse thy people
> At thy sight triumphing.
> Loe they sound, the Knights in order armed
> Entring threat the list, adrest to combat
> For their courtly loues; he, hees the wonder

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[2] B[ernard] G[arter], *The Ioyfull Receyuing of the Queenes Most Excellent Maiestie into Hir Highnesse Citie of Norwich* (London, 1578), sig.E1^{r}-E3^{v}.
[3] For more details of the combats, devices and speeches: Young, *Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments*; Roy Strong, *The Cult of Elizabeth: Elizabethan Portraiture and Pageantry* (London: Pimlico, 1999), pp.129-54.
[4] Braden Frieder, *Chivalry and the Perfect Prince: Tournaments, Art and Armor at the Spanish Habsburg Court* (Kirksville: Truman State University Press, 2008), pp.4, 31.

> Whome Eliza graceth.
> Their plum'd pomp the vulgar heaps detaineth,
> And rough steeds, let vs the still deuices
> Close obserue, the speeches and the musicks
> Peacefull arms adorning.
> But whence showres so fast this angry tempest,
> Clowding dimme the place? behold Eliza
> This day shines not here, this heard, the launces
> And thick heads do vanish.[5]

Campion's poem shows Elizabeth as the focus of the day; the crowds yearned for a glimpse of her and the lavish pageantry dramatised the knights' submission and service before her. However, much of the poem describes the splendour of the knights. Richard McCoy has argued that court ceremonies performed a 'chivalric compromise' in which nobility enacted their submission to the Queen and paid her tribute, but were also permitted to celebrate their exalted status and demonstrate their honour.[6] This made the tournaments not just sporting events, but an opportunity for the nobility to flaunt their magnificence. Sir Francis Bacon considered the pageantry to be the primary element:

> the glories of them are chiefly in the chariots, wherein the challengers make their entry… or in the device of their entrance, or in the bravery of their liveries, or in the goodly furniture of their horses and armour.[7]

Furthermore, Campion's suggestion that the 'plum'd pomp' and 'rough steeds' were for the 'vulgar heaps' while 'we', his educated readers, would 'close observe' the music and speeches, indicates a tension between the military spectacles and the artistic elements of these pageants.

Similar contrasts between artistic and military spectacle can be seen in the music of the tournaments. George Peele's description of the sounds of the tiltyard in *Polyhymnia* (1590) evokes the military atmosphere with 'trumpets sounding shrill' signalling the start of the knights' combat and Sir Philip Butler entering the tiltyard followed by 'dub of drum'.[8] However, the extant songs and song-texts from tournaments are surprising for their un-military styles and themes. Sir Henry Lee's retirement pageant uses two lute-songs ('Times Eldest Sonne' and 'His Golden Locks'), and another lute song, John Dowland's 'Behold a Wonder', possibly performed on Accession Day 1595, tells the

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[5] Thomas Campion, *Obseruations in the Art of English Poesie* (London, 1602), p.30.
[6] Richard McCoy, *The Rites of Knighthood: The Literature and Politics of Elizabethan Chivalry* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), pp.18, 62.
[7] Francis Bacon, 'Of Masques and Triumphs', in *The Works of Francis Bacon, ed. James Spedding, Robert Ellis and Douglas Heath,* 14 vols (London, 1857-1874), Vol.12, pp.209-11.
[8] George Peele, *Polyhymnia Describing, the Honourable Triumph at Tylt, Before Her Maiestie, on the 17. of Nouember, Last Past, Being the First Day of the Three and Thirtith Yeare of Her Highnesse Raigne.* (London, 1590), sigs.A4^{r}, B2^{r}, B3^{r}.

story of blind love gaining his sight.[9] Sir Philip Sidney's 1577 tournament entry included a carol in praise of Elizabeth, while the Earl of Oxford's device in 1581 appeared with 'the solemne sound of most sweet Musique' (which hardly sounds like martial music of trumpet and drums).[10] Even the French ambassador's somewhat cryptic descriptions of musicians entering the tiltyard in 1581, with 'wide sleeves, great false beards, and high caps' or concealed in six eagles, do not seem to be particularly militaristic.[11] Only the lyrics from *The Four Foster Children of Desire* (a tournament of 1581) suggest a martial theme: songs are used to plead with the Fortress of Perfect Beauty to surrender and to announce the commencement of a battle with the weapons of love.[12] Indeed the relationship of music to masculinity and martial prowess was an uneasy one; music was a necessary courtly skill, signalling learning, culture and virtue, yet was viewed as potentially effeminising, a threat to masculinity, and thus to the military strength of England.

These tensions between courtly and military arts were symptomatic of contrasting Elizabethan ideals of nobility, revealed in the contrasting images of the martial knight and the educated gentleman-courtier. The tournament's military sports primarily celebrated the nobleman as knight. Traditionally the nobility were a warrior class and they still maintained their martial aspirations, traditional notions of honour and sense of autonomy.[13] As Count Lewis proposes in Castiglione's *The Courtyer*, 'the principall and true profession of a Courtyer ought to be in feates of armes'.[14] For the many courtiers with military ambitions and dreams of chivalry and honour, the tournaments were a significant public and courtly stage on which to build their knightly reputation.

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[9] Diana Poulton, *John Dowland* (London: Faber, 1982), pp.240, 261, 277. For a list of sources describing tournament music see Appendix B.
[10] Peter Beal, 'Poems by Sir Philip Sidney: The Ottley Manuscript', *The Library* 33 (1978), 284-95; Edmund Spenser, *Axiochus. A Most Excellent Dialogue, Written in Greeke by Plato the Phylosopher... Heereto is Annexed a Sweet Speech or Oration Spoken at the Tryumphe at White-Hall Before her Maiestie, by the Page to the Right Noble Earle of Oxenforde* (London, 1592), sig.D1^{r}
[11] Nellot, 'Tournoi', in F-Pn: MS Dupuy 33, fol.77^{r}-81^{r} (79^{r}, 80^{v}) [1581]. A summary of document is in Friedrich von Raumer, *History of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, Illustrated by Original Document,* 2 vols (London, 1835), Vol.2, pp.431-34.
[12] Henry Goldwell, *A Briefe Declaration of the Shews, Deuices, Speeches, and Inuentions, Done & Performed Before the Queenes Maiestie, & the French Ambassadours, at the Most Valiaunt and Worthye Triumph, Attempted and Executed on the Munday and Tuesday in Whitson Weeke Last, Anno 1581* (London, 1581), sig.A5^{v}-A8^{v}.
[13] McCoy, *Rites of Knighthood*, p.3.
[14] Conte Baldassarre Castiglione, *The Courtyer of Count Baldessar Castilio Diuided into Foure Bookes,* trans. Thomas Hoby (London, 1561), sig.C4^{v}

However, the discourse of nobility was changing in the sixteenth century and increasingly the ideal nobleman was portrayed as a gentleman-courtier, combining learning and knowledge of the arts with skill at arms.[15] When Sir Humphrey Gilbert (known as an explorer and soldier) proposed a scheme for a state-run academy for educating noble wards in 1573, he planned a curriculum including military studies, rhetoric and civil and common law, alongside dancing and playing the lute, bandora and cittern. These were the 'matters of accion meet for present practise of peace and warre' that would prepare a ward for all kinds of noble service to his monarch.[16] Increasingly, courtiers were expected to be good all-rounders with the greatest praise going to men like Sir Philip Sidney who combined intelligence, skill at arms and inventiveness in court pageantry. The tutor Roger Ascham listed the diverse pastimes necessary for a courtier as:

> to ride cumlie: to run faire at the tilte or ring: to plaie at all weapones: to shote faire in bow, or surelie in gon: to vant lustely: to runne: to leape: to wrestle: to swimme: To daunce cumlie: to sing, and playe of instrumentes cunnyngly: to Hawke: to hunte: to playe at tennes, & all pastimes generally, which be ioyned with labor, vsed in open place, and on the day light, conteining either some fitte exercise for warre, or some pleasant pastime for peace.[17]

As ideals changed, courtiers had to negotiate conflicting opinions on the merits of various pursuits. In their combination of military sport with the poetic and musical devices of the knights' entries, these tournaments reflected the principles of both chivalric knight and gentleman-courtier.

The ability of the aristocracy to demonstrate their superior status was important to both notions of nobility. As Fiona Dunlop argues, noble qualities needed to be 'apparent through external signs' and 'to be disclosed in appropriate gestures – literally to be acted out'.[18] Similarly Richard Wistreich notes the necessity of honourable actions being observed if they were to enhance the noble's reputation. In this context he sees the court as a vital location for the performing and receiving of honour, as opposed to the reality of battle where staging an honourable action in the sight of other noblemen or

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[15] Diane Bornstein, *Mirrors of Courtesy* (Hamden: Archon Books, 1975), p.9; Ronald Asch, *Nobilities in Transition 1550-1700: Courtiers and Rebels in Britain and Europe* (London: Arnold, 2003), p.5; Fiona Dunlop, *The Late Medieval Interlude: The Drama of Youth and Aristocratic Masculinity* (Woodbridge: York Medieval, 2007), p.124.
[16] Sir Humphrey Gilbert, 'Queene Elizabethes Achademy', in *Queene Elizabethes Achademy, A Booke of Precedence &c,* ed. F.J. Furnivall (London, 1869), pp.1-12.
[17] Roger Ascham, *The Scholemaster or Plaine and Perfite Way of Teachyng Children, to Vnderstand, Write, and Speake, the Latin Tong* (London, 1570), pp.19-20.
[18] Dunlop, *Late Medieval Interlude*, p.122.

one's monarch would be much less predictable.[19] The tournaments were an essential opportunity for a nobleman to demonstrate both his military prowess and artistic patronage to a captive audience of the Queen and other aristocrats. As the Accession Day tournaments were open to paying spectators they provided an even greater opportunity for the performance of nobility. The traveller Lupold von Wedel tells us that entrance to the stands cost 12d and that 'In the stands there were thousands of men, women and girls, not to mention those who were within the barrier and paid nothing.'[20] The court was on show to the people of London, and printed accounts such as those by George Peele and Henry Goldwell spread news of these events even further.[21]

There were two different ways by which the aristocracy demonstrated their distinctive noble nature. Firstly, the performance of nobility required the display of wealth and status. Susan Crane describes the late-Medieval nobility as 'staging their distinctiveness' through the splendour of their feasts, entries and weddings.[22] Similarly, David Kuchta has shown that the Renaissance discourse of noble masculinity presented shows of magnificence, conspicuous consumption and fashionable dress as a privilege of the aristocracy. Sumptuary laws proclaimed by the monarch attempted to protect this privilege by restricting the fabric which could be worn by different classes, limiting cloth of gold and silver to the nobility alone.[23]

Secondly, the tournaments were an opportunity for noblemen to display their honour. Although titles were inherited, true nobility depended on honourable actions, as Richard Jones wrote in *The Booke of Honor and Armes* (1590):

> men may bee reputed noble three waies. First, by nature or discent of Auncestors, which is the vulgar opinion. Secondlie, for vertue onelie, which the Philosophers affirme. Thirdlie, by mixture of auncient gentle race with Vertue, which is indeede the true and most commendable kind of Nobilitie: for seeing man is a creature

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[19] Richard Wistreich, *Warrior, Courtier, Singer: Giulio Cesare Brancaccio and the Performance of Identity in the Late Renaissance* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp.227-28.
[20] Lupold von Wedel, *Lupold von Wedels Beschreibung seiner Reisen und Kriegserlebnisse, 1561-1606*, ed. Max Bär (Stettin, 1895), p.354: 'auf den Stenden file tausent Leute von Mannen, Weibern und Metlin gestanden, ich geschwige ane die auf der Bane gewesen und kein Gelt vor einen Stant geben durfen'. Lupold of Wedel was a young German nobleman who spent twenty years travelling around Europe, visiting England in 1584-85.
[21] George Peele, *Anglorum Feriae Englandes Hollydayes Celebrated the 17th Novemb. Last, 1595, Beginning Happyly the 38 Yeare of the Reigne of Our Soveraigne Ladie Queene Elizabeth* (London, 1595; rpnt Ipswich,1840); Peele, *Polyhymnia*; Goldwell, *Briefe Declaration*.
[22] Susan Crane, *The Performance of Self: Ritual, Clothing and Identity during the Hundred Years War* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), p.2.
[23] David Kuchta, 'The Semiotics of Masculinity in Renaissance England', in *Sexuality and Gender in Early Modern Europe: Institutions, Texts, Images*, ed. James Grantham Turner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp.233-46.

> reasonable, he ought bee called man, in respect of his owne vertue, and not the vertue of others.[24]

Henry Peacham, in *The Compleat Gentleman* (1622), added that nobility was conferred on someone by his Prince if 'either out of knowledge, culture of the mind, or by some glorious Action performed they haue beene vsefull and beneficiall to the Common-wealths and places where they liue'. [25] Learned and cultural endeavours could be honourable as well as military ones. Even Jones's *Book of Honour and Armes* concludes that 'the commendation due vnto learning is of no lesse desart, than that which belongeth to Martiall merit. And indeed very rarelie doth any man excell in Armes, that is vtterlie ignorant in letters.'[26]

The code of honour not only marked out the nobility as a class but also promoted competition among its members. In Castiglione's *The Courtyer*, Sir Friderick's advice for taking part in tournaments is aimed at ensuring the courtier stands out from the crowd. He should have:

> armour no lesse handsome and sightly then sure.... a horse sett out with fair harneis and sightly trappinges... proper deuyses, apt poesies, and wittie inuentions that may drawe vnto him the eyes of the lookers on… he shall neuer be among the last that come furth into the listes to shewe themselues, considering the people, and especially women take muche more hede to the fyrste then to the last.[27]

Noblemen needed to consider how they presented themselves so they might gain the greatest enhancement of their reputation from their actions. This was achieved through costume and pageantry as well as performance in arms.

Considering performances of self by the late-medieval nobility during court entertainments and rituals, Susan Crane notes that gestures and dress were intensified to articulate valued aspects of identity. The knightly personas that Elizabethan noblemen adopted during the tournament similarly magnified a particular aspect of the nobleman's identity by making it the subject of his costume and pageantry; however, the assumed persona might signify his political disappointments and aspirations as much as his personal qualities. In 1593 Robert Carey entered as the Unknown Forsaken Knight, illustrating his current disgrace and exile from court, in the hope of being able to regain Elizabeth's favour, while in 1600, the Earl of Cumberland was the Discontented Knight

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[24] Richard Jones, *The Booke of Honor and Armes* (London, 1590), p.50.
[25] Henry Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman Fashioning Him Absolute in the Most Necessary & Commendable Qualities Concerning Minde or Bodie That May be Required in a Noble Gentleman* (London, 1622), p.2.
[26] Jones, *Booke of Honor*, p.66.
[27] Castiglione, *Courtyer,* sig.M1^{v}.

following his failure to obtain the governorship of the Isle of Wight.[28] Such personas aimed to register discontent or to elicit sympathy and future political favours. On occasion, the pageantry of courtiers could even threaten to upstage the Queen. Paul Hammer suggests that Essex used the Accession Day celebrations of 1595 as an opportunity for public self-promotion that was not aimed at winning the Queen's favour, but at building up political momentum to force Elizabeth into accepting his policies. Elizabeth signalled her displeasure by leaving after his entertainment following the evening banquet. However, Essex incurred no disfavour for his pageant and it seems that Elizabeth accepted that her courtiers manipulated courtly entertainments for their own political desires.[29]

This chapter considers the place of music as a noble pastime through an examination of Elizabethan treatises on gentlemanly behaviour. The numerous discussions on the subject indicate the potentially problematic relationship of music with masculinity and martial prowess. In the light of this, I take three tournaments for which a significant amount of musical detail survives as case-studies to examine the role of music in creating noble identity. The first focuses on Sir Philip Sidney and explores how a nobleman might attempt to style himself as both artistic and warlike though tournament pageants and literature. His Shepherd Knight persona also embodies the tension between the male courtier's desire for military glory and the Queen's preference for peace. This is illuminated further in the allegorical tournament, *The Four Foster Children of Desire* (1581), which also exemplifies how the nobility as a group staged their relationship to the Queen. Finally, the surviving music from the resignation of Sir Henry Lee in 1590 aimed to transform his identity from his public role as Queen's champion to one of private devotion symbolised in the figure of the hermit. His pageantry demonstrates how music was closely interwoven into the imagery of these occasions. While music was frequently the vehicle which conveyed the knight's tributes of praise to Elizabeth, it simultaneously served the nobleman's interests: to create a magnificent display appropriate to his status, to demonstrate his balance of military and courtly talents, and to create a striking and meaningful knightly persona that communicated his ambitions and desired self-image.

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[28] Strong, *Cult of Elizabeth*, pp.140-41.
[29] Paul Hammer, 'Upstaging the Queen: the Earl of Essex, Francis Bacon and the Accession Day celebrations of 1595', in *The Politics of the English Court Masque*, ed. David Bevington and Peter Holbrook (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp.41-66.

Music and Noble Masculinity

The herald Sir William Segar included in his book, *Honor Military, and Ciuill* (1602), a letter supposedly intercepted from Monsieur de Champany, ambassador for the Low Countries, in which Champany claimed to have seen three things in England which he rated as the best he had seen in all his travel:

> The first was a consort of music, so excellent and sweet as cannot be expressed. The second a course at a Bucke with the best and beautifull Greyhounds that I euer did behold... And the third a man of Armes excellently mounted, richly armed and indeed the most accomplished C*aualiero* I had ever seen.[30]

While the letter is probably a fabrication, it shows that Segar viewed music, hunting and tilting as the talents at which English gentlemen excelled. 'Consort of music' may refer to the mixed consort which, as we saw, was an innovative feature of English music (p.27). Yet despite the pairing of knightly and musical pursuits in this letter, the relationship between the two was not always comfortable. It suffered from ambivalent attitudes similar to those we saw in relation to women and music. Music had martial connotations with trumpets and drums being used for military signalling or inspiring courage in soldiers. Conversely, it could be portrayed as a frivolous and potentially effeminising activity, making men either weak or lazy.

In sixteenth-century France, music was integrated with military ideals as the exercise of arms remained the primary mode with which to demonstrate noble qualities. Jeanice Brooks comments on the frequent use in conduct books of the myth of Achilles playing his lute with still-bloodied hands after battle, but also shows that music was not merely a recreation after the business of war. Being musical was believed to demonstrate that one was attuned with divine order, and therefore music could signal a knight's virtue, as important an element in his honour as his valour.[31] Kate van Orden has shown how music and arms were closely related in the period of religious civil war in France between 1562 and 1629. Military academies included music and dancing in their studies; martial themes were used in the *ballets de court*; and genres such as the pyrrhic dance and equestrian ballet were created. Music and dance were means of instilling military discipline and dramatised the consolidation of armed force in the command of

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[30] Sir William Segar, *Honor Military, and Ciuill Contained in Foure Bookes. Viz. 1.Iustice, and Iurisdiction Military. 2.Knighthood in Generall, and Particular. 3.Combats for Life, and Triumph. 4.Precedencie of Great Estates, and Others* (London,1602), p.200.

[31] Jeanice Brooks, *Courtly Song in Late Sixteenth-Century France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), pp.127-31, 133-50.

the monarch, as well as creating a discipline of manners which would control violence and integrate a belligerent nobility into the royal court.[32]

However, in England arms and music (or other arts) were usually presented as opposites: music for peace and leisure, arms for war.[33] Humfrey Braham's *Institucion of a Gentleman* (1555) argued that a gentleman 'ought to be learned, to have knowledge in tounges, and to be apte in the feates of armes' and adept in 'courtlye behauoure'. He should be able to entertain men of all degrees and so 'sume knowledge in Musike, or to know the use of musicall Instrumentes is muche commendable'. This is because the nobleman ought to be 'a man fyt for the warres, + fyt for the peace, mete for ye court + mete for the country'.[34] While the anonymous treatise, *The Praise of Musicke*, recommended drums, fifes and a marching beat to the captain to give his troops courage, this section is very brief in comparison to the many sections on music's use in daily life or religion.[35] However, although most treatises would not disagree that music could have such military uses, the nobleman's musical education was designed primarily for his own recreation. Knight and courtier, Sir Thomas Elyot, believed that that a child should be taught that music 'onely serueth for recreation, after tedious or laborious affaires'.[36] We also saw in the previous chapter that Lodowick Lloyd believed that music's warlike purpose was no longer its primary function, but rather love (p.62).

Lloyd's fear in *The Pilgrimage of Princes* that 'gentle and softe musicke' might make men 'become againe women' is indicative of English anxiety that music might emasculate men.[37] Orden suggests such anxiety was rarely present in French sources.[38] Yet in England music was seen as weakening self-control and reason and therefore threatening to revert men to a state of effeminate boyhood. One reason for this was music's association with love, as the natural state of male lovers (typically portrayed as adolescent males who had not achieved full adult masculinity) was considered to be one

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[32] Kate van Orden, *Music, Discipline and Arms in Early Modern France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).
[33] See also Gilbert, 'Queene Elizabethes Achademy', p.10; Ascham, *Scholemaster,* pp.19-20.
[34] Humfrey Braham, *The Institucion of a Gentleman* (London, 1568), sig.A8^{v}-B1^{r}.
[35] Anon., *The Praise of Musicke Wherein Besides the Antiquitie, Dignitie, Delectation, & Vse Thereof in Ciuill Matters, is also Declared the Sober and Lawfull Vse of the Same in the Congregation and Church of God* (Oxford, 1586), pp.88-90.
[36] Sir Thomas Elyot, *The Boke Named the Gouernour* (London, 1537), p.23.
[37] Lodowick Lloyd, *The Pilgrimage of Princes, Penned out of Sundry Greeke and Latine Aucthour* (London, 1573), fol.115^{r}.
[38] Orden, *Music, Discipline and Arms*, p.13

of effeminacy.[39] This view was probably inspired by Italian sources such as Castiglione's *The Courtyer*, in which Lord Gaspar represents those who are suspicious of music and its effects on men:

> I beleue musicke …. is mete for women, & paraduenture for some also that haue the lykenes of men, but not for them that be men in dede: who ought not with suche delicacies to womannishe their mindes, and brynge themselues in that sort to dread death.[40]

The objection is that music 'belonginge[s] to enterteinment of women and loue'.[41] In *The Ciuile Conuersation* (translated into English in 1581), Stefano Guazzo's character Anniball warns that, as it takes place in the company of women, music might undermine a man's ability to fight honourably in war:

> wée must take héede that wée bée not so wrapped in it, that wée neuer come out of it, least thereby wée distemper the minde, and effeminate it in suche sorte, that it loose that courage whiche is proper to man

There is a sense of paranoia in his statement that when partaking in music:

> it may bée said that wée haue béen in the very iawes of *Scilla*, & drunke of *Cyrces* cup, and yet haue escaped with drowning and transfourming.[42]

The emotional power of music was seen as overpowering, even addictive. Similar views were expressed by Englishmen. At the extreme there was Protestant polemicist Phillip Stubbes, who in 1583 wrote:

> if you wold haue your sonne, softe, womannish, vncleane, smoth mouthed, affected to bawdrie, scurrilitie, filthie rimes, and vnsemely talking: brifly, if you wold haue him, as it weare transnatured into a woman, or worse, and inclyned to all kind of whordome and abhomination, set him to dauncing school, and to learn musicke, and than shall you not faile of your purpose.[43]

However, Roger Ascham's *Toxophilus the Schole of Shootinge* (1545) also contained a long speech on the dangers of music, including the story of the Lydians, whom Cyrus was advised to subdue by ensuring that:

> euerye one of them shoulde haue a harpe or a lute, and learne to playe and sing whyche thinge if you do... you shall se them quickelye of men, made women… thus lutinge and singinge take awaye a manlye stomake, whiche shulde enter & pearce depe and harde studye.[44]

Ascham continued with a defence of music as important for oratory, especially for preachers and lawyers. Yet it is telling that even in this treatise on shooting, music is separated from military arts. *The Praise of Musicke* also did not deny that music could

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[39] Kirsten Gibson, 'Music, Melancholy and Masculinity in Early Modern England', in *Masculinity and Western Musical Practice*, ed. Ian Biddle and Kirsten Gibson (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), pp.41-66.
[40] Castiglione, *Courtyer*, sig.I2^{r}.
[41] ibid., sig.Mm4^{v}.
[42] Stefano Guazzo, *The Ciuile Conuersation of M. Steeuen Guazzo* (London, 1581), fol.71^{v}.
[43] Phillip Stubbes, *The Anatomie of Abuses Contayning a Discouerie, or Briefe Summarie of Such Notable Vices and Imperfections, as Now Raigne in Many Christian Countreyes of the Worlde* (London, 1583), sig.O5^{r}.
[44] Roger Ascham, *Toxophilus the Schole of Shootinge Contayned in Two Bookes* (London, 1545), fol.10^{r-v} (Reprinted 1571 and 1589).

make men effeminate, but argued that the fault lay with men for being corrupt in nature and prone to wantonness.[45]

Yet arms were believed to make men too masculine, and courtly arts such as music and dance could be an antidote to this. Castiglione's character, Count Lewis, demonstrated this point with a story:

> a worthie Gentlewoman in a noble assembly spake pleasauntly vnto one… whome she to shewe hym a good countenance, desired to daunce with her, and he refusing both that, and to heare musick and many other entertainmentes offred him, alwaies affirmyng suche trifles not to be his profession, at last the Gentlewoman demaundyng him, what is then your profession? He aunswered with a frowning looke, to fight. Then saide the Gentlewoman: seing you are not nowe at the warre nor in place to fight, I woulde thinke it beste for you to bee well besmered and set vp in an armorie with other implementes of warre till time wer that you should be occupied, least you ware more rustier then you are. Thus with muche laughinge of the standers by she left him with a mocke in his foolishe presumpcion.[46]

A man who was too masculine and did not have the skills to enjoy leisured pastimes in the company of women was a figure of ridicule. John Lyly's character, Sir Tophas, from *Endimion* (performed at court by the children of the Chapel Royal in the 1580s) presented an unflattering picture of over-masculine men to the English court. Sir Tophas is part of a comic interlude in which three page-boys encourage him to boast of his valour and knowledge of military science. First, they ask mockingly simple questions to which he responds with exaggeratedly technical and pompous language:

> SAMIAS: …But what is this; call you it your sword?
> TOPHAS: No, it is my scimitar, which I, by construction often studying to be compendious, call my smiter.
> DARES: What -- are you also learned, sir?
> TOPHAS: Learned? I am all Mars and Ars.
> SAMIAS: Nay, you are all mass and ass.[47]

Sir Tophas suffers from the same obsession with military matters as the knight in Count Lewis's story. He is also funny for his exaggerated aggression. His language is humorous because he uses the technical vocabulary of a professional soldier rather than of a leisured noble who partakes in military pursuits for honour not necessity. Although he tries to act learned, the page-boys show that he is actually a fool. Later even his honour and bravery are called into question as Sir Tophas describes his foe as a 'blacke and cruell enemie, that beareth rough and vntewed lockes vpon his bodie, whose Syre throweth downe the strongest walles, whose legs are as many as both ours, on whose head are placed most horrible hornes, by nature, as a defence from all harmes', or in

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[45] Anon., *Praise of Musicke,* p.58.
[46] Castiglione, *Courtyer*, sig.D1^{r}.
[47] John Lyly, *Endimion, The Man in the Moone Playd Before the Queenes Maiestie at Greenewich on Candlemas Day at Night, By the Chyldren of Paules* (London, 1591), sig.C1^{r}.

other words, a black sheep.[48] This mocks the exaggerated tales which soldiers tell of their exploits.

In many Italian treatises military pursuits and music were aligned as practical arts which could be performed in order to earn honour.[49] Richard Wistreich shows how in Annibale Romei's *Discorsi* (translated as *The Courtiers Academie* in 1586) these practical arts were opposed to speculative knowledge and the intellectual activity of the sphere of letters by the character Patrizi. The character Brancaccio (based on the real courtier, warrior and singer of the same name) argues that only through external actions can one win honour, as the internal actions of the mind can only be known by other *letterati.* Music, like military deeds in battle, needs an audience to judge the performance and assign the reputation it deserves. Similarly in Castiglione's *The Courtyer,* Sir Friderick declares that the way for a nobleman to perform is 'to sing to the lute' because 'al the sweetenesse consisteth *in one alone*', 'eares are not busyed in hearynge anye moe *then one voyce*' and 'euerye lyttle erroure is soone perceyued, *whiche happeneth not in syngynge wyth companye*, for one beareth oute an other.'[50] The lute song is the best genre to increase his reputation because it is performable by a single person and since the errors are more clearly heard so that listeners can accurately judge the performers' talents (he also need not acquire the higher skills of ensemble playing). Musical performance could itself be a means for a nobleman to gain honour and reputation in the same way as a performance of military feats.

Nor did noblemen necessarily have to perform themselves, as the patronage and appreciation of talented musicians were also signs of nobility. It would not be appropriate for a nobleman to perform music himself on a public occasion like the tournaments. As Sir Friderick in *The Courtyer* says:

> let oure Courtier come to shewe his musike as a thing to passe the time withall, and as he wer enforced to doe it, and not in the presence of noble menne, nor of any great multitude.[51]

Music was a pursuit for a nobleman's leisure time so he must always present his skills in this area with a certain degree of nonchalance, and great emphasis on the amateur nature of his skills. Performance to a large public audience was the job of a professional

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[48] ibid., sig.D1^{v}.
[49] Wistreich, *Warrior, Courtier,* pp.257-60.
[50] Castiglione, *Courtyer*. sig.M4^{r} (my italics). This is also interesting evidence of early monodic performance.
[51] ibid., sig.M4^{r}.

musician. However, by commissioning music for a tournament entry the nobleman could demonstrate his patronage of music and present himself as a cultured individual. Given the potential for negative portrayals of military men and the expectation of noblemen to demonstrate a breadth of courtly talent, music could provide an important counterbalance to the martial skills portrayed through the central sporting events.

Philisides, The Shepherd Knight

These conflicting attitudes to music and arms as attributes of courtly masculinity are evident in the paradox of Sir Philip Sidney's knightly persona, Philisides the Shepherd Knight. Although only knighted in 1583 (and only because he had been named as Johann Casimir's proxy for installation in the Order of the Garter), Sidney always had noble ambitions as he was the nephew, and until 1581 the heir, of the Earl of Leicester. He was well-travelled, having been part of the embassy to France to negotiate the Queen's marriage to Francis, Duke of Alençon in 1572, and having continued his travels in Germany, Poland, Italy and Austria. Yet he was never particularly favoured by Elizabeth and failed to achieve any significant court position.[52] As well as being both soldier and courtier, he was also a poet, writing the sonnet sequence *Astrophel and Stella*, *The Arcadia*, *An Apology for Poetry* and an entertainment for Elizabeth, *The Lady of May*, performed at Wanstead in May 1578. He died in 1586 fighting in support of Protestantism at Zutphen in the Netherlands. Developed both at tournaments and in literature, Sidney's Shepherd Knight persona combined the ideals of the noble knight and Renaissance courtier, and blended praise of Elizabeth with enhancement of Sidney's own reputation.

Sidney's persona is one of very few for which evidence of the role of music is extant. Although no musical notation survives, a song text and a poem can be found in both the Ottley Manuscript in the National Library of Wales and St Loe Kniveton's Commonplace book (GB-Ob: Harley MS. 7392).[53] Alan Young suggests that this device comes from Sidney's first known appearance at the Accession Day tilt of 1577.[54] The

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[52] H. R. Woudhuysen suggests this was because 'he was irascible, ambitious, proud, and perhaps unreliable; his religious faith may not have been certain; he behaved and was received as a powerful figure abroad' in 'Sidney, Sir Philip (1554–1586)', in *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, 2005) <www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25522> [accessed 11/08/2009].
[53] Beal, 'Poems by Sir Philip Sidney', pp.287-89.
[54] Young, *Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments*, pp.128, 153.

song (in praise of Elizabeth) was followed by a poem which explained the conceit of the pageant: that Philisides the good shepherd has called the ploughmen from their work to celebrate Elizabeth's Sabbath.[55]

Further light can be shed on the Shepherd Knight persona and the use of musical pageantry during tournaments by examining the character of Philisides as he appears in Sidney's literary works: the *Old Arcadia* (c.1580), which only ever circulated in manuscript, and the substantially different *New Arcadia*, unfinished at his death but published in 1590 as *The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia*.[56] In the *Old Arcadia* Philisides is a love-sick shepherd found in the eclogues; however, he has not always been a shepherd as he is described as one 'who as a stranger sat among them… having put himself in their company', suggesting he might be a courtier retreating from court.[57] This lovesick shepherd is similar to the Philisides of the 1577 tournament who is 'the Shepherd good and true' made 'pale and wan' by Mirra's 'fair sweet lokes'.[58] More closely related to the 1577 persona is the Philisides of the *New Arcadia*: a Shepherd Knight who opens the tilt at the Iberian yearly jousts for Queen Helen of Corinth. The passage describes Philisides's costume and his entry to musical accompaniment, giving one stanza of an eclogue sung by the shepherds attending him.[59]

These texts were probably only seen by friends and family during Sidney's lifetime, especially as the revised *New Arcadia* was never completed. However, the process by which Sidney designed his fictional appearance is likely to have been similar to that for his tournament entries at court, and the obvious parallel with the yearly Accession Day tilts of Elizabeth has led to suggestions that the *New Arcadia* passage may be a representation of an actual tournament.[60] The personas of these fictional knights do match those known from accounts of real tilts such as the frozen knight, the wild man,

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[55] Sir Philip Sidney, *The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. William Ringler (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1562), pp.356-58. Ringler includes both the song and poem under 'wrongly attributed poems', but Beal, while accepting that uncertainty remains, points to several arguments for Sidney's authorship: 'Poems by Sir Philip Sidney', p.289.
[56] Sir Philip Sidney, *The Old Arcadia*, ed. Katherine Duncan-Jones (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), p.vii; Sir Philip Sidney, *The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia* (London, 1590). For an explanation of the various versions of Arcadia: Sidney, *The Old Arcadia*, pp.vii-ix.
[57] Sidney, *Old Arcadia*, p.221.
[58] Sidney, *Poems*, pp.357-58.
[59] Sidney, *Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia,* fol.196^{r-v}.
[60] Strong, *Cult of Elizabeth*, p.149.

and the chained knight led in by a nymph.[61] Furthermore, the name of Philisides's opponent, Laelius, was a pseudonym for Sir Henry Lee, Elizabeth's champion.[62] Lee and Sidney are known to have tilted against each other on Accession Day in 1581 and again in 1584, where they also opened the proceedings as they do in *New Arcadia*. Whatever the extent of their reality or fiction, these narratives were clearly part of the tradition and fantasy of the Accession Day tilts. The literary version of events can inform us about the means of creating identity at a tournament, the types of music used, and the connotations of the pastoral persona chosen by Sidney.

Philisides was not the only persona which Sidney took at tournaments as some were specifically themed; Sidney was one of the Four Foster Children of Desire in May 1581 and in *Callophisus Challenge* (January 1581), where the knights represented colours, Sidney was the Blue Knight.[63] Another poem in the Ottley Manuscript is from the entry of a 'desert knight' who is similarly rustic with:

> myne armor barke & mosse of faded tree
> my speares wild poles my end to love and see.[64]

However, the shepherd themes recurred in Sidney's future tournament appearances. Another *imprese* related to Sidney has a sheep marked with the planet Saturn, with the motto 'Macular modo noscar' (I am marked only I may be recognised).[65] Even after his death in 1587, Sidney was remembered at the 1590 Accession Day tilt as 'Sweete Sydney, fairest shepheard of our greene/ Well lettred Warriour'.[66]

The incongruity of a shepherd taking part in a military tournament is striking in both the courtly and fictional contexts and this was emphasised aurally through the musical accompaniments, as well as visually through the costumes. The figure of the shepherd is

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[61] The knight in chains is found in M. Nellot's description of the *Four Foster Children of Desire*, 1581 (Nellot, 'Tournoi', fol.80^{r} and Raumer, *History,* Vol.2, pp.434); a Frozen knight is referred to Goldwell's account of the same (Goldwell, *Briefe Declaration,* sig.B2^{r}); and Lupold von Wedel described men like savages appearing in the 1584 Accession Day tournament (von Bulow, 'Journey through England and Scotland', p.258).
[62] James Hanford and Sara Watson, 'Personal Allegory in the "Arcadia": Philisides and Lelius', *Modern Philology* 32 (1934), 1-10. Lelius was the name of one of Lee's estates and a tribute to Lee by Joseph Sylvester in 1611 also uses the pseudonym.
[63] Woudhuysen, 'Sidney, Sir Philip'.
[64] Beal, 'Poems by Sir Philip Sidney', p.288. Beal suggests this poem came from the same occasion as the song and poem for Philisides and the ploughman. The occasion certainly seems to have been an Accession Day but the knightly persona is clearly different. It is most probably from a second entry into the tiltyard with a different but related persona because, as Beal points out, it too hails Elizabeth as 'Sainte of the saboath'.
[65] Katherine Duncan-Jones, 'Sidney's Personal Imprese', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 33 (1970), 321-324 (p.323); Abraham Fraunce, *Symbolicae Philosophae Liber Quartus et Ultimus*, ed. John Manning, trans. Estelle Han (New York: AMS Press, 1991).
[66] Peele, *Polyhymnia*, sig.A4^{v}.

the opposite of the knight: the shepherd engages in musical and poetic contests rather than feats of arms. Sidney's description of Philisides's entry in the *New Arcadia* contrasts the typical military pageantry with the rusticity of the shepherds' entry:

> [his] manner of entring was, with bagpipes in steed of trumpets; a shepheards boy before him for a Page, and by him a dosen apparelled like shepherds for the fashion, though rich in stuffe, who caried his launces, which though strong to giue a launcely blow indeed, yet so were they couloured with hooks neere the mourn, that they pretily represented shephooks. His own furniture was drest ouer with wooll, so enriched with Iewels artificially placed, that one would haue thought it a mariage betweene the lowest and the highest. His *Impresa* was a sheepe marked with pitch, with this word *Spotted to be knowne*.[67]

Although we do not know what Sidney's costume or entry looked like in 1577, the poem suggests the incongruity of Philisides's ploughmen followers in the tiltyard:

> Yf any Juste, his whip must be his Speare,
> And of his teeme the till horse, must him beare. [68]

The music too was designed to emphasise this surprise. The Ottley Manuscript records that the poem 'Philisides the Shepherd' was 'to be said by one of my plowmen aftr that I had passed the tilt with my rusticall musick & this freeman's song that followeth'.[69] Freeman's songs or three men's songs were polyphonic songs, usually in three parts, all with text (see also pp.111-13). The description of Philisides's entry in *Arcadia* suggests what the imitation of 'rusticall musick' may have entailed:

> the shepherds attending upon PHILISIDES went among them & sang an eclogue; one of them answering another, while the other shepherds pulling out recorders (which possest the place of pipes) accorded their musick to the others voice.[70]

This would have proved a stark contrast with the trumpets and drums usually associated with the entries of knights.

Yet the idea was not original to Sidney but derived from Castiglione's *The Courtyer*. In a passage on the appropriate way for a courtier to display his talents in public, Sir Friderick suggests that a knight should disguise himself:

> in fourm of a wield shepehearde, or some other suche kinde of disguisinge, but with an excellent horse and wel trimmed for the purpose. Because the minde of the lookers on runneth furthwith to imagine the thing that is offered vnto the eyes at the first shew, and whan they behold afterward a farre greater matter to come of it then they looked for vnder that attire, it deliteth them and they take pleasure at it.[71]

The shepherd's association with pastoral arts rather than military arts (as illustrated by their musical entrances in both the real and the fictional tilt) would also serve as a foil to Sidney's martial skill. Louis Montrose describes the pleasure of the audience in this

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[67] Sidney, *Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia,* fol.196^{r}.
[68] Sidney, *Poems,* pp.356-57.
[69] Beal, 'Poems by Sir Philip Sidney', p.287.
[70] Sidney, *Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia*, fol.196^{r}.
[71] Castiglione, *Courtyer*, sig.M3^{v}.

spectacle as coming from the 'delayed disclosure' which affirms the relationship of knightly skill and social status.[72] The Shepherd costume led the spectators to anticipate a poor performance: but they could be pleasurably surprised when the knight performed well. The song in Sidney's *Arcadia* created just such expectations:

> ME thought some staues he mist: if so, not much amisse:
> For where he most would hit, he euer yet did misse.
> One said he brake acrosse; full well it so might be:
> For neuer was there man more crossely crost then he.
> But most cryed, O well broke: O foole full gaily blest:
> Where failing is a shame, and breaking is his best.[73]

The stanza presents Philisides as inexperienced but fortunate. He misses staves (fails to hit the target with his lance) and when he finally hits his target he does so through the inferior tilting move of breaking his lance across his opponent.[74] However, most cheer him for succeeding in breaking his lance, though the cry, 'O foole full gaily blest', suggests they judge it to be more beginner's luck than skill. It also puns on the idea that whereas to break an object would usually be a mistake, in jousting breaking one's lance is the winning shot.

Sir Friderick's discussion of disguising also implies that masks allowed nobles to show off their talents in an overt way that would have been otherwise inappropriate to their social status:

> to be in a maske bringeth with it a certaine libertie and lycence, that a man may emong other thinges take vppon him the fourme of that he hath best skill in, and vse bente studye and *preciseness* about the principall drift of the matter wherin he will shewe himselfe, and a certaine *Reckelessness* aboute that is not of importaunce, whiche augmenteth the grace of the thinge.[75]

Masking temporarily separated the talent from the identity of the performer so that the action could be judged for itself, without the bias of knowing the performer. It allowed the nobleman to seek honour without being accused of merely desiring fame and glory because in hiding his identity he drew attention away from the personal and self-seeking motives to his actions. Robert Ashley's *Of Honour* (c.1596-1603 and dedicated to the Lord Keeper, Sir Thomas Egerton) distinguished between glory – a selfish desire for personal fame and honour – and seeking the just recognition of virtuous actions:

> glorie seemeth to reach farther to all manner of Celebritie; but the name of honour ys somewhat straighter. And againe in that this respecteth not so much the greatnes and propagacion of yt self (which glorie does especially) as the desertes of virtue.

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[72] Louis Montrose, 'Of Gentlemen and Shepherds: The Politics of Elizabethan Pastoral Form', *English Literary History* 50, (1983), 415-59, (pp.444-45).
[73] Sidney, *Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia*, fol.196^{v}.
[74] Young, *Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments,* pp.46-47 on tournament moves.
[75] Castiglione, *Courtyer*, sig.M3^{r-v}.

The fine line between the virtuous pursuit of honour and the selfish desire for glory is created through image. Ashley continued:

> to glory yt ys not inough as yt ys vnto honour, that men shold haue a good opinion of vs except yt be ioyned with magnificence and excellencie, for th'one befalles to manie, yea, to all good men, th'other but vnto few, and those rare and excellent: so that glory is accompanied with shew and solemnitie, pomp and magnificence; but honour only with the approbacion of a good and sound judgement directed by reason.[76]

Swapping trumpets and loud music for shepherd songs, a train of courtly servants for one of ploughmen and shining knightly armour for a shepherd's appearance may also have been designed to lessen the 'shew and solemnitie, pomp and magnificence' associated with glory rather than honour. When the mask is removed the honour attached to the talent performed can be attributed to the nobleman, but the reputation has been virtuously attained.

Such false modesty and nonchalant attitude is a typical noble pose, which is found in the final verse of Sidney's 1577 poem:

> When he runnes well, then well to her betide,
> When yll, then ill, a plaine faith is exprest,
> Yf neither well nor ill light on his side,
> His course if yet rewarded with the best:
> Ffor of all Runners, this the ffortune is.
> That who runnes best, is fortunde on[e] to misse.[77]

The poem made light of whether a knight performed well or badly, because either way his loyalty was expressed. It was therefore a common conceit to present one's skills as lacking and imperfect. The disguise allowed the nobleman to gain honour through displaying his talents whilst appearing to maintain a casual and indifferent attitude to them.

However, the character of Philisides was not a simple, uneducated herder of sheep. Abraham Fraunce's verses accompanying Sidney's *imprese* (the sheep marked with the star of Saturn) compared the sheepfold and the palace, the king and the shepherd, and presented the Greek hero Agamemnon as 'shepherd of his people'.[78] The shepherd, like the king, is responsible for the lives and wellbeing of his flock. Shepherds were also intelligent and artistic figures, whose undemanding employment allowed them to develop their musical and literary talents, just as noblemen had the leisure time to

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[76] Robert Ashley, *Of Honour* [c.1596-1603], ed. Virgil Heltzel (San Marino, California: The Huntingdon Library, 1947), pp.l36-37.
[77] Sidney, *Poems*, pp.356-57.
[78] Fraunce, *Symbolicae Philosophae*, p.49.

pursue varied pastimes.[79] This idealised pastoral topos was borrowed from Classical and Italian Renaissance models such as Virgil's *Eclogues* or pastoral dramas like Tasso's *Aminta* (1573). Here shepherds were associated with poetic and musical talent through their performance of eclogues. Fraunce's verses drew out this connotation of the shepherd topos, ending with the line: 'Even the god Apollo fed his wandering flock.'[80] Apollo was god of music and poetry but had lived among shepherds and herdsmen when banished from court of Olympus for killing the Cyclops. The planet Saturn, juxtaposed against the sheep in Sidney's *imprese*, was considered particularly favourable to scholars and poets and also was believed to cause success in petitions to princes.[81]

This sophisticated shepherd was appropriate for Sidney's poetic, literary and musical interests. While in 1577 Sidney's literary pursuits were not so well-known, in the years immediately following it he wrote the *Lady of May* for the Queen's visit to Wanstead and the *Old Arcadia*, and was the dedicatee of Edmund Spenser's *The Shepheardes Calender*. Bruce Pattison also suggests that Sidney was also an active patron of music. Although Sidney was critical of his own musical talents, he did organise private performances for himself and a circle of aristocratic friends.[82] In May 1580 Sidney wrote to Edward Denny reminding him 'with your good voice, to singe my songes for they will one well become an other', suggesting Sidney had written lyrics intended to be sung.[83] The shepherd persona became a means to draw attention to Sidney's cultural achievements.

The music is important in creating this idealised version of the pastoral. In the tournament from *Arcadia*, the shepherds enter not with a rustic song, but with an eclogue, a Classical literary form. The song for the 1577 tournament is described as a freeman's song; however, it is unlike any those from Thomas Ravenscroft's *Deuteromelia* of 1609. Many of those in Ravenscroft's publication are drinking or bawdy songs while others are character songs such as 'We be Souldiers three' and 'We be three poore Mariners'.[84] Nor is the tournament song like the song sung by

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[79] Montrose, 'Of Gentlemen and Shepherds', pp.427-31.
[80] Fraunce, *Symbolicae Philosophae*, p.49.
[81] ibid., pp.174-77.
[82] Bruce Pattison, 'Sir Philip Sidney and Music', *Music & Letters* 15 (1934), 75-81.
[83] James Osborn, *The Young Philip Sidney 1572-1577* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), p.540.
[84] Thomas Ravenscroft, *Deuteromelia: or the Seconde Part of Musicks Melodie* (London, 1609), sig.B2^{v}-B3^{r}, C1^{v}-C2^{r}.

ploughmen during Elizabeth's visit to Elvetham in 1591 ('In the Merrie Moneth of May'), which was also described as a 'Three Men's Song' in the 'newlie corrected and amended' account of the entertainment.[85] The Elvetham song described how the shepherd Corydon successfully wooed Phyllida, and was set for three voices by John Baldwin.[86] By contrast, the 1577 tournament song was not a character song, a love song, or a tale of shepherds or ploughmen, but a carol of praise:

> Singe neighbours singe, here yow not Say,
> This Sabaothe day:
> A Sabaoth is reputed,
> Of such a roiall saint
> As all Sayntes els confuted,
> Is Love without constrainte.
>
> *Let such a Sainte be praised,*
> *Which so her worth hath raised,*
> *ffrom him that wold not thus,*
> *Good Lord delyver us*
>
> Sound up your pypes, do yow not see,
> That yond is Shee.
> yeaven She that most respecteth,
> The faithfull loving myndes
> And no on thought rejecteth,
> That upon Honour byndes.
>
> *Let such a Saincte...*
>
> Shew foth yowr Joy, let moorninge stay,
> This is Her day:
> Her day on which shee entred,
> And with her entry Peace,
> Whiche shee hath not adventred,
> But kepte for our encrease.
>
> *Let such a Saincte...*
>
> All Joy is full, like for no moe
> Let Sorrow goe;
> Let Sorrow goe despised,
> And mirth be made a Queene,
> The Heavens highly praised,
> That we this day have seene.

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[85] Anon, *The Honorable Entertainement Gieuen to the Queenes Maiestie in Progresse, at Eluetham in Hampshire, by the Right Honorable the Earle of Hertford* (London, 1591), sig.D3$^{r-v.}$ The 'newly corrected and amended' edition is found in Jean Wilson, *Entertainments for Elizabeth I* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1980), pp.99-118 (pp.113-14).

[86] John Baldwin, 'In the Merrie Monthe of Maye', in Gb-LBl: rm.24.d2, fol.171^{v}-173^{v} (copied with the date 1592). See Ernst Brennecke 'The Entertainment at Elvetham, 1591', in *Music in English Renaissance Drama*, ed. John Long (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1968), pp.32-56 (pp.47-51).

Let such a Saincte....[87]

The song takes the form of a carol with a verse and refrain. It has a religious tone in its references to 'Sabaoth day' and 'sayntes', and the prayer 'Good Lord delyver us' (a response from the Litany in the *Book of Common Prayer*); the ploughmen are presented as honest, loyal and pious country folk, using their joyous music to praise their saint. The song represents the nobility's idealised version of popular song.

The 1577 song is also typical of the religious imagery found throughout Accession Day tournament pageantry. Roger Howell notes that the figure of the shepherd already had religious overtones through the biblical Good Shepherd. He also suggests that the shepherd was symbolic of the purity of the country rather than the corruption of court.[88] For example, Sidney compares the natural love of a simple shepherd to the artful deceit of the courtier in his 'Disprayse of a Courtly Life':

> Therefore shepheardes wanting skill,
> Can Loues duties best fulfil:
> Since they know not how to faine,
> Nor with Loue to cloake Disdaine,
> Like the wiser sorte, whose learning
> Hides their inward will of harming.[89]

Such honesty and openness were the ideal characteristics for a courtier's role as adviser to the monarch, as opposed to the dissembling, faction and selfishness of which courtiers were frequently accused.

Sidney's persona showed care to demonstrate a balance of artistic and martial talents. Robert Ashley's *Of Honour* reveals how honour could be associated not only with military exploits, but with virtue, learning and the arts:

> For by honour are virtues kindled and incouraged, by honour are vices eschewed, .., and all evill affeccions are allayed…, by honour are Citties kept, famelies preserved, the society of men quietly and peaceably continued, the commonwealth defended, dominions enlarged, the warrs well followed, learning cherished, and all artes mainteyened.[90]

Sidney could gain greatest admiration by incorporating all these pathways to honour into his persona: as a knight he defended England and protected its people; the knight's chivalric code and the traditional innocence of shepherds implied his virtues; the shepherds' musical and literary talents suggested his appreciation of learning and the

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[87] Sidney, *Poems*, pp.357-58.
[88] Roger Howell, *Sir Philip Sidney, the Shepherd Knight* (London: Hutchinson, 1968), pp.8-11.
[89] Sir Philip Sidney, 'Disprayse of a Courtly Life', in *A Poetical Rapsody Containing, Diuerse Sonnets, Odes, Elegies, Madrigalls, and Other Poesies, Both in Rime, and Measured Verse* (London, 1602), ed. Francis Davison (London, 1602), sig.B2^{v}-B3^{r}.
[90] Ashley, *Of Honour*, p.30.

arts. Here Sidney's personal image-making began to combine with his knightly duty to praise Elizabeth. As Sidney presented himself as the ideal courtier, equipped with the best of skills for war and peace, he simultaneously praised Elizabeth for her peaceful rule. The third verse of the 1577 song celebrated the 'peace' brought by her accession 'Whiche shee hath not adventred/But kepte for our encrease'.[91] Yet, as Robert Ashley emphasised in the passage quoted above, martial skills were still necessary for preserving the peaceful civilisation in which cultural pursuits could develop.

Sidney's combinations of shepherd and knight, and of musical and military entertainment, celebrated peace and stability at the same time as recognising the importance of the military in defending such prosperity. Music's role was firstly to draw attention to Sidney's persona by providing a striking contrast with the expected military sounds. Secondly it associated Sidney with the poetic and musical talents of the Shepherds both as a mask of modesty in the field in the martial sphere of the tilts and as a sign of Sidney's well-rounded talents. Finally, music evoked the flourishing of the courtly arts in Elizabeth's peaceful reign. The synthesis of the warlike and the peaceful, military talent and cultured learning are summed up in Sidney's description of Helen of Corinth's court in *Arcadia*, with its thinly-veiled flattery of Elizabeth:

> She made her people by peace, warlike; her courtiers by sports learned; her Ladies by Love, chast. For by continuall martiall exercises without bloud, she made them perfect in that bloudy art. Her sportes were such as caried riches of Knowledge vpon the streame of Delight[92]

The continuing celebration of Sidney as the Shepherd Knight even after his death indicates the success of this persona; George Whetstone's commemoration upon his death read, 'He was the muses ioy, he was *Bellonas* sheilde'.[93]

Noble and Princely Relationships: *The Four Foster Children of Desire*

Sir Philip Sidney's Philisides persona maintained an impression of holiday jolliness appropriate to Elizabeth's Accession Day. Yet Richard McCoy has argued that the image of the Shepherd Knight was representative of Sidney's own partial estrangement

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[91] Sidney, *Poems*, pp.357-58.
[92] Sidney, *Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia,* fol.195^{r}.
[93] George Whetstone, *Sir Phillip Sidney, His Honorable Life, His Valiant Death, and True Vertues A Perfect Myrror for the Followers Both of Mars and Mercury* (London, 1587), sig.C3^{r}. Bellona was a Roman Goddess of War.

from court due to his failure to achieve a court position.[94] This is unlikely to have been the case in 1577 as Sidney's political career was briefly looking more promising: in that year he had been sent on an official mission to seek support for a Protestant Alliance.[95] Yet the figure of Shepherd Knight later became connected to the discourse of certain courtiers who wanted England to play an active military role in defending the Protestant cause in Europe.

The *Lady of May* entertainment, which Sidney wrote for the Queen's visit to Wanstead (a residence of the Earl of Leicester) in May 1578, invited Elizabeth to choose a husband for the May Lady: either Espilus the shepherd or Therion the forester.[96] McCoy and Philippa Berry interpret the show as designed to argue the merits of the bold and active approach to life (represented by Therion) over the cautious and contemplative (Espilus).[97] William Ringler went as far as to argue that the suitors represented peaceful foreign policy and active military intervention and aimed to persuade Elizabeth to provide military support for the Protestants in the Netherlands – a policy favoured by the Earl of Leicester and Sidney but firmly resisted by Elizabeth.[98]

Sidney's lack of court office and Elizabeth's reluctance to undertake military missions meant that he could not maintain the balance of military and courtly arts which was the ideal of the Shepherd Knight persona. A letter from Sidney's friend and advisor, Hubert Languet, to Sidney in May 1578 indicates this tension between leisure and military action in Sidney's sense of his nobility:

> O happy ye, who may complain of too much leisure! I pray you may long be able to do so. But most men of high birth are possessed with this madness, that they long after a reputation founded on bloodshed, and believe that there is no glory for them except that which is connected with the destruction of mankind. Ought not you, adorned as you are by providence with all those splendid gifts of the mind, to feel otherwise than men feel who are buried in the most profound shades of ignorance, and think that all human excellence consists of physical strength?[99]

Sidney himself describes poetry as his 'vnelected vocation' and how he 'slipped into the title of a poet', suggesting it was not the political and military role to which he had

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[94] McCoy, *Rites of Knighthood*, pp.63-64.
[95] Richard McCoy, *Sir Philip Sidney: Rebellion in Arcadia* (Sussex: Harvester Press, 1979), pp.12-13.
[96] Sir Philip Sidney, 'Her Most Excellent Majesty Walking in Wanstead' [*The Lady of May*], in *The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia* (London, 1598), pp.570-576.
[97] McCoy, *Sir Philip Sidney*, pp.21, 26; David Bergeron, *English Civic Pageantry, 1558-1642* (Tempe, Ariz.: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2003), pp.40-41.
[98] Sidney, *Poems*, p.362. Philippa Berry sees the wildman/forester as a signifier of militant Protestantism in, *Of Chastity and Power: Elizabethan Literature and the Unmarried Queen* (London: Routledge, 1989), p.94.
[99] Steuart Pears, *The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney and Hubert Languet* (London: Pickering, 1845), p.147.

aspired to as fitting his noble class.[100] Blair Worden has shown how Sidney and his circle considered virtue to consist of action and lamented England's idleness, particularly in response to the Catholic threat to Protestantism.[101] In his *An Apologie for Poetrie*, Sidney rebuked 'ouer-faint quietnes' of 'idle England'.[102] Elizabeth was aware that her gender could be seen as a factor in her reluctance to undertake military missions and a potential weakness. In 1587 Spanish intelligence reported Elizabeth declaring that 'although she was a woman and her profession was to preserve peace with neighbouring princes, yet if they attacked they would find that in war she could be better than a man'.[103] Yet her warning also reveals reasons beyond gender for her military reluctance. Elizabeth saw it as her duty as monarch to 'preserve peace', while the high cost of war would be another factor in considering such missions.

Similar themes can be seen in the tournament known as *The Four Foster Children of Desire*, which was performed before the Queen and the French ambassadors in May 1581. It has been suggested that Sidney wrote some of the speeches.[104] This tournament seems to have been more staged than usual with a unifying theme begun in the challenge and adhered to by all the defending knights. It was also unusual because the four Foster Children issued the challenge directly to Elizabeth herself (challenges were usually issued on her behalf).[105] The tournament was based on the conceit of the Fortress of Beauty (Elizabeth) being besieged by four Foster Children of Desire (Philip Howard, the Earl of Arundel; Lord Windsor; Philip Sidney; and Fulke Greville), so called because they were acting with the encouragement and instruction of Desire. A series of knights came to defend the Fortress of Beauty, including Adam and Eve (Sir Thomas Parrott and Anthony Cooke), the Desolate Knight (Thomas Ratcliffe) and the four Legitimate Sons of Despair (the four sons of Sir Francis Knollys: Henry, William, Robert and Francis).

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[100] Sidney, *Apologie for Poetrie*, sig.B1^{v}.
[101] Blair Worden, *The Sound of Virtue: Philip Sidney's Arcadia and Elizabethan Politics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), pp.61-67, 299-300.
[102] Sidney, *Apologie for Poetrie*, sig.I3^{r}.
[103] *CSP Simancas*, Vol 4:1587-1603, pp.17-18 ['Samson's Advices': 26th February 1587]. Samson was an alias for Antonio Escobar, a Portuguese exile at the English court (Louis Montrose, *The Subject of Elizabeth: Authority, Gender, and Representation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), p.286^{n33}).
[104] Goldwell, *Briefe Declaration*. There seem to have been two editions of this pamphlet, for which see Wilson, *Entertainments,* pp.60, 62-63. Aside from the copy GB-Lbl:C.33.a.38 which omits the song 'Yeelde, yeelde', the descriptions of the musical events are not significantly different. The version in Nichols just adds a few words on the pleasantness of the songs (*Progresses*, Vol.2, pp.310-29).
[105] Young, *Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments*, pp.147-48.

The device of their first entry was based on the idea of the 'storming of the castle of love'.[106] This was a chivalric game where the ladies of a court defended a wooden castle against an opposing force of knights who attacked using the weapons of love: roses, rose water, sonnets attached to arrows, all accompanied by highly allegorical love poetry. Eventually the ladies were expected to yield to be ransomed with kisses or favours. However, in 1581 the ending was twisted so that Elizabeth as the Queen of Beauty refuses to yield and the Four Foster Children of Desire must admit defeat. The French Ambassadors were in England to negotiate a possible marriage between Elizabeth and the Francis, Duke of Anjou, so most scholars have viewed the *Four Foster Children of Desire* allegory as an invention of her courtiers designed to present their opposition to the proposed marriage.[107]

However, Susan Doran has argued that it was an 'official statement of policy' commissioned by the Queen, pointing out that the courtiers who played the Foster Children included supporters of the marriage as well as those opposed to it and noting the co-operation of courtiers on both sides of the debate to create this elaborate tournament.[108] If the message of Elizabeth's chastity and the impossibility of her accepting a husband were designed by the Queen herself, then, in the light of Richard McCoy's argument that courtiers used the tournaments not only to stage their submission to their Queen but to assert their own rights and ambitions, we need to consider what the courtiers themselves might have wished to communicate on this occasion.[109]

McCoy suggests that the nobility responded with both an apology and a complaint. He sees the surrender of the Foster Children as a symbolic apology from the nobility for their interference in the issue of her marriage. Yet he also argues that the courtiers used the event to suggest Elizabeth's cruel indifference to their loyal service.[110] In such a reading, Desire is not only that of suitors like Anjou, but that of all Elizabeth's courtiers,

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[106] Helmut Nickel, 'The Tournament: A Historical Sketch', in *The Study of Chivalry: Resources and Approaches*, ed. Howell Chickering and Thomas Seiler (Kalamazoo, Mich: Western Michigan University, 1988), pp.213-262 (pp.234-36).
[107] Including: Wilson, *Entertainments,* p.62; McCoy, *Rites of Knighthood*, pp.61-62; Norman Council, '"O Dea Certe": The Allegory of "The Fortress of Perfect Beauty', *The Huntington Library Quarterly* 39 (1976), 329-42; Berry, *Of Chastity*, p.103, Young, *Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments,* p.148.
[108] Susan Doran, 'Juno Versus Diana: The Treatment of Elizabeth I's Marriage in Plays and Entertainments, 1561-1581', *The Historical Journal* 38 (1995), 257-74 (pp.273-74).
[109] McCoy, *Rites of Knighthood*, p.27.
[110] ibid., p.62.

as Francis Bacon described her allowing of amorous admiration but prohibiting sexual desire (see p.74). Catherine Bates also reads the tournament within the discourse of noble service, but in relation to the gendered tensions of Elizabeth's court. She argues that this tournament allowed the courtiers to perform in exaggerated form the submissive role forced upon them in the court of a ruling queen.[111] However, I believe that Elizabeth's courtiers went further than this, staging a defence of the value of martial masculinity to Elizabeth.

My argument is that Elizabeth's courtiers used this tournament to demonstrate to her that, even if she did not require a husband, her noblemen were vital to defend her reign and protect her interests abroad. The opening speeches of the tournament immediately brought the issue of gender to the foreground. The juxtaposition of music and courtly arts with arms and military sport underscored the limitations of Elizabeth's gender in the martial sphere and demonstrated the value and importance of noblemen to the regime. The courtiers presented themselves as willing and able to participate in the courtly arts of peace but needing to maintain their role as knights practised in the art of war for Elizabeth's defence. With marriage negotiations over, the military role of these noblemen would be particularly important if political alliances were not achieved and England came under threat, as was indeed to happen in 1585 with the outbreak of war against Spain.

The opening day of *The Four Foster Children of Desire* had two contrasting components: firstly, the aforementioned assault on the Fortress of Perfect Beauty using the weaponry of love, and secondly the entry of the defenders of the fortress which initiated the sports of the tiltyard, as the defending knights fought on Elizabeth's behalf. The musical activity was primarily associated with the first of these. The first appearance of the Foster Children was with a 'rolling trench', hidden within which were 'divers kinde of most excelent musicke' (probably a mixed consort).[112] This trench seems to have consisted of a frame of wood on wheels with empty space inside for musicians. It was made to look like earth ramparts with wooden cannons mounted on top. A page's speech to Elizabeth on their behalf then told her to see:

> howe not onely the heauens send their inuisible Instrument to ayde them. But also the very earth the dullest of al the Elements which with naturall heauinesse still

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[111] Catherine Bates, *The Rhetoric of Courtship in Elizabethan Language and Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp.72-75.
[112] Goldwell, *Briefe Declaration*, sig.A5^{v}.

> striues to the sleepie Center, … yet for aduancing this enterprise is contented actiuely as you shal see to moue it self vpon it selfe, to rise vp in height, That it may the better command the high & high minded FORTRESSE?[113]

This hidden music from the gods was supposed to help the Foster Children besiege the Fortress of Beauty. A mixed consort added to the novelty of the musical effect as it was not an ensemble used at court. Assuming the consort was provided by the Four Foster Children, it might have been recruited from the rich musical establishment at Nonesuch (as Philip Howard was the nephew of Lord Lumley) or from the Earl of Leicester's musicians who had performed as a mixed consort at Kenilworth in 1575 (as Sir Philip Sidney had, until April, been his heir).[114] The speech was followed by two songs sung by a boy accompanied by cornetts (who would perform in consort along with sackbuts). The boy was probably one of the Chapel Royal choirboys and the cornetts from the royal household musicians. The first song was sung to Elizabeth and urged her to yield up the fortress. The second, directed at the Foster Children, was an 'affectionate allarme' that signalled the beginning of the assault on the fortress. Further music continued as the Foster Children had their retinue shoot sweet water, throw flowers and scale pretty ladders so that 'the noyse of shooting was very excellent consent of mellodie within the Mounte'.

The page-boy's speech evoked issues of gender, suggesting that armour and the trappings of war were not fit for a lady to see:

> Nothing should this violence haue needed in your inuiolate presence, your eyes which til now haue bene onely wont to discerne the bowed knees of kneeling heartes, and inwardly tourned, found alwaies the heauenly peace of a sweete mind, Shoulde not nowe haue their faire beames reflected with the shining of Armoure, shoulde not nowe be driuen to see the furie of Desire, nor the fyery force of fury.[115]

This may explain why the Foster Children began the siege with the weapons of love rather than progressing straight to the more usual tilt and tourney. Joseph Swetnam's *The Araignment of Lewd, Idle, Froward, and Vnconstant Women* (1613) made a similar comparison of men and women:

> for a man delights in armes, & in hearing the rattling drums, but a woman loues to heare sweet musick on the Lute, Cittern, or Bandora: a man reioyceth to march among the murthered carkasses, but a woman to dance on a silken carpet: a man loues to heare the threatnings of his Princes enemies, but a woman weepes when she heares of wars: a man loues to lye on the cold grasse, but a woman must be

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[113] ibid., sig.A8^{r}.
[114] Charles Warren, 'Music at Nonesuch', *Musical Quarterly* 54 (1968), 47-57; David Lasocki, 'Professional Recorder Players in England, 1540-1740' (PhD Dissertation: University of Iowa, 1983), Vol.1.1, pp.176-77.
[115] ibid., sig.A7^{v}.

> wrapped in warme mantles: a man tryumphes at warres, but a woman reioyceth more at peace.[116]

The device of the Foster Children set up a similar distinction between the warlike knights and the female Beauty, associated with peace, sweetness and innocence. The association of music with desire and women which we see in Swetnam (and which we saw in chapter 2) made it an obvious choice as a 'weapon of love'.

This contrast of feminine/masculine, peaceful/aggressive was continued in the lyrics of two songs (see Table 3.1). Like the pageant itself, the songs presented the contrast between 'strong Desire' which 'no forces can withhold,' and the 'feeble shield' of fairness and beauty.[117] The first song called for Beauty to yield, the second called the

Table 3.1: Comparison of the lyrics 'Yeelde, Yeelde, O Yeelde' and 'Allarme, Allarme'.[118]
(Bold font indicates replacement of 'yeelde' with 'allarme'; underlining shows the repetition of themes and phrases)

Yeelde yeelde, O yeelde, you that this FORTE do holde, which seated is, in spotlesse honors fielde, Desires great force, no forces can withhold: then to <u>DESIERS desire</u>, **O yeelde O yeelde**.	**Allarme allarme**, here will no <u>yeelding</u> be, such marble eares, no cunning wordes can charme, Courage therefore, and let the stately see. that naught withstandes <u>DESIRE</u>, **Allarme, allarme**.
Yeelde yeelde O yeelde, trust not on <u>beauties</u> pride, fayrenesse though fayer, is but a feeble shielde, When strong Desire, which <u>vertues loue</u> doth guide, claymes but to gaine his due, **O yeelde O yeelde.**	**Allarme allarme**, let not their <u>beauties</u> moue remorse in you to doe this FORTRESSE harme, For since warre is the ground of <u>vertues loue</u>, no force, though force be vsed **Allarme allarme**.
Yeelde yeelde O yeelde, who first this Fort did make, did it for iust Desires, true children builde, Such was his minde, if you another take: defence herein doth wrong, **O yeelde O yeelde,** **Yeelde yeelde O yeelde**, now is it time to yeelde, Before thaslault beginne, **O yeelde O yeelde.**	**Allarme allarme**, companions nowe beginne, about this neuer conquered walles to swarme, More prayse to vs we neuer looke to winne, much may that was not yet, **Allarme allarme**. **Allarme allarme** when once the fight in warme, then shall you see them yelde, **Allarme allarme.**

[116] Joseph Swetnam, *The Araignment of Lewd, Idle, Froward, and Vnconstant Women Or the Vanitie of them, Choose You Whether: With a Commendation of Wise, Vertuous and Honest Women* (London, 1615), pp.38-39.
[117] Goldwell, *Briefe Declaration*, sig.A8^{v}.
[118] ibid, sig.A8^{v}-B1^{r}.

knights to action. The two songs are paired by their use of the same metre and by their similarity of structure. The placement of 'yeelde, yeelde' in the first song is replaced by 'Allarme, allarme' in the second and references to Desire, Beauty and Vertue's love all occur in the same poetic lines in each song. However, Goldwell's account tells us that the songs were sung by two different boys, so it is possible that two contrasting musical settings were used for the two related songs, drawing attention to their opposite moods.

While the lyrics of the first song might suit the style of a love song with its conventional conceit of the lover persuading his beloved to yield to his desires, the second song was a call to war and evoked music's military associations. It called them to have 'Courage, therefore, and let the stately see that naught withstandes DESIRE' and to begin the fight: 'companions nowe beginne about this neuer conquered walles to swarme'.[119] Music's ability to ready troops for war is suggested by Thomas Wythorne (here discussing horses):

> Den for beasts I may shew how Þat when Þe fears hors doth hear Þe sownd of Þe Trumpett, or Þe drum & fife, how hee bianby advaunseth him self, and how ready he maketh himself to fiht, by byting, and stryking with hiz feet & heels.[120]

This example is particularly appropriate to these tournaments where the tourney and the tilt were both events where the fighting was on horseback. Another well-known myth of music's martial effects was the story of Alexander being inspired to leave a banquet and arm himself for war at the particular tune of a minstrel (it was told, for example, in *The Praise of Musicke*).[121] So in these two paired songs music acted both as the lover's means of persuasion and the knight's call to war.

The assault continued until the entry of the defending knights. Each of these knights had his own persona and pageant, relating how he came to hear of the threat to Beauty. The eyewitness account of M. Nellot of the French embassy described musicians concealed in eagles, musicians with 'wide sleeves, great false beards, and high caps,' and processions of trumpeters associated with different knights.[122] Later 'haultz boyes' (presumably shawms) are specifically mentioned as the knights leave after the tournament.[123] As with the music of the 'rolling trench' above, hidden musicians may have been intended to surprise and amaze spectators by giving the appearance that

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[119] ibid., sig.B1^{r}.
[120] Thomas Whythorne, *The Autobiography of Thomas Whythorne*, ed. James Osborn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), p.243. Whythorne invented his own orthography to represent the sound of words.
[121] Anon., *Praise of Musicke*, pp.59-60.
[122] Nellot, 'Tournoi'; Raumer, *History*, pp.432-34.
[123] Nellot, 'Tournoi', fol.81^{r}.

music was magically sounding from nowhere, while the disguises suggest that musicians were meant to represent particular characters like Sidney's ploughmen (though it seems that Nellot struggled to determine the significance of the costumes). While the meaning of these different disguises remains unclear without the speeches (Goldwell's account only gives a selection), it seems that the music and musicians, like the pageantry and the devices, differentiated between the knights' personas.

The speeches were careful to point out that the knights did not come because they were required – as Beauty's fortress was too strong and virtuous to yield to the weapons of love – but rather out of loyalty. The Desolate Knight, played by Thomas Ratcliffe, declared, 'I am assured that to winne thee none coulde be so fortunate', while Mercurie on behalf of the Knollys sons said:

> your FORTRESSE is inuincible, no doubt DESIRE will content him selfe with a fauourable parley….the wordle doth knowe, that Ladie BEAWTIE needes no rescue to rayse this siege, for that she sits aboue al reach, her heauenly looks aboue when she so listes can dazell all mens eyes. But though she liste not vse those meanes, yet it is meete that all her seruantes come and shewe them selues deuout to do her will.[124]

Yet despite these knights' claims that Beauty/Elizabeth is invincible, when the elaborate pageantry ended and military action in the tiltyard began, Elizabeth did need her defending knights to compete with the Foster Children of Desire. All Elizabeth could do in this military battle was watch her 'famous knights'. As *An Apologie for Womenkinde*, one of many books debating the nature of women, declared:

> Their hands are made for musicke instruments,
> Not for to brandish warlike complements.[125]

Music had previously been associated with debate over the military role of nobility in Edmund Spenser's 'October Eclogue' from *The Shepheardes Calender* (1579). The shepherd Piers discusses the different types of song the poet-shepherd Cuddie might sing:

> Abandon then the base and viler clowne
> Lyft vp thy selfe out of the lowly dust:
> And sing of bloody Mars, of wars, of giusts,
> Turne thee to those, that weld the awful crowne
> To doubted Knights, whose woundlesse armour rusts
> And helmes vnbruzed wexen dayly browe.
>
> There may thy Muse display her fluttryng wing,
> And stretch her selfe at large from East to West:

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[124] Goldwell, *Briefe Declaration,* sig.B6^{v}.
[125] I. G., *An Apologie for Womenkinde* (London, 1605), sig.D3^{r}.

> Whither thou list in fayre *Elisa* rest,
> Or if thee please in bigger notes to sing,
> Advaunce the worthy whome she loueth best,
> That first the white bear to the stake did bring.[126]

The commentary tells the reader that this 'worthy' was the Earl of Leicester, whose badge was a bear with a ragged staff. The stanzas contrast songs on Elizabeth or Leicester: songs about the 'doubted knights', 'woundless armour' and 'unused helmets' of peacetime, or about Mars, wars and jousts associated with the military exploits of Leicester. The commentary tactfully explains to the reader that:

> Good occasion is him [the shepherd] offered of higher veyne and more Heroicall argument, in the person of our most gratious soueraign, whom (as before) he calleth Elisa. Or if mater of knighthoode and cheualrie please him better, that there be many Noble and valiant mean that are… worthy of his payne in their deserued prayses.[127]

Although the commentator, E.K., interpreted the passage as presenting the shepherd with an equal choice of subject matter, the stanzas seem to favour the warlike. The shepherd is encouraged to sing about Leicester if he wants 'bigger notes' and Spenser presents the peaceful alternative through images of the decaying tools of war and the waning honour of knights. The passage therefore reads as critical of the peacetime which leaves knights without occasion to demonstrate their honour.

This line of interpretation can also help make sense of the unusual opening to the second day of the tournament in which the Four Foster Children began by admitting their defeat. The Foster Children entered in a chariot with a woman representing Desire accompanied by 'a full consort of Musicke, who plaid still very doleful musicke'.[128] The terminology suggests another use of the mixed consort. The doleful character might have been created through mode, chromaticism, or a dance metre such as the pavan.[129] In Sir John Davies's poem, *Orchestra or A Poeme of Dauncing*, the pavan was the dance of the Moon. The moon was personified as 'Queene of Night' and when she comes, the Earth's 'sad and heauie cheere' is seen.[130] From Goldwell's account it seems that it was the music which most signalled the wearied and half-overcome mood of the knights, as the horses were still decked out in bright red and white, the colours of Desire. The contrast between the defiant, aggressive songs from the previous day's

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[126] Edmund Spenser, *The Shepheardes Calender Conteyning Twelue Aeglogues Proportionable to the Twelue Monethes* (London, 1579), fol.41^{r}.
[127] ibid., fol.43^{r}.
[128] Goldwell, *Briefe Declaration*, sig.B8^{r}.
[129] Examples of the association of flutes and mourning are given in John Manifold, 'Theatre Music in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', *Music & Letters* 29 (1948), 366-97 (pp.380-82).
[130] Sir John Davies, *Orchestra or A Poeme of Dauncing Iudicially Proouing the True Obseruation of Time and Measure, in the Authenticall and Laudable Vse of Dauncing* (London 1596), sig.B1^{r-v}.

entry and this doleful music would be striking, as would the unusually subdued mood for opening a day's tilting. The page of the Four Foster Children declared:

> So as nowe from Summoning this castle to yeld, they are fallen lowly to beseech you to vouchsafe your eyes out of that Impregnable Fortresse to behold what will fal out betwixt them and your famous knights.[131]

If we read this seeming act of submission in relation to the dual assault of this tournament – one with the weapons of love, and the other with military weaponry – then we can explain this incongruity. In this quotation they admitted that they were 'fallen lowly' in relation to their 'summoning this castle to yeld'. This summoning referred to the two songs of the previous day and the 'weaponry of love', whereas the Foster Children still invited Beauty/Elizabeth to behold the fighting of the knights. They admitted that Elizabeth had defeated their weaponry of love, but suggested that the military battle had not yet been won.

The final surrender of the Four Foster Children also emphasised Elizabeth's rule as one of peace by offering her an olive branch, token of her 'Triumphant Peace, And of their peaceable servitude'. The challengers acknowledged the supremacy of peace over violence, conceding that 'they haue degenerate from their Fosterer in making violence accompany Desire'.[132] By turning the courtly arts of music and poetry into weapons they corrupted the conventions of courtly desire. Yet while the Four Foster Children represented the submission of nobility to peacetime, the actions of Elizabeth's defending knights had shown the importance of military arts for defence. Like the Unfortunate Knight who left his life of contemplation in a mossy cave to defend beauty, Elizabeth's noblemen must maintain their skills by leaving their courtly entertainments and taking up arms in defence of Elizabeth. Defending the traditional role of noblemen as a military force, yet acknowledging their need to perform the courtly arts to create a magnificent English court, this tournament highlighted the compromise of all courtly tournaments in combining courtly pageantry with military sport.

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[131] Goldwell, *Briefe Declaration*, sig.B8^{v}.
[132] ibid., sig.C1^{v}-C2^{r}.

Music for Transforming Identity: Sir Henry Lee's Retirement

When the courtier came to the end of his active career and when old age prevented him from participating in the martial sports of his youth, a new problem of identity presented itself: how to retire graciously from court life. This dilemma was particularly tricky for Sir Henry Lee, who was the same age as Elizabeth and who had initiated the yearly Accession Day tournaments in the 1570s, declaring himself the Queen's champion. In 1590, at the age of 57, he staged his resignation, transferring his position as Queen's champion to the Earl of Cumberland. The pageantry that accompanied both Sir Henry Lee's entry to the tiltyard and his act of resignation was carefully designed to initiate a transformation of his identity. He would no longer style himself as knight, courtier and public figure but as a hermit, leading a quiet and peaceful life of contemplation in the countryside. The extant records for this tournament are unique as there are two surviving songs with convincing connections to this event.[133] An examination of this music reveals the extent to which it was infused with the themes, symbolism and imagery which only usually survive in visual and textual records.

There are two accounts of this tournament: George Peele's *Polyhymnia*, a poetic description published soon after the event, and a later version in William Segar's *Honor Military and Ciuill* (1602).[134] Both include the text for 'His Golden Locks', a setting of which is found in John Dowland's *First Booke of Songs or Ayres* (1597). Segar's account also reveals that this was sung by court musician, Robert Hales. A second song, 'Times Eldest Sonne', appears in John Dowland's *Second Booke of Songs of Ayres* (1600). The text of this song appears in the Bodleian Rawlinson MS Poet 148, described as being said by Lee 'In yeelding vp his Tilt staff'.[135] The manuscript adds a fourth stanza which is the same as the last verse of 'His Golden Locks', again suggesting a link between these two songs. As Lee did make further appearances at Accession Day tournaments (though not as a participant) it remains possible that 'Time's Eldest Son' belonged to one of these, but the song certainly employs the

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[133] Roy Strong pointed out the connection between 'Times Eldest Sonne' and this tilt: *Cult of Elizabeth*, p.207.
[134] Segar, *Honor Military, and Ciuill*, pp.197-200.
[135] John Lilliat, GB-Ob: Rawlinson MS Poet 148 [John Lilliat's Miscellany], fol.75^{v}. Edward Doughtie, *Liber Lilliati: Elizabethan Verse and Song (Bodleian MS Rawlinson Poetry 148)* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1985), p.165. Doughtie suggests 'Times Eldest Sonne' was written for Lee's investiture as a Knight of the Garter in 1597, as the poem was probably copied into the manuscript in 1598. However, the specific references to jousts, tilt devices and gallants proving their martial prowess would be more appropriate for a tournament and support the manuscript's attribution of this song to Lee's resignation. Either way, the song remains a means of establishing Lee's new hermit persona.

imagery of time and hermits that represented Lee's new identity as a retired courtier.[136] Lee was to use this imagery again when Elizabeth visited his home at Ditchley in 1592, where devices told of an Old Knight called Loricus who had become a hermit (Lee having appeared as the knight Loricus on Elizabeth's visit Woodstock in 1575); and in the reign of James I, Dowland set 'Farre from Triumphing Court', which includes the line 'tyme with his golden locks siluer changed' reminiscent of Lee's retiring song.[137] Anthony Rooley's study of these songs connected to Lee goes no further in examining the musical setting than to claim that 'Old age informs every rhythm, as do the easeful harmonies' (concerning 'Times Eldest Sonne').[138] In this section I examine more closely how Dowland's musical settings interacted with the speeches and visual pageantry of the occasion.

Elderly noblemen were not able to perform as gracefully as those in their youth so they were advised in conduct literature to withdraw from courtly display. In Castiglione's *The Courtyer,* Lord Julian says that:

> feates of armes and the other exercises beelonge vnto yonge menne and be not comelye in age: and musike, daunsinge, feastinges, sportinges, and loue, be matters to be laughed at in olde menne.[139]

Elsewhere, Sir Friderick declares that music and dancing 'oughte to bee lefte of before age constraineth vs to leaue them whether we will or no'.[140] For music, Sir Friderick explicitly gives its association with love as the reason why it should not be practised in public in old age (see p.63). This inappropriateness of courtly love in old men seems to be the underlying reason why all these activities should be given up. No courtier can be 'gratious, pleasant or hardye, nor at anye time vndertake any galant enterprise of Chiualrye onlesse he be stirred wyth the conuersacion and wyth the loue & contentacion

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[136] For example in the Ditchley Manuscript (GB-Lbl: Add MS 41499A), which contains speeches from tournaments or progresses connected with Sir Henry Lee and was preserved at his home at Ditchley before being donated to the British Library, contains 'The Suplicacon of the Old Knight' (fol.1^{r-v}) and a speech by a hermit on behalf of 'knight 'clownishly clad' (fol.2^{r}-3^{v}) E.K. Chambers, *Sir Henry Lee: An Elizabethan Portrait* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936) contains a description of this manuscript and its contents on pp.269-75.

[137] In Robert Dowland, *A Musicall Banquet* (London, 1610). Anthony Rooley suggests that 'Times Eldest Sonne' was created for this progress to Ditchley, but the references to joust, tournaments and gallant youth displaying martial prowess strongly suggest a tiltyard context: 'Time Stands Still: Devices and Designs, Allegory and Alliteration, Poetry and Music and a New Identification in an Old Portrait', *Early Music* 34 (2006), 443-60 (p.446).

[138] Frances Yates, 'Elizabethan Chivalry: the Romance of the Accession Day Tilts', in *Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century* (London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1975), pp.88-111. (pp.94-98, 105); Rooley, 'Time Stands Still', p.446.

[139] Castiglione, *Courtyer*, sig.N1^{r}.

[140] ibid., sig.Ss1^{r}.

of women'.[141] Old courtiers were obliged by custom to withdraw from the most public courtly activities and create for themselves a new identity.

However, at the English court, the courtier's devotion to women was synonymous with his love of its Queen. A retiring courtier had to negotiate his withdrawal from the activities of courtly love, without neglecting to demonstrate his loyalty to Elizabeth. Lee's solution was to turn courtly love into religious devotion. The tournaments already offered the inspiration for this, as we saw in the portrayal of Elizabeth as Saint in Sidney's 1577 entry. Such imagery had intensified through the 1580s when Elizabeth was increasingly styled as 'virgin goddess' in courtly entertainments.[142] Rooley points to the image of the Four Ages of Man (which appears on the title page of Dowland's *First Booke of Songes*) progressing from innocent child to the uncertain, still ignorant youth to intelligent maturity and finally to the infirmity of old age.[143] Lee was therefore drawing on archetypal images of old men as models with which to effect his transformation of identity. The infirmity of the hermit as portrayed in the Four Ages provided Lee's excuse for retirement. Moreover, Frances Yates suggests that the hermit image was inspired by the *Book of Ordre of Chivalry* by Ramon Lull (translated into English by William Caxton and printed in c.1485), which opens with a description of a wise knight, who, having participated in jousts and tournaments for many years, retires to be a hermit. A young squire comes to the hermitage with no knowledge of chivalry. The hermit offers him the book and the squire asks to be instructed in the practice of knighthood.[144] By transforming his identity from Queen's champion to wise hermit, Lee could therefore maintain his reputation as a leader in the revival of chivalric traditions at court. Lee particularly emphasised the chivalric and pious connotations of the hermit in the last verse of 'His Golden Locks': 'he'll teach his swains this carol for a song'.

The first stage in establishing Lee's new identity was his entry into the tiltyard. Peele described how Lee led in the troops with a caparison (a cover spread over the saddle of a horse) depicting a withered running vine 'as who would say, My spring of youth is past'.[145] He also wore steel armour with grey and white plumes representing old age. This appearance is mentioned in the opening line of his resignation song, 'His Golden

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[141] ibid., sig.Bb2^{v}.
[142] John King, 'Queen Elizabeth I: Representations of the Virgin Queen', *Renaissance Quarterly* 43 (1990), 30-74 (pp.36, 58).
[143] Rooley, 'Time Stands Still', p.447.
[144] Yates, 'Elizabethan Chivalry', pp.106-08.
[145] Peele, *Polyhymnia,* sig.A2^{v}.

Locks' (see pp.133-37). Similarly, the opening words of 'Times Eldest Sonne' would leave no doubt as to Lee's persona as he entered:

> Times eldest sonne, old age the heyre of ease
> Strengths foe, loues woe, and foster to deuotion
> Bids gallant youths in marshall prowes please,
> As for himselfe, hee hath no earthly motion,
> But thinks sighes, teares, vowes, praiers and sacrifices
> As good as showes, maskes, iustes or tilt deuises.
>
> Then sit thee downe and say thy *Nunc Demittis,*
> With *De profundis, Credo,* and *Te Deum,*
> Chant *Miserere* for what now so fit is,
> As that, or this *Paratum est cor meum*,
> O that thy Saint would take in worth thy hart,
> Thou canst not please hir with a better part.
>
> When others sings *Venite exultemus,*
> Stand by and turne to *Noli emulari*,
> For *quare fremuerunt* vse *Oremus*
> *Viuat Eliza* for an *aue mari*
> And teach those swains that livues about thy cell,
> To say *Amen* when thou dost pray so well.[146]

The song is through-composed, allowing Dowland to use madrigalian techniques of word-painting and to evoke particular musical styles which reflect the themes not only of the text, but of the whole retirement pageant.

The opening of the piece (fig.3.1) is reminiscent of the pavan-style with the typical 'long-short-short' rhythm which Arbeau suggested as the rhythmic accompaniment to his example of pavans in his *Orchésographie* (1588).[147] Pavans were 'used in a masquerade when there is a triumphal procession of chariots of gods, goddesses, emperors or kings', so would be appropriate for Lee leading a procession of knights into the tiltyard.[148] However, the slow tempo of the pavan would also be appropriate to the theme of decrepit age in Lee's disguise. Thomas Morley described the pavan as 'a king of staide musicke, ordained for graue dauncing'.[149] We also saw above that the pavan was associated with sadness and night in Davies's *Orchestra* (p.123).[150] Themes of sadness were appropriate to the occasion of Lee's retirement and the nocturnal associations are an obvious symbol of a man reaching the last part of life.

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[146] John Dowland, *The Second Booke of Songs or Ayres, of 2. 4. and 5. Parts with Tableture for the Lute or Orpherian, with the Violl de Gamba* (London, 1600), sig.D2^{v}-F1^{r}.
[147] Thoinot Arbeau, *Orchesography: A Treatise in the Form of a Dialogue Whereby All Manner of Persons May Easily Acquire and Practice the Honourable Exercise of Dancing 1588*, ed. Cyril Beaumont and Peter Warlock (London: C.W. Beaumont, 1925), p.57.
[148] ibid., p.58.
[149] Thomas Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke Set Downe in Forme of a Dialogue* (London, 1597), p.181.
[150] Davies, *Orchestra,* sig.B1^{r-v}.

Figure 3.1: John Dowland, 'Times Eldest Sonne', Bars 1-10.[151]

1

Canto

Times el-dest sonne, old age the heyre of ease, Strengths foe, loues woe,

Lute / Orpharion

Basso

Times el-dest sonne, old age, old age, the heyre of ease, Strengths foe, loues woe,

6

and fo-ster to de-uo-tion, bids ga-llant youths in mar-shall pro-wes please,

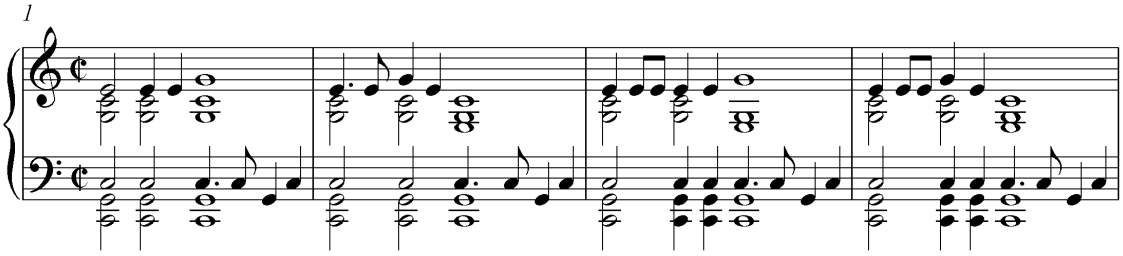
and fo-ster to de-uo-tion, bids ga-llant youths in mar-shall pro-wes please,

The words 'heyre' and 'foster' signal the change of identity. He presents himself as estranged from the knightly virtues of 'strength' and 'loue' and now allied with 'ease' and 'deuotion'. It is the youths who are 'gallant' and able to please with their 'marshall prowes'. As the focus of the words shifts to the 'gallant youths' so a new musical style is evoked. The musical setting of this third line contrasts with the previous lines by settling into a regular rhythm of two semibreves to a bar and by its static harmony (bars 8-10). It is accompanied only by D major chords repeated every semibreve until the cadence. The melody changes from primarily stepwise motion to outlining a D major triad and it is the only point in the piece where two dotted rhythms are used consecutively. While not a direct imitation of the sounds of war in the style of pieces like Janequin's *La Guerre*, 'warlike' musical devices such as the *durus* (sharpwards)

[151] Dowland, *Second Book*, sig.D2^{v}-F1^{r} ; John Dowland, *The Second Book of Songs (1600)*, ed. Edmund Fellows, rev. Thurston Dart (London: Stainer and Bell, 1969), pp.21-25. Dowland's title page indicates that the lower part might be played on the bass viol. As he also adds text, it might be sung.

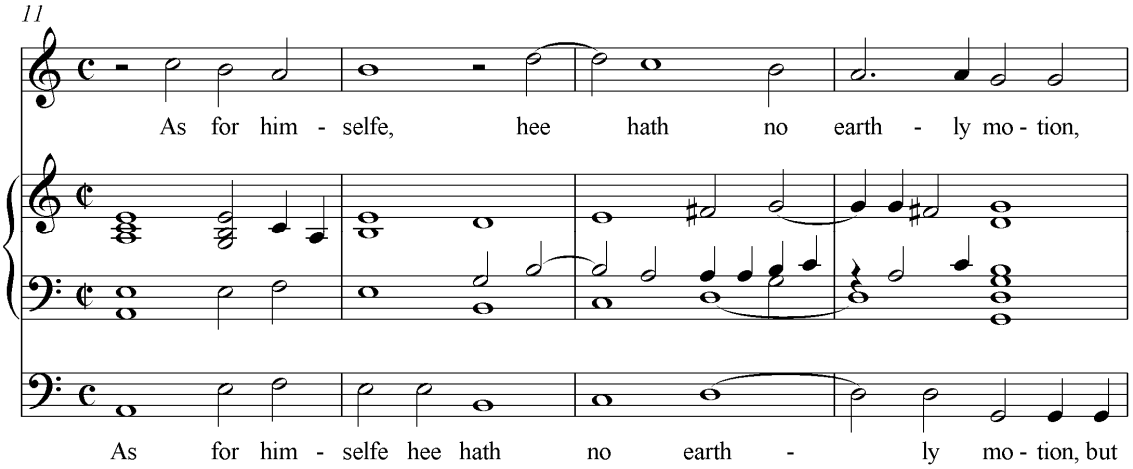
tonality and lively dotted rhythms are used.[152] The repeated chords, dotted rhythms and triadic feel are similar to passages in Byrd's multi-movement keyboard piece, *The Battle* (fig.3.2).

Figure 3.2: William Byrd, 'The Trumpets', from *The Battle,* Bars 1-4.[153]



At the words 'as for himselfe', the character of the musical setting becomes more subdued as the bright timbre of the sharps is replaced by naturals and open fifths on the syllable 'selfe'. Particularly evident is the word-painting of the suspensions and the slowing melodic rhythm for the phrase 'hee hath no earthly motion' (fig.3.3).

Figure 3.3: Dowland, 'Times Eldest Sonne', bars 11-14.



The second verse suggests Lee's new life of religious devotion through the use of Latin quotations, and the music too hints at sacred genres. Helen Hackett's analysis of these lyrics demonstrates that the *Nunc dimittis* (the Canticle of Simeon), the two references to penitential psalms (*De Profundis* – Psalm 130 also associated with mourning – and *Miserere*), and the *Te Deum* (hymn of Thanksgiving) are all fitting prayers for an old man making his peace with God.[154] The stanza may also be read as containing thinly

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[152] Richard Wistreich, 'Of Mars I Sing: Monteverdi's Voicing of Virility', in *Masculinity and Western Musical Practice*, ed. Ian Biddle and Kirsten Gibson (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), pp.69-93; Eric Chafe *Monteverdi's Tonal Language* (New York: Schirmer, 1992), pp.235-60; Orden, *Music, Discipline and Arms,* pp.20-29.

[153] William Byrd, *Keyboard Music II*, ed. Alan Brown, Musica Britannica 28 (London: Stainer and Bell, 2004), p.177.

[154] Helen Hackett, *Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen: Elizabeth I and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), pp.146-54.

veiled pleas for Elizabeth to permit his retirement. The opening line of the *Nunc dimittis* is 'Now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace', while the 'De Profundis' (Psalm 30) begins:

> Out of the depe places haue I called vnto thee, O Lord.
> Lord, heare my voyce: let thine eares attend to the voice of my prayers.[155]

Similarly the opening words of the *Miserere* (Psalm 51) – 'Have mercie upon me, O God, according to thy loving kindenes, according to the multitude of thy compassions put awaye mine iniquities' – could be interpreted as a plea for forgiveness for having to break his vow to be the Queen's champion each year at the Accession Day tilt.[156] '*Paratum est cor meum*' (My heart is ready) is from Psalm 108 and takes up the theme of praise first evoked by the reference to *Te Deum*. The psalmist's heart is ready to sing the praises of God, just as Henry Lee will praise Elizabeth whom he refers to as his saint in the following line: 'O that thy saint would take it worth thy hart'. Hackett also suggests that the quotations of the third stanza illustrate the theme of abandoning the battle cries of the godly warrior and taking up the prayers of the hermit. Lee must take up '*Noli emulare*' (Psalm 37, which emphasises God's ability to act without human assistance to vanquish the ungodly) and use the *Oremus*, 'let us pray'. In addition, the contrast between '*Quare fremuerunt*' (Psalm 20: meaning literally 'wherefore do they shout') with '*Oremus*' evokes the quietness of the hermit's cell in comparison with the busy noise of court.

The texture of the lute accompaniment of the first stanza is predominantly homophonic. However, at the opening of the second stanza imitation is introduced between the voice and the lute, and between high and low registers on the lute (fig.3.4). The use of imitation alone is not enough make the music identifiably sacred in style, even with the religious quotations in these stanzas. However, other features of the music for these two stanzas support such sacred connotations. In the third stanza the intoned phrase 'for *Quare fremuerunt* vse *Oremus*' is reminiscent of the chant-like style used for psalms or preces and responses in Anglican services (fig.3.5).

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[155] William Whittingham, *The Bible and Holy Scriptures Conteyned in the Olde and Newe Testament* (Geneva, 1561), fol.234^{r}.
[156] Segar refers to such a vow in *Honor Military and Ciuill*, p.199.

Figure 3.4: Dowland, 'Times Eldest Sonne' (Part 2), bars 1-5.

1

Then sit thee downe, and say thy *Nunc De-*

Then sit thee downe, and say thy *Nunc De -*

4

mit - tis, With *De pro - fun - dis,*

-mi - ttis, With *De pro - fun - dis*

Figure 3.5: Dowland, 'Times Eldest Sonne' (Part 3), bars 8-10.

8

For *Qua - re fre - mu - e - runt* vse *O - re - mus*

For *Qua - re fre - mu - e - runt* vse *O - re - mus*

The words '*Quare fremuerunt*' are set to faster rhythms than are found in any other syllabic passage in the song, and are declaimed on one tone supported by one chord until the cadence in broader rhythms. This chant-like style can be compared to Byrd's

Second Preces (fig.3.6). The cadence itself evokes sacred connotations through its decorated 4-3 suspension and the delayed movement of the vocal line, comparable to fig.3.7, also from Byrd's *Second Preces* (1560s).

Figure 3.6: Byrd, *Second Preces*, Bars 16-19.[157]

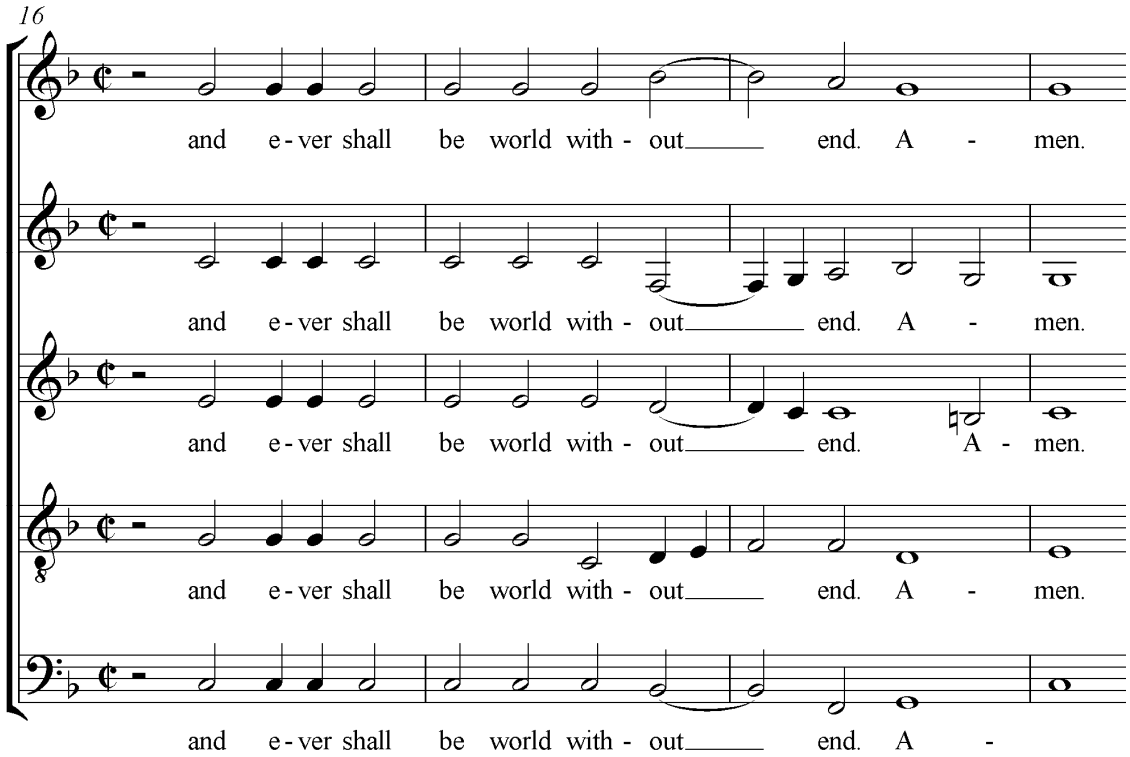
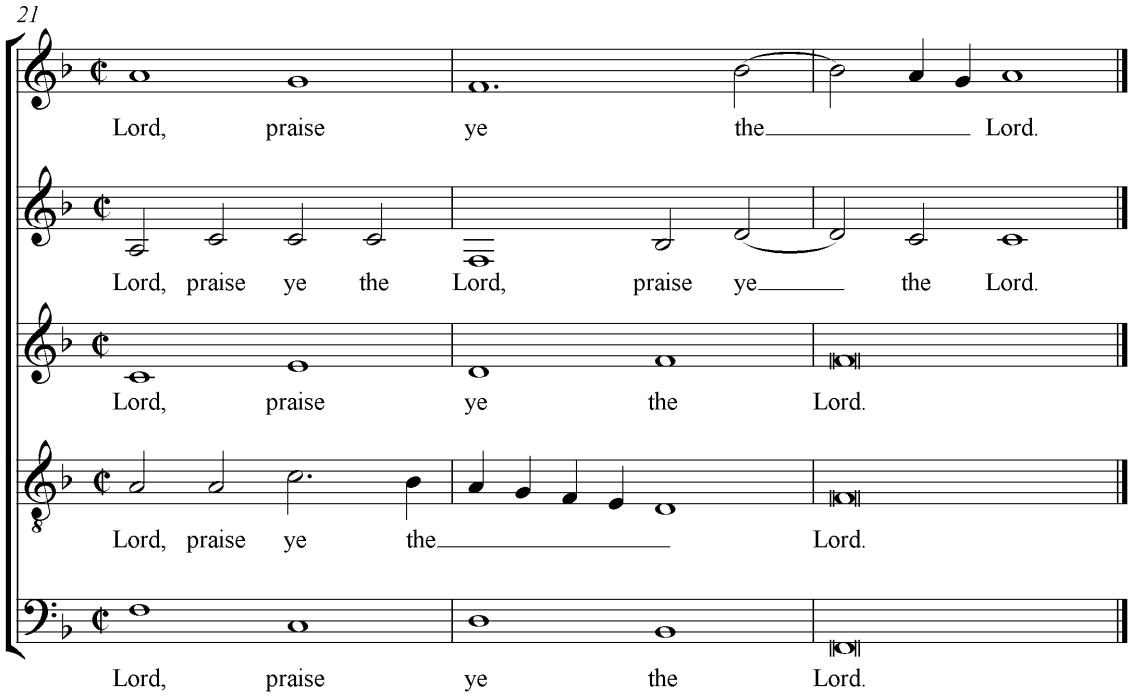


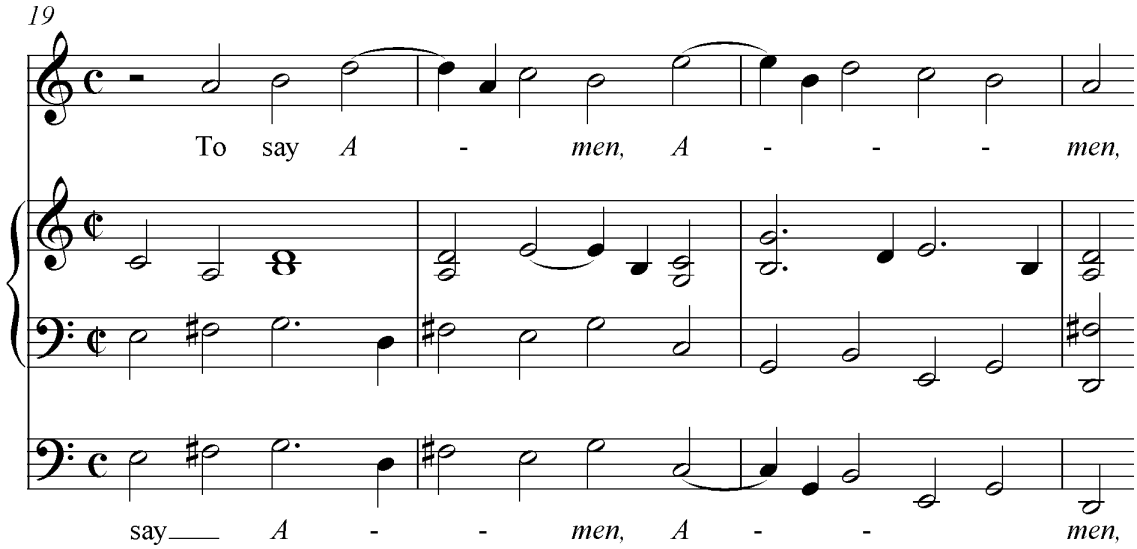
Figure 3.7: Byrd, *Second Preces*, Bars 21-23.



[157] William Byrd, *The English Services*, ed. Craig Monson, The Byrd Edition 10a (London: Stainer and Bell, 1980), p.30.

The repeated melismatic 'amens' which end Dowland's song also evoked sacred music (fig.3.8). The 'amens' are set to the so-called 'sacred end' motif, which was used in the refrain of three anthems (Thomas Morley's 'O Jesu meeke', Thomas Weelkes's 'Give ear, O Lord', and Christopher Tye's 'I lift my heart to thee') all with a similar text which prays to God for mercy. The motif also appears at the end of Morley's 'Sacred End' pavan and Daniel Farrant's 'Four-note' pavan, while Dowland also used the same figure in his 'Lachrimae' pavan.[158]

Figure 3.8: Dowland, 'Times Eldest Sonne' (Part 3), Bars 19-22.



The musical styles of 'Times Eldest Sonne' therefore illustrated the same themes as the visual and textual symbols: the contrast of old age and religious devotion with martial exploits and youth.

For the device which accompanied Lee's resignation, this religious theme (present only in song thus far) became the primary image. Peele and Segar both agreed that the retirement device involved a pavilion made to look like the temple of the Vestal Virgins with lights, pillars and an altar.[159] Segar described this temple rising out of the ground to the accompaniment of music 'so sweete and secret, as every one was greatly marueiled'. This music, he tells us, was the song 'His Golden Locks'. Segar recounts how the Vestal Virgins brought gifts to Elizabeth and then both accounts agree that Lee offered up his armour and presented the Earl of Cumberland to be Elizabeth's new champion.

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[158] Peter Holman, *Dowland: Lachrimae (1604)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp.47-48; Peter Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England, 1549-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), pp.204, 251, 304-05.

[159] Segar, *Honor Military, and Ciuill*, p.199; Peele, *Polyhymnia*, sig.B3^{v}.

As Lee and Cumberland approached Elizabeth, the comparison of age and youth referred to emblematically and in song was enacted in real life. The song continued the themes of time, old age and religious devotion:

> His golden locks time hath to siluer turnde.
> O time too swift, O swiftness neuer ceasing,
> His youth gainst time & age hath euer spurnd,
> But spurnd in vain, youth waneth by encreasing:
> Beautie, strength, youth are flowers but fading seene,
> Duty, Faith, Loue are roots and euer greene.
>
> His helmet now shall make a hiue for bees,
> And louers sonets turne to holy psalmes:
> A man at armes must now serue on his knees,
> And feed on prayers which are Age's almes,
> But though from court to cotage he departe,
> His Saint is sure of his vnspotted hart.
>
> And when he saddest sits in homely Cell,
> Hele teach his swaines this Caroll for a songe,
> Blest be the harts that wish my souveraigne well,
> Curst be the soule that thinke her any wrong:
> Goddes, allow this aged man his right,
> To be your beadsman now yt was your knight.[160]

Musically the setting is much simpler than 'Times Eldest Sonne'. The style is that of a galliard. The music is repeated for each stanza, there is no play of musical styles, and the melody proceeds smoothly by step. One might equate the more simple setting of this song with the simplicity of the hermit's life. There is also a new theme which is explicit for the first time in this song: that of constant loyalty despite the vicissitudes of time. Such sentiments are encapsulated in the last two lines of each stanza, which are marked musically by a change from perfect to imperfect time. The first stanza contrasts the fading of beauty, strength and youth with the 'euer greene' virtues of duty, faith and love. The second stanza reminds Elizabeth of his 'vnspotted hart' despite his departure from court and the final stanza asserts his continued wish to serve her, now as her 'beadsman' rather than her knight.

The poetic contrasts of youth and age are emphasised musically using false relations. The first occurs at the exclamation 'O time too swift' where a false relation of F# and F natural with the accompaniment emphasises the bitterness the protagonist feels against Time (fig.3.9, bar 6). Bars 9-11 describe another opposition between youth and time and again there is a striking change from F# to F natural. In the final couplet the F natural

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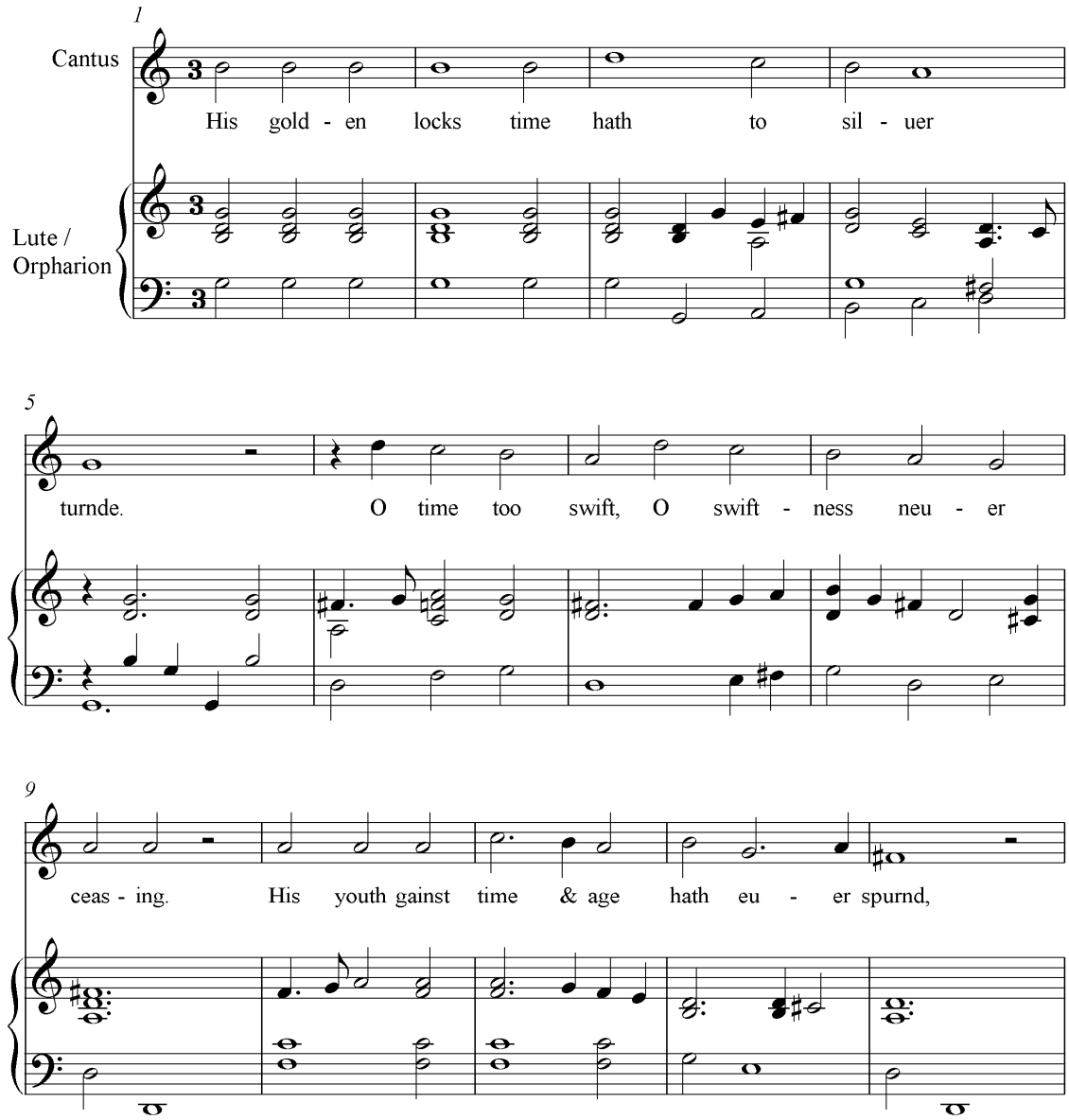
[160] John Dowland, *The First Booke of Songes or Ayres of Fowre Partes with Tableture for the Lute so Made that All the Partes Together, or Either of them Seuerally may be Song to the Lute, Orpherian or Viol de Gambo* (London, 1597), sig.I2^{v}-K1^{r}.

returns at the point where beauty, strength and youth are described as 'flowers but fading seene' (bars 19-21). Dowland used similar harmonic changes between F# and F natural in his dialogue 'Humor Say What Makst Thou Heere' in the *The Second Booke of Songs* (also written for performance to the Queen). Here the F natural is employed to mark the 'heauy leaden moode' (fig.3.10, bars 14-15) and is the only use of F natural in the song. Although in 'His Golden Locks' these moments of musical melancholy only fit the text exactly in the first stanza, they also match the overall bittersweet tone of the poem with its combination of sadness at what is lost in old age and the pleasure to be found in serving Elizabeth.

Figure 3.9: Dowland, 'His Golden Locks'.[161]



[161] Dowland, *First Booke*, sig.I2^{v}-K1^{r}; John Dowland, *The First Book of Ayres (1597)*, ed. Edmund Fellows, rev. Thurston Dart (London: Stainer and Bell, 1965, rpnt. 1998), pp.36-37. Dowland also gives for the song to be sung as a four-part ayre.

14

But spurnd in vain; youth wan - eth by en - creas - ing.

18

Beau - tie, strength, youth are flowers but fad - ing

21

seene: Du - ty, Faith, Love are roots and eu - er greene.

Figure 3.10: Dowland, 'Humor Say What Makst Thou Heere', Bars 14-17.[162]

14

Thou art a hea - uy lead - en moode,

[162] Dowland, *Second Booke*, sig. M2^{v}-N1^{r}; Dowland, *Second Book*, ed. Fellowes, p.52;. A reduced version is presented here for ease of viewing the harmony: the original is for quinto (treble viol); canto (voice); alto, tenore and basso (all voice and viol); and lute.

Another of Dowland's songs may also have marked the moment of transformation during a tournament. His 'Behold a Wonder Here' may be from the entry of a knight disguised as an Indian Prince on Accession Day in 1595.[163] Like 'His Golden Locks' the songs is simple in style, but unlike Lee's song the setting is more declamatory than melodic (fig.3.11). The song narrates how Elizabeth's presence turns Blind Love into Seeing Love. The opening pair of lines is set in a declamatory style, suiting the opening exclamation. The second pair of line begins more melodically ending with a stereotypical cadence figure. The very simple setting of the text matches the poetic simplicity with its short lines and short stanzas so that the song tells the story of Love receiving his sight with the utmost clarity. Such clarity could be just as important as word-painting and other musical devices in ensuring that the message of the device was communicated in a busy, noisy tiltyard. Yet music was also very appropriate to the theme of magical transformation, being credited with such powers itself, as we saw in the Bisham progress (pp.83-85).

Music could add an extra element of magnificence and culture to draw the spectator's attention to a particular knight, but it could also intensify the message of his device. The word-painting and other expressive devices could emphasise particular words or themes and create a particular mood, but Lee's pageantry in particular demonstrates how music could be made symbolic of all the different aspects of a knight's life through the associations of different musical styles. In the hands of a skilful composer such as Dowland, music could do far more than accompany charming verses in praise of the Queen.

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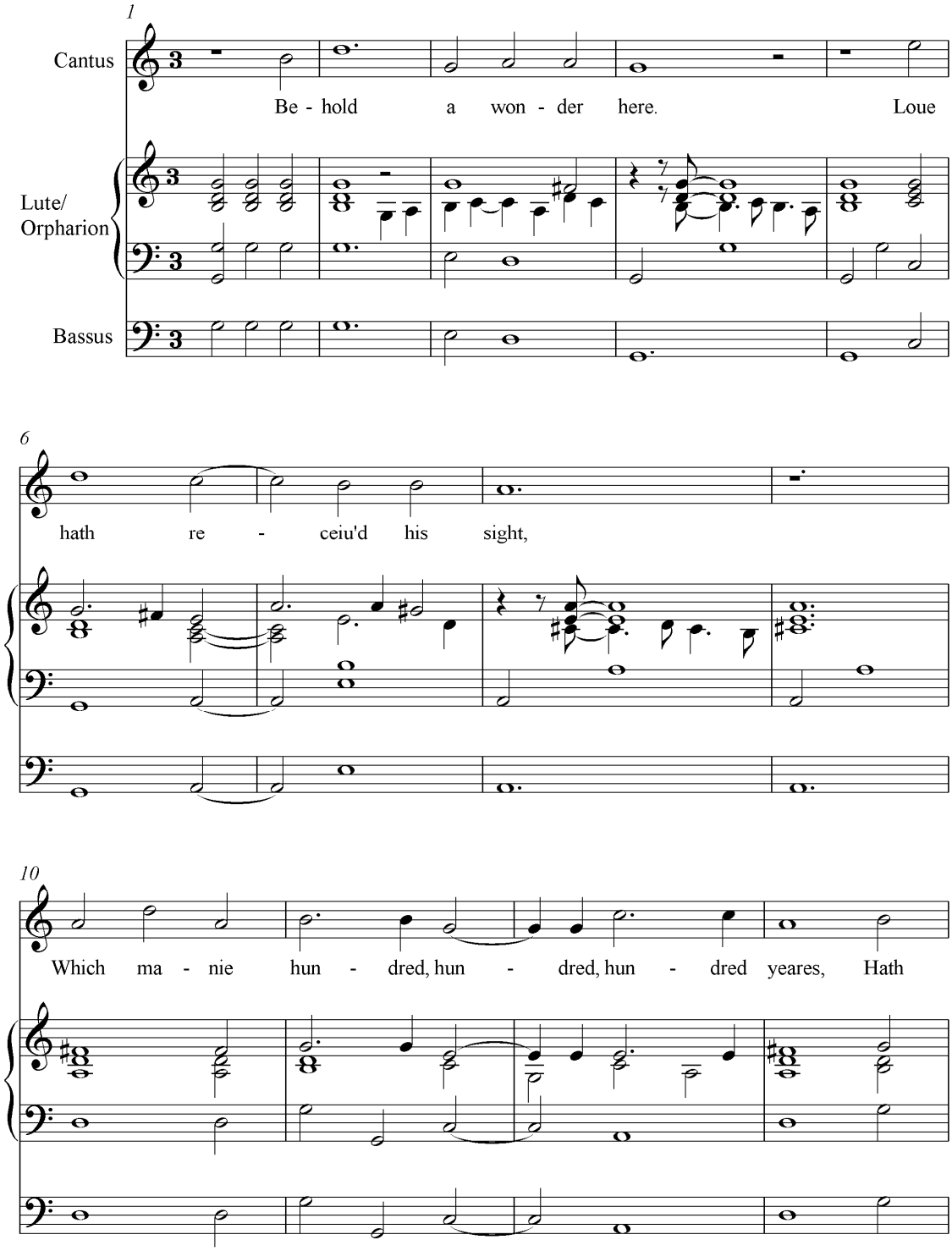
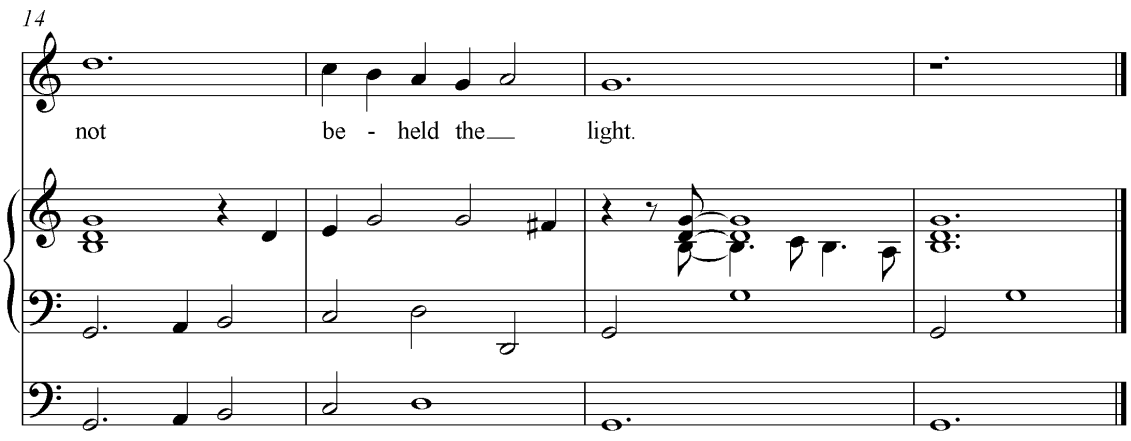
[163] Poulton, *Dowland*, p.277. Anon., 'A Device by the Earl of Essex for the Queen's Entertainment', in GB-Lna SP12/254, fol.139^{r}-140^{v} [(17 November) 1595], in *SPO* <http://go.galegroup.com/mss/i.do?id=GALE|MC4304480534&v=2.1&u=britlib&it=r&p=SPOL&sw=w&viewtype=Manuscript> [accessed 05/05/2010]. The speeches are given by a Squire to introduce the Indian prince. The line break in the speech may indicate where the song was inserted. Catherine Bates (*Rhetoric of Courtship*, pp.81-82) suggests that the Indian Prince would have been recognised as Cupid through his dress of feathers with bow and arrow. The Prince may be Sir Robert Dudley who Peele described as entering 'lyke Venus sonne' (*Anglorum Feriae*, sig.E1^{r}).

Figure 3.1: Dowland, 'Behold a Wonder Here'.[164]



[164] John Dowland, *The Third and Last Booke of Songs or Aires Newly Composed to Sing to the Lute, Orpharion, or Viols, and a Dialogue for a Base and Meane Lute with Fiue Voices to Sing Thereto* (London, 1603), sig.C1^{v}-C2^{r}; John Dowland, *The Third Booke of Songs (1603)* ed. Edmund Fellows, rev. Thurston Dart (London: Stainer and Bell, 1970, rpnt. 2005), pp.6-7.

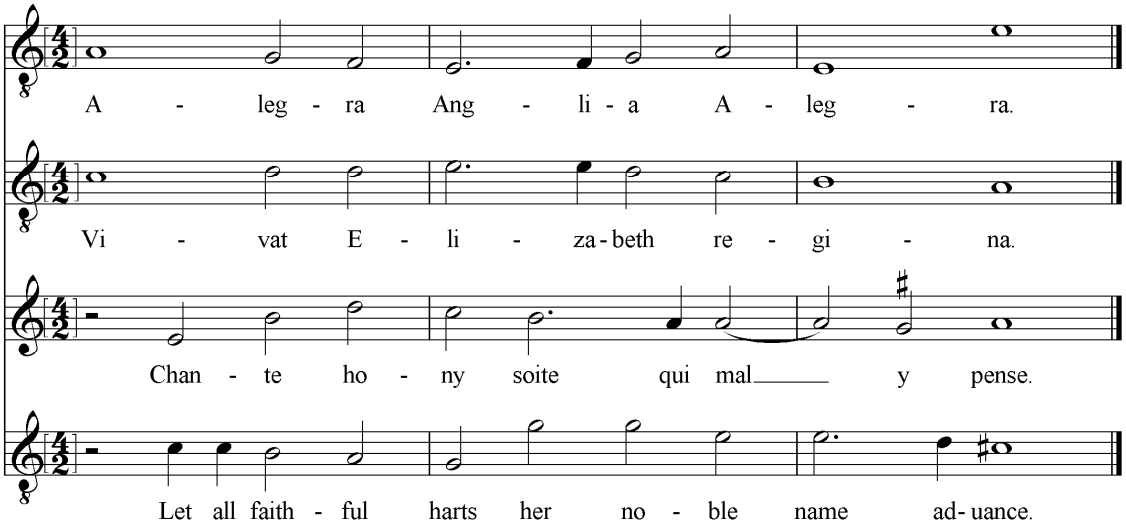


Conclusion

Not all music at tournaments need have been as complex as Dowland's lute songs, and shorter, simpler songs may have been more effective for a travelling pageant. *Alegra Anglia*, from an anthology collected by Thomas Lant around 1580, clearly had a chivalric connection because its third part sings the motto of the Order of the Garter and may have been used at a tournament (fig.3.12). The manuscript indicates that this was to be sung as a four-part round.[165] The second and fourth voice-parts offer simple praise of Elizabeth. The top line is reminiscent of mottos from the *imprese* which the knight's presented to Elizabeth. These consisted of two or three words, typically in Latin. Two similar mottos from Henry Peacham's emblem books include 'Βςεταυυία ούχωςεî' (Advance O Britain) accompanying a picture of a knight, and 'Anglorum Commercia' (The trade of England), which criticises those who have increased their status through the wool trade but who do not have the culture and virtue of real nobility.[166] The simpler musical style may have reflected the knight's persona (for example, if sung by a train of shepherds or ploughman), or it may have been designed to make the lyrics memorable to the tiltyard audience as it would not take many repetitions for a listener to pick up just twelve bars of music.

[165] Thomas Lant, GB-Ckc: MS Rowe 1.
[166] Alan Young and Beert Verstraete. *The English Tournament Imprese*, AMS Studies in the Emblem 3 (New York: AMS Press, 1988), pp.98, 197.

Figure 3.2: ***Alegra Anglia.***[167]



Although music tends to survive only in isolated fragments, it was as much a tool as visual spectacle and poetry in the performances of identity during tournaments. Music could blend with visual and verbal devices to emphasise particular aspects of the identity being created or to add further layers of meaning. Certainly, some musical moments such as Henry Lee's resignation or the songs from the *Four Foster Children of Desire* tournament were performed in front of the Queen's gallery where the ambassadors and noblemen were seated and were therefore not necessarily audible to the ordinary public at the opposite side of the tiltyard. However, the use of music on pageant cars or musicians accompanying the entering knight allowed the sounds to travel around the tiltyard for all to hear. Music not only enhanced the splendour of the knight's martial power, but, as a symbol of his patronage of the arts and cultural education, was another way of signalling his worthiness to be part of the noble community. Songs fashioned the nobleman's knightly identity, communicated the meaning of his device, and conveyed his tributes of praise as he sought the Queen's attention and favour.

[167] Lant, GB-Ckc: MS Rowe; Jill Vlasto, 'An Elizabethan Anthology of Rounds', *The Musical Quarterly* 40 (1954), 222-34. The identity of Thomas Lant is unknown. Other songs in the collection are on religious or light-hearted popular themes.

4. Counsel, Complaint and Courting Royal Favour

Having examined the ability of music to fashion royal or aristocratic images, we now explore the function of music in political persuasion and influencing royal favour. Seasonal revels, royal progresses and courtly recreation provided opportunities to capture the Queen's attention which could be exploited by courtiers, civic leaders or noblemen who were infrequent visitors to court to present their political concerns and petitions, while the authors and performers might also seek royal patronage. Elizabeth expected to find political meanings within courtly entertainments; following a dramatic debate in March 1565 between Juno (representing marriage) and Diana (representing chastity) in which Jupiter rules in favour of marriage, Elizabeth told the Spanish Ambassador, Guzman da Silva, 'this is all against me'.[1] Under pressure to marry and produce an heir, Elizabeth read the dramatic portrayal of marriage and chastity as a direct comment on her own situation. Courtiers also regarded Elizabeth as fully capable of decoding the complex allegorical messages found in court entertainment. In December 1593, William Cecil, Lord Burghley, wrote an allegorical letter to his son, Robert, describing his health. The Queen had read the letter (Cecil's use of the allegory suggests that he intended her to see the letter rather than it being intercepted) and quickly deciphered the meaning and Burghley's next letter to Robert expressed his belief that 'never a lady beside her, nor a decipherer in the court, would have dissolved the figure to have found the sense as her Majesty hath done'.[2] Such expectations of hidden meanings allowed the devisors of entertainments to create layers of political comment underneath the veneer of praise, knowing that Elizabeth and other members of the audience would search for deeper significance.

Although courtly entertainments had a political function throughout the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in England, for male courtiers they took on greater significance during Elizabeth's reign because of the impact her gender had on their opportunities to influence the monarch. The court positions which offered the closest and most reliable access to the monarch were those of the Privy Chamber. Members of the Privy Chamber served the private needs of the monarch and enjoyed an intimacy

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[1] *CSP Simancas*, Vol.1, pp.404-14.
[2] Thomas Wright, ed., *Queen Elizabeth and Her Times: A Series of Original Letters Selected From the Inedited Correspondence of Lord Treasurer Burghley...*, 2 vols (London, 1838), Vol.2, p.428.

that brought privileged opportunities to influence policies and patronage. However, as we saw in the Introduction, Elizabeth's Privy Chamber was largely staffed by women. These women were often long-standing servants (such as Catherine Asteley or Blanche Parry) or relations of the Queen (from the Howard, Carey or Knollys families).[3] Natalie Mears and Kristin Bundesen have shown how these women acted as 'barometers' of the Queen's mood indicating to counsellors when best to approach the Queen, and as 'channels of communication', feeding information between the Queen and their male relatives.[4] They also acted as go-betweens in Elizabeth's marriage negotiations, were involved in diplomatic relationships and were well-informed enough to participate in detailed discussions of foreign policy.[5] While this research has modified Pam Wright's analysis of the Privy Chamber as acting like a 'barrier or cocoon' between Elizabeth and the politics of the court, it remains true that there were limited positions for men within the Privy Chamber and so fewer posts through which men could gain personal access to the monarch.[6] With access to the Privy Chamber for those without an official position being at the pleasure of the Queen, courtiers could suddenly find their access removed if they were out of favour.[7] Curtis Perry has argued that this state of affairs made active courtship of Elizabeth more important for male courtiers, placing greater significance on alternative means of gaining the Queen's attention, such as pageants, entertainments and poetry.[8] To this list we can also add music.

The political use of song spanned the whole range of the court's activities, from private performance to public entertainment. Songs could be complex polyphonic works composed for grand occasions or simple settings of lyrics to lute accompaniment, which could be produced quickly to respond to immediate political circumstances. Appendix C identifies extant consort songs (for solo voice and chorus), madrigals, lute songs, dialogues and part songs that seem to have been designed for use at court. Some surviving poems also seem designed to be sung to ballad tunes (see pp.182-84). The

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[3] Pam Wright, 'A Change in Direction: The Ramifications of a Female Household, 1558-1603', in *The English Court: From the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War*, ed. David Starkey (London: Longman, 1987), pp.147-72 (pp.149-50, 158, 172). Kristin Bundesen, ' "No Other Faction But My Own": Dynastic Politics and Elizabeth I's Carey Cousins' (PhD Dissertation: University of Nottingham, 2008), pp.137-39.
[4] Natalie Mears, 'Politics in the Elizabethan Privy Chamber: Lady Mary Sidney and Kat Ashley' in *Women and Politics in Early Modern England, 1450-1700*, ed. James Daybell (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp.67-82 (pp.73-74, 77-78); Bundesen, 'No Other Faction', pp.132-34.
[5] Mears, 'Politics in the Elizabethan Privy Chamber', pp.69-70, 72, 77-78; Bundesen, 'No Other Faction', pp.134-36.
[6] Wright, 'Change in Direction', p.159.
[7] ibid., p.160.
[8] Curtis Perry, 'Court and Coterie Culture', in *A Companion to English Renaissance Literature and Culture*, ed. Michael Hattaway (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), pp.106-18 (pp.112-13).

original context of these songs is rarely known; however, more can be learnt about the contexts in which persuasive songs were used from the song lyrics included within printed play texts and published accounts of progresses, or from descriptions of more private performances in letters and memoirs.

Just as Elizabeth exploited music's connotations of sensuality to charm diplomats and noblemen, so courtiers used music to earn her favour. Providing and participating in recreation and entertainment was a means to earn such popularity. Through music, courtiers praised, charmed and entertained, attempting to be personally attractive to the Queen. Elizabeth encouraged this 'cult of courtly love', which as David Norbrook argues, 'actualised a metaphor that was always latent in monarchical systems of government: relations between individual and authority were ... those of a subject, a dependent, to a single individual whose favour had to be "courted" '.[9] Similarly, Catherine Bates has described this relationship between Elizabeth and her courtiers as like a frozen courtship, with courtiers like lovers perpetually courting their beloved, but never able to achieve the amorous relationship to which such rhetoric would normally aim.[10]

Most of the documented examples comprise courtiers employing songs as a powerful and charming means of flattery. For example, Dowland's 'Time Stands Still' (fig.4.1) demonstrates how music could cleverly emphasise a courtier's praises and assist in creating a memorable performance (though the original occasion for its performance is unknown). As the title suggests, the key theme is constancy: the first verse praises Elizabeth because 'all other things shall change, but shee remaines the same', while in the second verse the singer asserts his 'setled vowes and spotlesse faith no fortune can remoue'. This is illustrated through both simple word-painting – such as the held note on 'still' and the arching phrase for 'shee remaines the same' which both begins and ends on *a'* – and through the use of a highly repetitive musical structure in the second half of the verse. A descending sequence that begins in the fourth line ('til heauens changed have') is repeated again for the fifth and sixth lines of the text. Furthermore, these last two lines are also repeated, so that the sequential figure occupies two thirds of the verse. Unlike the word-painting which holds for the first verse only, the structural

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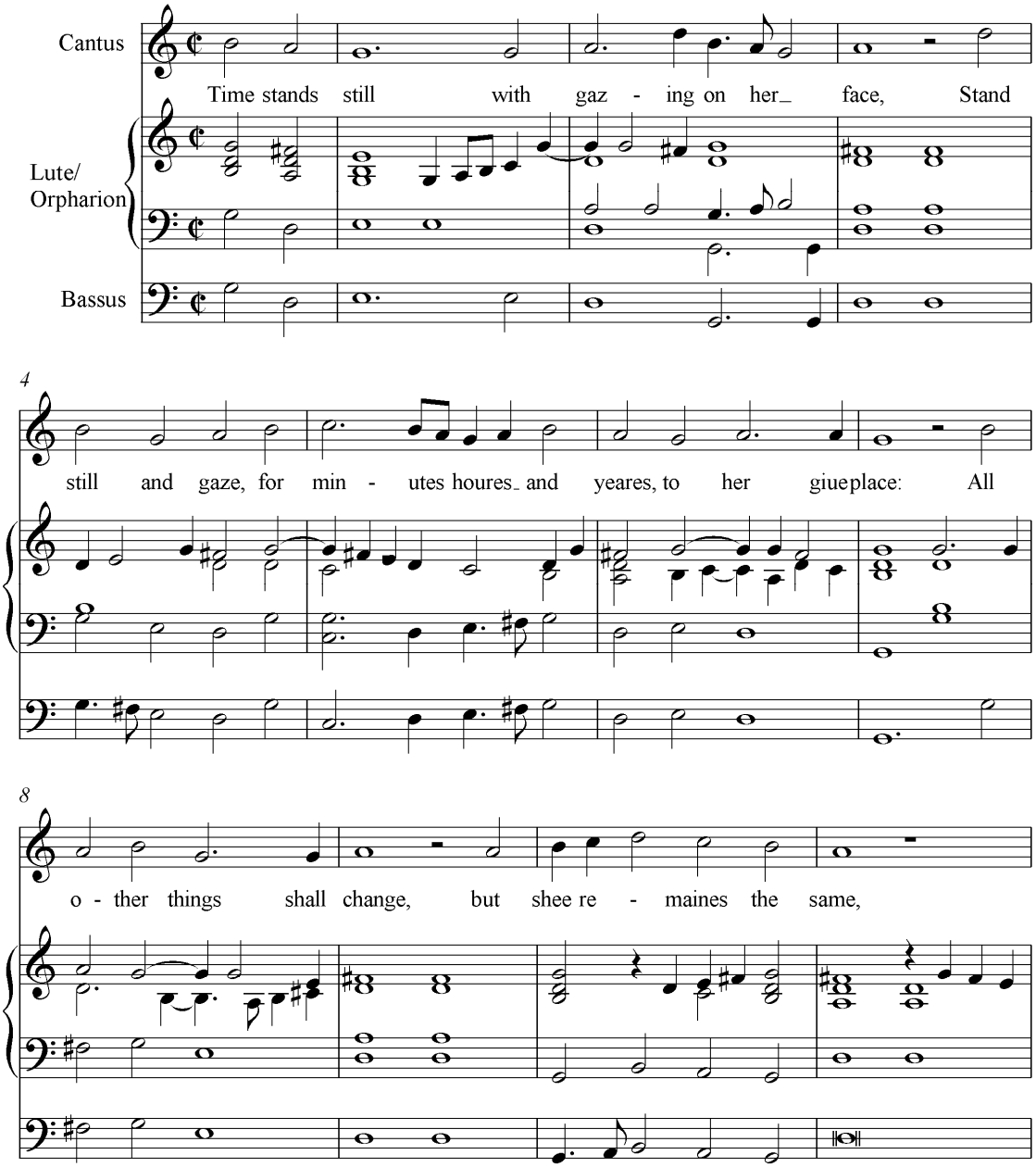
[9] David Norbrook, *Poetry and Politics in the English Renaissance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p.104.
[10] Catherine Bates, *The Rhetoric of Courtship in Elizabethan Language and Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp.46-48.

representation of constancy is appropriate throughout. In addition, the many repetitions of the sequential figure make this melody highly memorable, assisting the listener in recalling the singer's praises of Elizabeth and his declarations of love.

Figure 4.1: John Dowland, 'Time Stands Still'.[11]



[11] John Dowland, *The Third and Last Booke of Songs or Aires Newly Composed to Sing to the Lute, Orpharion, or Viols* (London, 1603), sig.B2^{v}-C1^{r}; John Dowland, *The Third Booke of Songs (1603)* ed. Edmund Fellows, rev. Thurston Dart (London: Stainer and Bell: 1970, rpnt. 2005), pp.4-5. The title page suggests that bassus would be played by a viol.

12

Till hea-uens chan - ged have their course & time hath lost his name.

16

Cu - pid doth hou - er vp and down blind - ed with her faire eyes,

20

And for-tune cap - tiue at her feete con temn'd and con - querd lies.

The effect of such songs in progresses can be seen in the Earl of Hertford's entertainments at Elvetham in 1591 which included an especially large amount of music designed to flatter the Queen through multiple tributes of praise. Elizabeth's visit may have been prompted by a desire to ensure the loyalty of Hertford, who had a chequered past.[12] Hertford had married Lady Katherine Grey (whose family were potential claimants to the throne) without royal consent. Elizabeth had sent the pair to the tower, declaring the marriage void and the children illegitimate. Hertford had returned to court following his wife's death in 1568, but earning any degree of royal favour would

[12] Curt Breight, 'Realpolitik and Elizabethan Ceremony: The Earl of Hertford's Entertainment of Elizabeth at Elvetham, 1591', *Renaissance Quarterly* 45 (1992), 20-48 (pp.21-22).

require lavish demonstrations of loyalty. The singing of Elizabeth's praises began when six virgins welcomed her as 'Beauteous Queene of Second Troy' in the song, 'With Fragrant Flowers'.[13] Brennecke has related this song to William Byrd's six-part madrigal 'This Sweet and Merry Month of May' from *Italian Madrigals Englished* (1590) with which it shares a similar refrain, or to Francis Pilkington's lute song or four-part ayre using this text in *The First Booke of Songs or Ayres* (1605).[14] Pilkington's setting is probably a later re-use of the lyrics as 'queen' has been changed to 'king' throughout (Pilkington may also have been too young as he did not receive his BMus until 1595).[15] Byrd's madrigal would match the described performers, but Susan Anderson has shown that the poetic metres are too different for the Elvetham text to fit without considerable alteration.[16] Another song (not extant) combined praise of Elizabeth as a 'second sun' with special effects: it was sung by a trio of sea nymphs accompanied by a lute, with other lutes and voices in separate boats providing an echo.[17]

On the day of departure two songs hailed Elizabeth as 'the fairest quene yt ever trod uponn ys green' and bid her 'com agayne'. Brennecke identified five-part arrangements of these songs composed by Edward Johnson in GB-Lbl: Add MSS 30480-4 (compiled c1560-c1590).[18] The printed account indicates that the first song, 'Elisa is ye Fairest Quene', was sung 'with the musicke of an exquisite consort: wherein was the Lute, Bandora, Base-violl, Citterne, Treble-violl and Flute'.[19] The mixed consort differentiated the entertainment from those given by royal musicians and associated the Earl with previous grand progresses such as Kenilworth in 1575 (pp.167-68). Signs of the missing sixth part can occasionally be seen at cadences, such as at bar 16 (Fig.4.2) where the bare fifth on 'blessed' would usually be decorated with a 4-3 cadence. This song was a galliard danced by the Fairy Queen and her maids as they sang.[20] The

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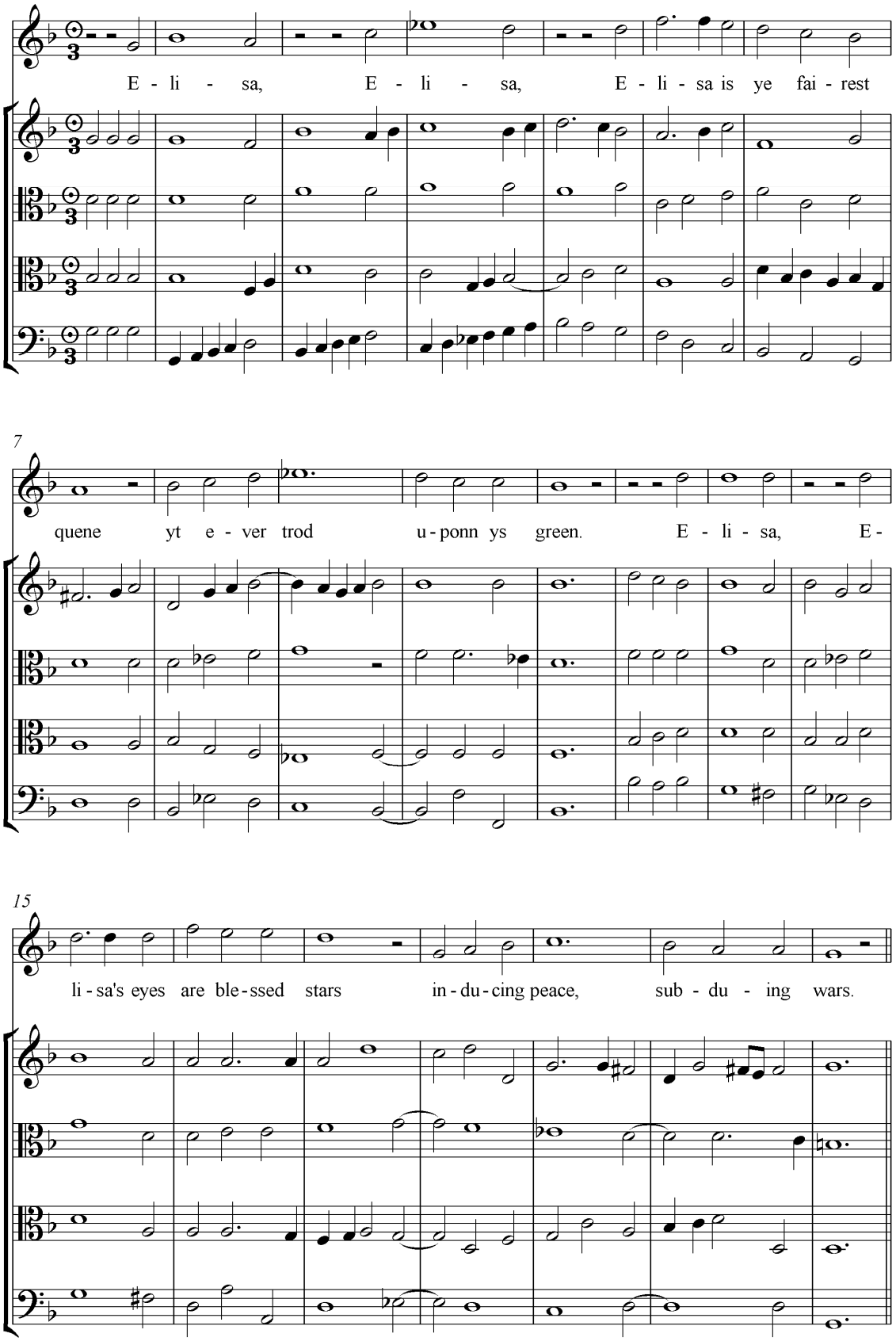
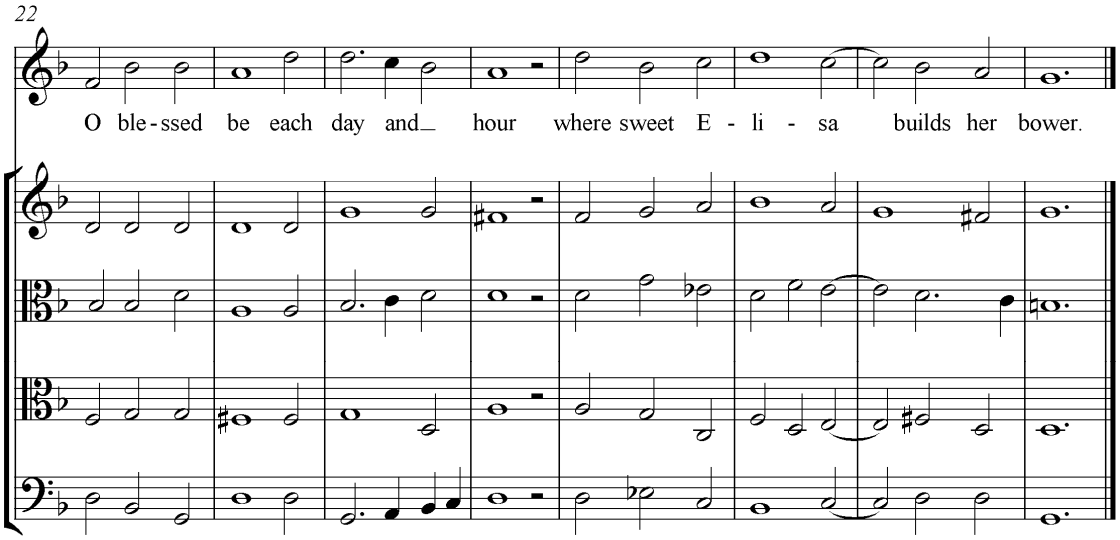
[13] Anon., *The Honorable Entertainement Gieuen to the Queenes Maiestie in Progresse, at Eluetham in Hampshire, by the Right Honorable the Earle of Hertford* (London, 1591), sig.B4^{r-v}.
[14] Ernest Brennecke, 'The Entertainment at Elvetham, 1591', in *Music in English Renaissance Drama*, ed. John Long (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1968), pp.32-56 (pp.39-40).
[15] ibid.
[16] Susan Anderson, 'Music and Power at the English Court, 1575-1624' (PhD Dissertation: University of Leeds, 2006), p.70.
[17] Anon., *Honorable Entertainement*, sig.C2^{r}-C4^{r}. John Baldwin's 'In the Merrie Monthe of Maye' was also sung at Elvetham, but as it simply tells a story of Phyllida and Corydon it does not seem to have an explicit political purpose.
[18] Brennecke, 'Entertainment at Elvetham', pp.52-55; Philip Brett, ed., *Consort Songs*, Musica Britannica 22 (London: Stainer and Bell, 1974), pp.58-59, 182.
[19] Anon., *Honorable Entertainement*, sig.E1^{r}-E2^{v}.
[20] Anon., *Honorable Entertainement*, sig.E1^{r-v}.

Figure 4.2 Edward Johnson, 'Elisa is ye Fairest Quene'.[21]



[21] GB-Lbl: Add MSS 30480-4, vol.1, fol.65[r]; vol.2, fol.68[v]; vol.3, fol.63[v]; vol.4, fol.65[v]; vol.5, fol.10[v]; Brett, ed., *Consort Songs*, p.58.



first 22 bars would have been repeated for the second verse, with the last eight bars forming a conclusion. The song provides a clear rhythm for dancing as, similar to other mixed consort music, it contains none of the imitative counterpoint typical of the earlier consort song for viols and is often quite homophonic, particularly in bars 7-10 and the concluding couplet (the latter perhaps to emphasise the concluding message). However, in the original mixed consort version, the lute would probably have played divisions to ornament the melody, especially on the repeat for the second verse.[22]

The farewell song, 'Com Agayne', was another galliard, but with no dancers this time, there seems to have been more interest within the song itself (fig.4.3). The account of the progress describes it as accompanied by a hidden 'consort of musicions' (the mixed consort again) and 'sung, with excellent diuision, by two, that were cunning', suggesting that it was the singers who ornamented the melody here.[23] The opening phrase is a simple canon between the two voices with the ending modified so the voices conclude together. The canon is written so that the voices always sing the same words at the same time to the same rhythm, over a relatively homophonic accompaniment. The second phrase in sung by the upper voice and the melody is then repeated by the lower voice while the upper voice harmonises above. This arrangement would assist in conveying the initial statements of the words clearly, while the repetitions of text and melody provided opportunities for the singers to elaborate with divisions, demonstrating both their own talents and suggesting the sophisticated tastes of the Earl as patron.

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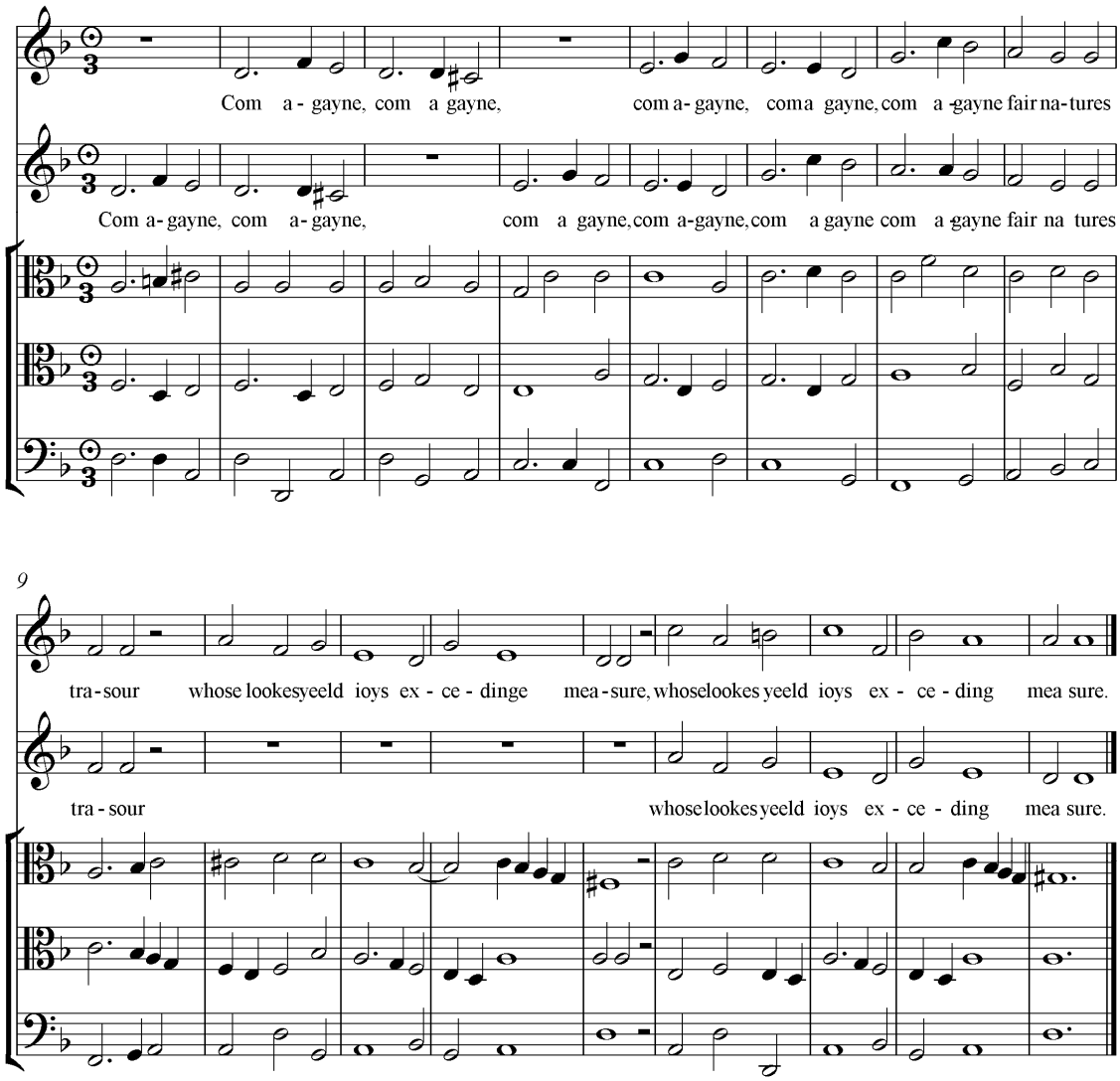
[22] Matthew Spring, *The Lute in Britain: A History of the Instrument and its Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp.163-68. Warwick Edwards, ed., *Music for Mixed Consort*, Musica Britannica 40 (London: Stainer and Bell, 1977), p.xiv.
[23] Anon., *Honorable Entertainement*, sig.E2^{v}.

Figure 4.3: Edward Johnson, 'Com Agayne'.[24]



However, despite such profuse tributes of praise, Curt Breight has suggested that the Earl of Hertford's agenda was as much to promote the prestige of his family as to seek royal favour, as Hertford's decision to make his coat of arms the dominant feature of the title page of the subsequent account of the visit made clear.[25] Susan Anderson notes that the unparalleled amount of music in this progress, along with its use of current fashionable genres such as the madrigal and mixed consort, alongside novel effects like musical echoes, would demonstrate the Earl's wealth, importance and appreciation of culture.[26] Yet while progresses were always an opportunity for a nobleman to demonstrate his status among his peers, Hertford also had specific political ambitions: Breight suggests that this progress enabled Hertford to put forward his sons as possible

[24] GB-Lbl: Add MSS 30480-4, vol.1, fol.65^{r}; vol.2, fol.68^{v}; vol.3, fol.63^{v}; vol.4, fol.65^{v}; vol.5, fol.10^{v}; Brett, ed., *Consort Songs*, p.59.
[25] Breight, 'Realpolitik and Elizabethan Ceremony', pp.20-48.
[26] Anderson, 'Music and Power', pp.69-73, 79.

successors to the heirless Elizabeth by displaying his familial magnificence to the assembled courtiers and the wider audience of the published account.[27] So the strong emphasis on praising Elizabeth in the songs seems designed to allay any suspicions she might have as to his present loyalty, even as the progress as a whole promoted his aspirations for after her reign.

This ability of songs and entertainments to communicate multiple messages and to different audiences will be seen throughout this chapter. Yet as Hertford's long-term ambitions to the succession relied less on Elizabeth (who it was clear was unlikely to name a successor) than on his reputation with courtiers and noblemen who might choose to support his claims, the political tone is somewhat different from the majority of the examples discussed here. This chapter will focus on the less welcome messages which courtiers and noblemen needed to communicate to Elizabeth: the offering of unsolicited advice, petitions for favour or patronage and complaints about lack of reward for service. Such messages were frequently offered alongside flattering praise of Elizabeth. Louis Montrose has identified a similar procedure of combined 'celebration and insinuation' in Sir Philip Sidney's entertainments for court, especially the *Lady of May* and *Four Foster Children of Desire* entertainments.[28]

This chapter compares the different public and private occasions for songs with political intent and charts the changing use of such musical petitions throughout Elizabeth's reign. The first part examines public plays and civic entertainments where hosts employed music as a means of communicating advice. The second part considers how noble hosts used progresses to present petitions and complaints to Elizabeth through the songs they commissioned. Thirdly, these public occasions are compared to the seemingly spontaneous and private verses which courtiers wrote and set to music. These songs fashioned a courtier's personal relationship with the Queen, seeking either renewed or continued favour. Finally I consider how the musicians and authors might use court entertainments to make their own pleas for patronage. Music served as a pleasurable art which could sweeten potentially unpalatable messages of advice, petition and complaint.

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[27] Breight, 'Realpolitik and Elizabethan Ceremony', pp.26, 36-37, 43.
[28] Louis Montrose, 'Celebration and Insinuation: Sir Philip Sidney and the Motives of Elizabethan Courtship', *Renaissance Drama* 8 (1977), 3-35.

Moral Advice and Political Counsel

For the first two decades of Elizabeth's reign, songs that offered Elizabeth advice are found in civic pageantry and court plays. While Elizabeth worked to maintain her own authority and independence by not accepting her councillors' advice too readily, she also listened graciously to advice given during public events such as the civic entertainments, so as to reassure her subjects that she would accept the counsel of her wise councillors with the modesty and obedience befitting a woman.[29] Greg Walker has argued that plays were a means through which sophisticated political debate could be sustained in a system where power ultimately lay with the monarch.[30] As court plays were approved by the Master of the Revels before being performed for the Queen, the frequent use of plays for counsel suggests that Elizabeth accepted the use of plays to convey moral and political lessons.[31] Songs were a standard part of civic pageantry and also had a particularly significant role in the early Elizabethan plays, which were performed by the choirboy companies of the Chapel Royal, St Paul's and Windsor. Their primary function, whether in plays or shows of counsel, was to summarise the moral and political positions being presented.

Some songs were openly political but addressed topics that were typical of political advice presented in drama throughout the Tudor period, such as distinguishing self-serving flatterers and choosing trustworthy counsellors.[32] Others present general moral arguments but which had immediate relevance to topical concerns: for example, a song on chastity could make a political statement on the Queen's marriage plans. Greg Walker has noted that 'the language of morality was also the language of politics at the royal courts of the Renaissance' as appeals to virtue were a means of moving the mind of the monarch and achieving political change.[33] Song was an obvious medium for moral persuasion because music was credited with inspiring virtuous behaviour. Count Lewis, in Castiglione's *The Courtyer*, argued that music is:

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[29] Mary Crane, '"Video et Taceo": Elizabeth I and the Rhetoric of Counsel', *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900* 28 (1988), 1-15 (pp.6-7).
[30] Greg Walker, *The Politics of Performance in Early Renaissance Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p.224.
[31] Richard Dutton, *Mastering the Revels: The Regulation and Censorship of English Renaissance Drama* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1991), pp.34, 37.
[32] See for example, the analysis of John Skelton's *Magnyfycence* (1515-6?) in Greg Walker, *Plays of Persuasion: Drama and Politics at the Court of Henry VIII* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp.133-68.
[33] Walker, *Politics of Performance*, p.224.

> sufficient to bring into vs a newe habite that is good, and a custome enclyning to vertue, whiche maketh the minde more apt to the conceiuing of felicitie.[34]

Thus the affective powers of music, elsewhere castigated as causing vice, could also instil moral qualities.

This section considers three plays that survive from the first fifteen years of Elizabeth's reign: *Damon and Pithias* by Richard Edwards, master of Chapel Royal children, who performed the play in 1564;[35] *The Mariage of Witte and Science*, performed in 1567/8;[36] and *The Contention Betweene Liberalitie and Prodigalitie*, also performed in 1567/8, but known from a revised version performed and published in 1602.[37] In addition, two civic progresses to Bristol (1574) and Norwich (1578) also offer examples of sung advice. In these examples it is rarely possible to establish precisely who is offering the advice: the author, the civic patron or the Lord Chamberlain (who sent devisers to oversee the entertainment) during progresses, or the Master of the Revels for court plays (see pp.26-28). Yet the intended audience could be equally diverse: court plays addressed not only Elizabeth but her courtiers too. Civic pageantry might transmit an edifying moral message to the townspeople, while the political elite interpreted more topical resonances.

The ability of songs to state a moral position clearly and succinctly is a feature which is commonly utilised in allegorical plays. *The Contention Betweene Liberalitie and Prodigalitie* concerns an argument between Prodigalitie and Tenacitie as to whom should have control of Money, the son of Fortune. Prodigalitie exploits Money until he is bare and thin to fund a lifestyle of feasting and merry-making, whereas Tenacity chains Money and allows him to grow so fat he cannot move. Finally, Money is saved from these bad masters and delivered to Vertue who appoints Money to Liberalitie. Songs are used throughout the play to introduce the nature of these allegorical characters. Money's song describes how he is 'the spring of all ioy', 'the medicine that

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[34] Castiglione, *The Courtyer*, sig.I2^{v}.
[35] Richard Edwards, *The Excellent Comedie of Two the Moste Faithfullest Freendes, Damon and Pithias* (London 1571); Ros King, ed., *The Works of Richard Edwards: Politics, Poetry and Performance in Sixteenth Century England* (New York: Manchester University Press, 2001), p.32.
[36] Anon., *A New and Pleasaunt Enterlude Intituled the Mariage of Witte and Science* (London, 1570); Trevor Lennam, *Sebastian Westcott, the Children of Paul's and The Marriage of Wit and Science* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975), p.61.
[37] Anon., *The Contention Betweene Liberalitie and Prodigalitie* (London, 1602); Harold Newcomb Hillebrand *The Child Actors: A Chapter in Elizabethan Stage History*, Studies in Language and Literature (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1926) pp.128-30.

heales each annoy' and 'the Idoll that women adore', while Fortune 'with twinkling of her eie… misers can aduance to dignity/ And Princes turne to misers miserie'.[38]

Two further songs act as a means of moral debate. Prodigalitie and Tenacitie initially take part in a song contest to determine who will have Money (Prodigalitie says that the 'Princely heart' who spends freely 'getteth praise, he gaineth friends,/ And peoples loue procures therefore' while Tenacity responds 'Thou liu'st for the most part by the spoile/ I truly labour day and night, To get my liuing by my toile'[39]). Later Vertue's song compares the easy road to vice with the difficult path of virtue:

> The passage first seemes hard:
> To vertues traine: but then most sweet,
> At length is their reward.
> To those againe that follow vice
> The way is faire and plaine:
> But fading pleasures in the end,
> Are bought with fasting paine.[40]

This song acts as the moral conclusion to the play (the closing scenes simply wrap up with Prodigalitie admitting to his crimes and appealing to the Prince's mercy). These songs contain the strongest statement of the moral debate being explored in the play because they provide a clear and succinct outline of each position.

The moral point becomes a political issue firstly in the presentation of two contrasting courts ruled by women (Fortune and Vertue) and secondly in Prodigalitie's song where he associates his use of money with his 'princely heart'. The message for Elizabeth is clear: she must use money wisely to create a court which is governed through virtue rather than fortune. Yet the message also applied to courtiers as liberality was equally a virtue to which the nobility were to aspire. Although warning of the dangers of 'excessyue rewardes... orels employenge treasour... on persons vnworthy, or on thynges... of small importaunce' (all illustrated by the action of Prodigalitie), Thomas Elyot argued in *The Boke of the Gouernour* that liberality was commended in noble men as 'it acquireth perpetualle honour to the gyuer' when he rewards 'honeste and vertuous personages'.[41]

Related to the vice of prodigality was another common criticism of courts: idleness.

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[38] *Liberalitie and Prodigalitie*, sig.B3^{r}.
[39] ibid., sig.C2^{v}-C3^{r}.
[40] ibid., sig.F1^{r-v}.
[41] Sir Thomas Elyot, *The Boke Named the Gouernour* (London, 1537), fol.121^{v}-122^{r}, 132^{r}.

This theme was taken up in the play *The Mariage of Witte and Science* in which two songs illustrated how music might both aid and hinder serious work. First, the song 'Give a legge, geue an arme, aryse, aryse' helps Recreation and Wille to revive Witte after his defeat by Tediousness, while with 'Come, come lye down', Idleness distracts Witte from his studies, putting him to sleep so that he can dress him as Ignorance.[42] As we saw in our exploration of music and queenship, the relationship between courtly arts and the serious business of governance was debated in exactly these terms: music was deemed useful for recreation and relieving melancholy, yet it could become a distraction if used too freely. The moral was not specific to Elizabeth, however, as this play was adapted from an earlier play, John Redford's *Wit and Science* (c.1531-1547). This also contains a song by Honest Recreation that attempts to revive Witte after a defeat by Tediousness and sees Witte overcome by Idleness.[43]

In *Damon and Pithias* a sung epilogue is used to summarise the play's moral message. The play tells the story of two friends who visit the kingdom of Dionisius. Pithias is unfairly arrested and condemned to death for spying by the tyrant King Dionisius, due to the efforts of the unscrupulous courtier, Carisophus. However, the companions' friendship is so great that both would die for the other and this touches the heart of Dionisius. He saves both Damon and Pithias and, understanding the value of true friendship rather than courtiers' flattery, begs them to extend such amity to him. The song concludes by stating the importance of a monarch having wise and trustworthy counsellors:

> The strongest garde that Kynges can haue,
> Are constant friends their state to saue:
> True friendes are constant, both in word and deede,
> True friendes are present, and help at each neede:
> True friendes talke truly, they glose for no gayne,
> When treasure consumeth, true frindes wyll remayne,
> True frindes for their tru Prince, refuseth not their death
> The Lorde graunt her such frindes most noble Queene Elizabeth
> Longe may she gouerne in honour and wealth,
> Uoyde of all sickenesse, in most perfect health:
> Which health to prolonge, as true friends require,
> God graunt she may haue her owne hartes desire:
> Which friendes wyll defend with most stedfast faith,
> The Lorde graunt her such friendes most noble Queene Elizabeth.[44]

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[42] *Mariage of Witte and Science*, Act IV.iii, sig.D2^{v} and Act IV.iv, sig.D4^{v}.
[43] Lennam, *Sebastian Westcott*, pp.34, 91-92.
[44] Edwards, *Damon and Pithias*, sig.H4^{r}.

Friendship (*amicitia)* was recognised as the spirit of good counsel.[45] Such friendship gave the liberty to speak freely and give honest opinions (as in the line 'True friendes talke truly'), which the monarch was to receive in a spirit of equality. A good friend/counsellor for a monarch was both trustworthy and seeking the common good rather than his own advancement. Whereas the songs emphasise the importance of constancy in both 'word and deede', courtiers were commonly suspected of two-faced behaviour. Courtiers were frequently condemned for their lustful promiscuity, manipulative behaviour, flattering and deceitful tongues and self-seeking aims.[46] As George Puttenham wrote in his *Art of English Poesie*, a courtier 'dissemble[s] not onely his countenances & conceits, but also all his ordinary actions of behauiour... whereby the better to winne his purposes & good aduantages'.[47] However, this was opposed to the ideal of good counsel, which meant that one should 'glose for no gayne'. In *Damon and Pithias* the vice of such deceitful and self-serving behaviour had been demonstrated though the character, Carisophus, the stereotypical evil courtier described as a 'flatteryng Parasite'.[48] His motivation for falsely accusing Pithias of being a spy is a plan to achieve favour with the King by being credited with uncovering a plot. However, Dionisius is not blameless: his tyrannous rule based on fear encouraged such flattery and deception, and he failed to listen to the advice of the good counsellor, Eubulus. Edwards argues that it is only friendship that can prevent monarchy becoming tyranny.[49]

The song and play therefore summarise for courtiers what true service to Elizabeth entails. Elizabeth is reminded of the importance of maintaining the spirit of friendship that enables good counsel to be freely offered to her and of distinguishing between true courtiers and self-serving flatterers. The song was probably either a consort song (the genre most commonly associated with the choirboy plays) or a part song.[50] The shorter line-lengths of the opening couplet (both eight-syllables long) suggest that the song began with an introductory phrase. The repeated line ('The Lorde graunt her such

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[45] John Guy, 'The Rhetoric of Counsel in Early Modern England', in *Tudor Political Culture*, ed. Dale Hoak (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp.292-310 (p.294).
[46] Mary Partridge, 'Images of the Courtier in Elizabethan England' (PhD Dissertation: University of Birmingham, 2008), pp.134, 147-51.
[47] George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie Contriued into Three Bookes: The First of Poets and Poesie, the Second of Proportion, the Third of Ornament* (London, 1589), p.251.
[48] Edwards, *Damon and Pithias*, sig. B2^{r}.
[49] King, *Works of Richard Edwards*, p.61.
[50] Philip Brett, 'Consort song', in *GMO* <www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/06325> [accessed 24/02/2011].

frindes...') each time preceded by five lines of ten syllables indicates two six-line stanzas. The shorter phrase lengths compared to the dialogue (with twelve and fourteen-syllable lines), the repetitive styles (especially the phrase 'True friendes') would combine with the musical setting to make the moral message memorable. In addition the musical setting would capture the audience's attention through its contrast with the preceding dialogue and would signal the end of the play.

The advice on governance offered to Elizabeth on her 1574 progress to Bristol (14th-21st August) combined general issues of counsel, flattery and the recognition of virtue, with more specific political intent related to negotiations surrounding the Treaty of Bristol which was to be signed on 28th August. The treaty settled diplomatic and trade disputes between England and Spain that had been sparked by Elizabeth's 1569 confiscation of a ship containing treasure belonging to the Duke of Alva.[51] The entertainments were organised by Thomas Churchyard and his account in *The Firste Parte of Churchyardes Chippes* (1575) contains the song 'O Happy Ower Ol Blis' which was a 'Imme [hymn]... songe by a very fien boye' when Elizabeth went to hear a sermon on Sunday.[52] Another song, 'Mistrust Not Truth', may not have been written by Churchyard as it is not included in his account of the progress and is attributed to D.S in the *Paradise of Daynty Devises* (1576).[53] However, Churchyard did later claim authorship of these lyrics in his *Churchyardes Chance* (1580).[54] This second song would have fitted well at the end of the mock battle staged in the progress; this began with Dissension joining forces with Warres to assault a fort called Feeble Policy, and then to attack the Fort of Peace itself. However, Peace eventually overcame Warres due to 'the corrage of good peple, & the force of a mighty prince'.[55]

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[51] Susan Doran, *Elizabeth I and Foreign Policy, 1558-1603* (London: Routledge, 2000), pp.27-33.
[52] Thomas Churchyard, *The Firste Parte of Churchyardes Chippes Contayning Twelue Seuerall Labours.* (London, 1575), fol.103^{v}-104^{r}.
[53] D.S., 'A Worthy Dittie, Song Before the Queenes Maiestie at Bristowe', in Richard Edwards, *The Paradyse of Daynty Deuises Aptly Furnished, with Sundry Pithie and Learned Inuentions* (London, 1576), p.23. The list of contributors in later editions reveals this to be D. Sand, but his identity is unknown: Hyder Rollins, ed., *Paradise of Dainty Devises 1576-1606* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1927), p.lxi.
[54] Thomas Churchyard, *A Pleasaunte Laborinth Called Churchyardes Chance Framed on Fancies, Vttered with Verses, and Writte to Giue Solace to Euery Well Disposed Mynde* (London, 1580), fol.27^{v}-28^{r}.
[55] Churchyard, *Churchyardes Chippes*, fol.119^{v}.

C.E. McGee has argued that the shows demonstrated Bristol's 'commitment to military vigilance and might' alongside the city's desire for peace.[56] Similarly, Mary Hill Cole reads the entertainments as a demonstration of English strength to show both her subjects and the foreign ambassadors that Elizabeth was not negotiating out of weakness.[57] Cole also argues that the martial ceremony conveyed a request for peace, through the way in which the mock battle between Warres and Peace is won by Peace with the assistance of the Queen.[58] The allegorical character of the Citie tells Elizabeth that, though they have soldiers and courage to fight:

> our ioy, be moest in peace,
> and peace we do maintain.
> Whear on to prince and realm throw out,
> doth ries great welth and gain.[59]

The Citie also draws particular attention to trade: 'Our traed doth stand on Siuill life'. Since 1569 trade had been suspended between England and the Spanish-ruled Netherlands in retaliation for Elizabeth's seizing of the Duke of Alba's gold.[60] Peaceful foreign relationships were essential to Bristol's prosperity to allow its merchants to trade successfully.

In contrast to the mock battle and military themes of the visit, the two songs emphasise the current threats to England's stability and the need for peace. The songs address not only peace with foreign nations but also the problem of traitorous hearts in England. The title given by Churchyard to 'Mistrust Not Truth' in *Churchyard Chance* (1580) seems to sum up the mood of both songs: 'written of the Queene, when her highnesse was in trouble.'[61] The five years preceding this progress had seen the arrival of Mary Queen of Scots in England in 1568, Elizabeth's excommunication in 1570 and a series of rebellions and plots against Elizabeth: the Rising of the Northern Earls in 1569, the Ridolfi plot in 1570-71 and the execution of the Duke of Norfolk for treason in 1572.

In keeping with the city's desire for peace, the hymn warned against disloyal thoughts and rebellious actions using conventional imagery of dissent and evil intent:

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[56] C.E. McGee, 'Mysteries, Musters, and Masque: The Import(s) of Elizabethan Civic Entertainments', in *The Progresses, Pageants, and Entertainments of Queen Elizabeth I*, ed. Jayne Archer, Elizabeth Goldring and Sarah Knight, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp.104-21 (p.117).
[57] Mary Hill Cole, *The Portable Queen: Elizabeth I and the Politics of Ceremony* (Amherst, Mass.: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999), p.158.
[58] ibid., p.110.
[59] Churchyard, *Churchyardes Chippes*, fol.118^{r-v}.
[60] Doran, *Elizabeth I and Foreign Policy*. p.27; Paul Hammer, *Elizabeth's Wars: War, Government and Society in Tudor England, 1544-1604* (Basingstoke : Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp.82-85.
61 Churchyard, *Churchyardes Chance*, fol.27^{v}-28^{r}.

Away you bosum Snaeks,
that sowes dissenshon heer:
Go make your neasts, whear Serpents breed,
this soyll and coest is clear.
Enchant no man with charms
...
She hateth Hidras heds,
and loues the harmles mind

The use of poulter's measure and short lines gives a strong metre that would help to make its phrases memorable while placing emphasis on keywords at the ends of lines. Although not the most common metre for metrical psalms, Sternhold and Hopkins's Whole Book of Psalms contain a few examples in poulter's measure, such as Psalm 67.[62] Snakes and serpents refer to man's fall from the Garden of Eden due to the temptations of a snake, as well as being a symbol of the self-serving flattery among courtiers. Similarly in *Damon and Pithias*, the flattering counsellor Carisophus is called a 'catterpiller', while the more virtuous Eubulus calls flattery 'the Serpent that eates men aliue'.[63] 'Hidras heds' refers to the beast from Greek mythology with nine heads exuding poisonous breath that, if cut off, caused two heads to grow back; it evokes the gentry's common description of the mass of ordinary subjects as a many-headed monster (the 'She' who hates them is Elizabeth).[64] However, overall the hymn asserts that Elizabeth will survive all such threats through her own virtue and by the grace of God. In short, it was propaganda for a church service.

More obviously advisory was the song 'Mistrust Not Truth', which offered Elizabeth advice on how to achieve a peaceful state.[65] The first four verses are an acrostic on 'Mi Ladi Elisabeth' indicating to whom the advice is aimed. The counsel given in the song claimed to be able to:

shall stablishe long your state,
Continually with perfect peace, in spite of puffing hate.

This 'puffing hate' might be read as referring to either the disloyalty of Englishmen or England's difficult relationship with Spain. However, other verses seem to refer to Elizabeth's choice of servants and advisors. Elaborating on the hymn's contrast between 'Hidras heds' and the 'harmles mind', this second song advises Elizabeth to judge each

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[62] Thomas Sternhold and John Hopkins, *The Whole Booke of Psalmes Collected into Englysh Metre* (London, 1562), p.153.
[63] Edwards, *Damon and Pithias*, sig.C3^{r}, H3^{v}.
[64] Christopher Hill, 'The Many-Headed Monster in Late Tudor and Early Stuart England', in *From the Renaissance to the Counter Reformation: Essays in Honour of Garrett Mattingly*, ed. Charles Carter (London, Jonathan Cape, 1966), pp.296-324.
[65] Edwards, *Paradyse of Daynty Deuises*, p.23.

man carefully, avoiding those who merely flatter and identifying the truly loyal hearts who can provide the steadfast ground on which to build her state:

> Avoide from you those hatefull heads, that helpes to heape mishap,
> Be slowe to heare the flatterers voice, which crepeth in your lapp.
> ...
> Geue faith to those that feare for loue, and not that loue for feare,
> Regard not them that force compels, to please you euery where:

The continued unease caused by the rebellions and plots of 1569-1572 is evident in the lyrics, which ask:

> Howe can your seate be settled fast, or stand on stedfast ground,
> So propped vp with hollowe hartes, whose suertie is unfound.

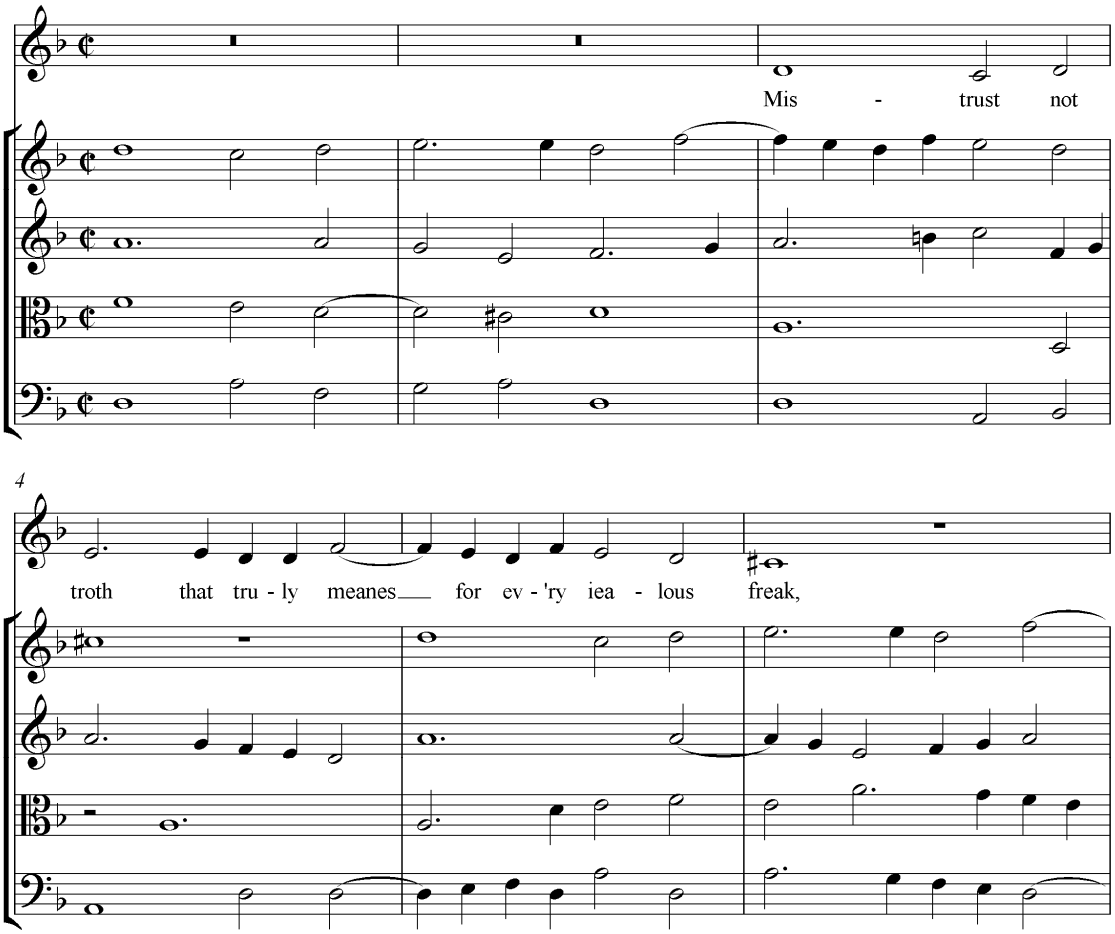
We remember that Aylmer had justified female rule on the grounds that a woman could chose wise counsellors to help her govern (p.36). The execution just two years earlier of Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, who had previously been a member of the Privy Council, demonstrated the need to renew such advice. There is a hint of criticism in the suggestion that Elizabeth needs to be instructed in how and how not to govern. Being a woman, Elizabeth was considered in particular need of advice, as indicated in the fourth verse: 'Trust not too much vnto your selfe, for feble are your staies.' Other lines offer advice on how to encourage such loyalty in her subjects, advising her to 'Enforce no feare' and recognise the efforts of those who express their love for their monarch: 'Embrace their loue that wills you good, and sport not at their praise'. This last line in particular seems to ask Elizabeth to reward the city of Bristol for these entertainments.

In contrast to the short, punchy lines of 'O Happy Ower', 'Mistrust Not Truth' has long fourteen-syllable lines suitable for setting as a consort song. A setting by Nicholas Strogers survives in the Dow Partbooks which were copied c.1581-1588. This means that the composition date must have been close to that of the progress. Furthermore, the topical nature of the words and their direct message to Elizabeth must make it less likely that a composer would choose these words to set other than for their original occasion. Strogers's setting must therefore be considered a likely candidate to have been the original version for the Bristol progress.

Strogers made his setting of the lyrics memorable firstly through the repetitive opening melody. This was heard first in the treble viol part and twice repeated by the voice for the first two lines of text. This was typical practice for consort songs, as was the syllabic setting of the words to communicate the advice clearly even though the vocal part was not the highest in the ensemble. However, using the same opening melody again for the second line of text expanded this repetition beyond the norm, and the final line of text

and music was also repeated for each verse. The song is also less contrapuntal than many consort songs of the period, perhaps to ensure the advice was audible.

Figure 4.4: Nicholas Strogers, 'Mistrust Not Truth', opening line.[66]



The opening melody (fig.4.4) has a low and small range (a fourth, *c'* to *f'*); by contrast, the third line (fig.4.5) coincides with a distinct change in register to a higher and wider range (*d'* to *c"*). There are also harmonic changes as the B-fa is replaced by B-mi and F# and G# are used (the music moves to a sharp hexachord). The effect is that, as the text moves from the subject of vices to virtues and images of light, the melody reaches higher and the harmony becomes correspondingly sharper and brighter. Similarly in the final verse this change in register coincides with the hope that Elizabeth can 'stablishe long your state/ continually in perfect peace'.[67] Presenting the counsel artistically in a pleasurable musical setting might sweeten the message and aid its memorability. The Bristol progress of 1574 clearly demonstrates that it was acceptable to present Elizabeth with direct advice, even with a hint of criticism, during the songs of a progress.

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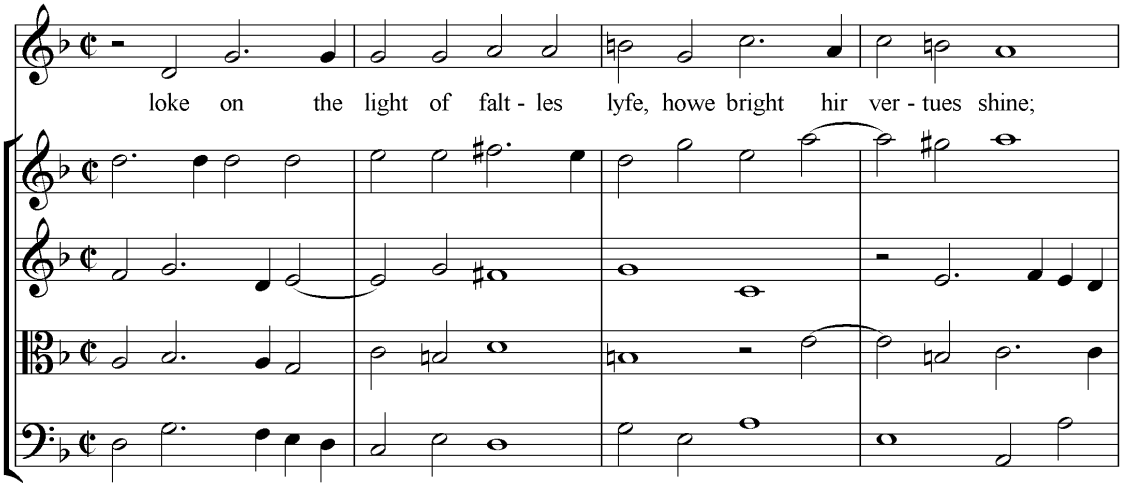
[66] Robert Dow, GB-Och: Music MSS 984-988 [Dow Partbooks], No.21; Philip Brett, ed., *Consort Songs*, Musica Britannica 22 (London: Stainer and Bell, 1974), p.38.
[67] Edwards, *Paradyse of Daynty Deuises* p.23.

Figure 4.5: Strogers, 'Mistrust Not Truth', third line.



Other songs offered advice on the subject of marriage. On Elizabeth's visit to Norwich (1578) Thomas Churchyard offered *The Show of Dame Chastity*, which tells how Cupid, fleeing from his mother Venus's argument with a Philosopher, is caught by Dame Chastitie and her handmaids Modestie, Temperance, Good Exercise and Shamefastnesse. They strip Cupid of his carriage, cloak and bow, and present the bow to Elizabeth as one chaste and wise enough to yield it.[68] The show ended with a song by Dame Chastitie's attendants that summed up the moral content of the show. Like Vertue's song from *Liberalitie and Prodigalitie*, Churchyard's song works by contrasting good and bad morals, here chastity and lewd life. However, Susan Doran has suggested that the drama in which this song was sung was intended to persuade Elizabeth against proceeding further in marriage negotiations with the Duke of Anjou and convince the French ambassadors that Elizabeth would not marry.[69] Alternatively, John King sees the show as 'delicately ambiguous' because Elizabeth is presented with Cupid's arrows which she might use either to choose her own suitable husband or preserve her chastity like the archer Diana. Given that Norwich was a strongly Protestant city, King suggests that the town council was indicating Elizabeth should

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[68] An account of the show is given in Thomas Churchyard, *A Discourse of the Queenes Maiesties Entertainement in Suffolk and Norffolk with a Description of Many Things Then Presently Seene* (London, 1578), sig.C4^{v}-E1^{v}. However, the song is only included in the version (almost identical to Churchyard's in other respects) printed in Raphael Holinshed, *The Third Volume of Chronicles, Beginning at Duke William the Norman, Commonlie Called the Conqueror; and Descending by Degrees of Yeeres to All the Kings and Queenes of England in their Orderlie Successions* (London, 1586), pp.1292-93. This suggests that, as with the *Four Foster Children of Desire* (p.112), there were different editions, some with and some without songs. It is possible that the song lyrics may have been written by different authors or that the lyrics were still with the composer and so could only be reunited with the main text after the first print run.

[69] Susan Doran, 'Juno Versus Diana: The Treatment of Elizabeth I's Marriage in Plays and Entertainments, 1561-1581', *The Historical Journal* 38 (1995), 257-74 (p.272).

only choose a husband of a suitable religion; however, it is not possible to separate firmly the intentions of the author and the patron here.[70]

It is the song that spells out unequivocally the moral argument intended to persuade Elizabeth to reconsider her marriage negotiations. The song contrasts the virtues and benefits of chastity with the consequences of the vice of lewd life. Using poulter's measure, as with the 1574 hymn from Bristol, the short lines lend particular emphasis to the repeated keyword 'chaste' and to the alliteration:

> Chast life liues long and lookes
> on world and wicked waies,
> Chast life for losse of pleasures short,
> dooth win immortall praise.
> Chast life hath merrie moods,
> and soundlie taketh test,
> Chast life is pure as babe new borne,
> that hugs in mothers brest.
>
> Lewd life cuts off his daies,
> and soone runs out his date,
> Confounds good wits, breeds naughtie bloud,
> and weakens mans estate.
> Lewd life the Lord doth loth,
> the law and land mislikes,
> The wise will shun, fond fooles doo seeke,
> and God sore plages and strikes.[71]

Clues to the political meaning of the song might have been discerned by the politically-knowledgeable listener. The opening line's suggestion that chastity brings 'long life' is not the most obvious benefit of chastity, though it was a common attribute to wish on a monarch. More obvious is the description of Chaste life sitting 'in regall throne' in verse three. Furthermore, many of the metaphors describing chaste life were those commonly applied to Elizabeth. The fourth verse begins:

> Chast life a pretious pearle,
> dooth shine as bright as sun

Elizabeth had already been praised as the sun at Norwich (1578) in 'The Deaw of Heauen' (p.228) and a 1563 broadside had hailed the Queen as 'the pearle/ whom God and man doth loue' and 'on earth/ the only starre of light'.[72] Churchyard describes how the 'common people' followed the show creating 'as great a trayne and preace about the Shewe, as came with the Courte'.[73] For many of these people the song would simply be

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[70] John King, 'Queen Elizabeth I: Representations of the Virgin Queen', *Renaissance Quarterly* 43 (1990), 30-74', pp.47-48.
[71] Holinshed, *Chronicles*, pp.1292-93.
[72] Anon., *Loe Here the Pearle, Whom God and Man Doth Loue* (London, 1563).
[73] Churchyard, *Discourse...Suffolk and Norffolk*, sig.C4^{v}.

an edifying moral song; however, it could simultaneously function as topical political advice for Queen and court.

In these plays and civic entertainments it is frequently the songs which contain the most direct summary of the moral-political message. Not only could a tuneful setting aid the listener in remembering the moral message but it could make the uncompromising moral contrasts and unexciting poetic style more agreeable and even entertaining. The moral and allegorical style of play had persisted through the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward and Mary;[74] however, this style of drama and song declined after the 1570s. As Elizabeth's reign progressed, the court established its own modes of communication and courtiers found more effective means of persuasion. Thereafter, music rarely offered advice, and if it did so, the advice was concealed in poetic fictions rather than displayed in such obvious and moral terms.

Complaints and Petitions during Elizabeth's Progresses

Courtiers and noblemen made use of every opportunity to bring themselves to the Queen's attention and present their petitions. Although progresses were undertaken on Elizabeth's desire to enhance and spread her royal image, noblemen took the opportunity to present their petitions and complaints, and again they turned to music as one means of doing so.

Until the 1990s, interpretations of the politics of court and progress entertainments had centred on the dissemination of Elizabeth's image through the dramatic entertainments and pageantry. Roy Strong explored Elizabeth's presentation as Astraea, Diana, Venus or Cynthia.[75] Jean Wilson described the progress as a quest, with Elizabeth playing the role of the Lady of Romance, and Elizabeth's portrayals as a supernatural being or a substitute for the Virgin Mary.[76] More recent scholarship has drawn attention to the agendas of noblemen and courtiers. Curt Breight made detailed studies of the entertainments of two disaffected courtiers, the Earl of Hertford at Elvetham and Lord Montague at Cowdray, showing how they sought to promote their own interests and

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[74] See Walker, *Plays of Persuasion* and *Politics of Performance.*
[75] Roy Strong, *The Cult of Elizabeth: Elizabethan Portraiture and Pageantry* (London: Pimlico, 1999).
[76] Jean Wilson, *Entertainments for Elizabeth I* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1980), pp.15-26.

enhance their own honour, in ways which competed with the conventional royal imagery.[77] Similarly Susan Doran has argued that the Earl of Leicester used the Kenilworth progress to further his hopes of marriage to the Queen.[78] The latest contribution to the literature on the progresses, *The Progresses, Pageants, and Entertainments of Queen Elizabeth I*, continues this line of enquiry with essays on Leicester's use of portraiture for self-fashioning at Kenilworth (1575) and the Catholic Lord Montague's assertion of his loyalty at Cowdray (1591).[79] Mary Hill Cole has widened the object of study from a focus on the dramatic entertainments to consideration of the logistics of the whole progress and considered the effect of progressing on government as well as the individual hosts.[80] Such research has demonstrated the competing agendas within progress entertainments and has led to questions as to how successful the progresses were in reinforcing royal authority.

In this search for competing agendas, little attention has been paid to the music of these events. While most notated music is lost, the poetic texts of the songs are often preserved in accounts of the entertainments (and sometimes give clues as to the likely forms of the music). However, the song lyrics can be more outspoken in addressing Elizabeth than the surrounding dramas and speeches. Here I examine the use of sung petitions during Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester's bid to become Elizabeth's husband (Kenilworth and Woodstock, 1575), the Catholic Lord Montague's complaint at his presumed disloyalty (Cowdray, 1591) and a possible petition by Sir Thomas Egerton in 1602 for which a musical setting is extant.

The problem with many interpretations of covert and subversive messages is that they presume that the Queen was not expected to recognise these critical agendas. For example, Curt Breight suggests several possible interpretations of the Cowdray entertainment, which include symbolic threats towards Elizabeth through the slaughtering of deer in a staged hunt, drawing attention to Lord Montague's hiding of

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[77] Breight, 'Realpolitik and Elizabethan Ceremony', 20-48; Curt Breight, 'Caressing the Great: Viscount Montague's Entertainment of Elizabeth at Cowdray, 1591', *Sussex Archaeological Collection* 127 (1989), 147-66.
[78] Doran, 'Juno Versus Diana'.
[79] Elizabeth Heale, 'Contesting Terms: Loyal Catholicism and Lord Montague's Entertainment at Cowdray, 1591', pp.189-206; and Elizabeth Goldring, 'Portraiture, Patronage, and the Progresses Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester and the Kenilworth Festivities of 1575', pp.163-88 both in *The Progresses, Pageants, and Entertainments of Queen Elizabeth I*, eds. Jayne Archer, Elizabeth Goldring and Sarah Knight (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).
[80] Cole, *Portable Queen*, p.277.

priests and stating his greater loyalty to Catholicism than the Queen.[81] However, Elizabeth was well-known for her intelligence and noblemen can hardly have expected her to miss such treasonous hidden messages. Even Hertford's promotion of his family's royal ambitions at Elvetham (pp.150-51) was achieved alongside unequivocal praises of Elizabeth. More often, the ambiguity between the joyful, praising surface of these entertainments and the 'covert communications susceptible to deniability' beneath was not meant to hide subversive messages, but to soften complaints and requests, by simultaneously asserting the nobleman's love and respect for his monarch.[82] By couching these comments artistically in both poetry and music and serving them with a good dose of flattery and praise, a nobleman could assert his views in an acceptable form while showing respect to Elizabeth's authority.

Music played a prominent role throughout Leicester's entertainment of the Queen at Kenilworth in 1575 both in welcoming her to the castle and within the many short devices prepared throughout her stay.[83] However, it is the final song of Deep Desire that formed Leicester's musical petition to the Queen. Susan Doran has argued that the Kenilworth entertainment was an elaborate marriage proposal, but one which also opened the possibility of ending this courtship. Elizabeth was urged either to accept Leicester's suit or to liberate him from it and allow him to leave court and fight abroad for the Dutch Protestants.[84] Themes of marriage run throughout the progress, the most blatant statement being in the show of the nymph Zabeta (clearly representing Elizabeth), which urged her to 'geue consent... to Iunoes iust desire'.[85] However, the play was never performed due to 'lack of opportunitie and seasonable weather', so George Gascoigne devised a new show for Elizabeth's departure. Acting the part of Silvanus, he introduced the enchanted wood of Kenilworth made up of lovers turned into trees by Zabeta. Some of these were lovers punished for their inconstancy (the poplar), or ambition (the ivy). Others were victims of a cruel lover, including the oak, a figure of constancy.[86] Leicester is most clearly represented by Deep Desire (a holly bush) who delivers a speech of his continuing love for Zabeta, ending with a song. However, Catherine Bates suggests that Leicester was also personified in the oak,

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[81] Breight, 'Caressing the Great', pp.147-66.
[82] Quotation from Breight, 'Caressing the Great', p.141.
[83] George Gascoigne, 'The Princely Pleasures at Kenelworth Castle', in *The Pleasauntest Workes of George Gascoigne Esquyre* (London, 1587), sig.A1^{r}-C8^{v}.
[84] Doran, 'Juno Versus Diana', pp.266-68.
[85] Gascoigne, 'The Princely Pleasures', sig.C2^{r}.
[86] ibid., sig.C2^{v}-C8^{v}.

whose Latin name *robur* hints at his name. Therefore Leicester's portrayal combined sexual love and respectful love in a way that illustrated his ambivalent position as both suitor and subject.[87]

The song of Deep Desire emphasised his relationship with his lady, figured as 'dame pleasure' and 'deere delight':

> Come Muses come, and helpe me to lament,
> come woods, come waues, come hils, come doleful dales
> Since life & death are both against me bent,
> come gods come men, beare witness of my bales
> O heauenly Nimphs, come helpe my heauy heart:
> with sighes to see dame pleasure thus depart.
>
> If death or dole, could daunt a deepe desire,
> if priuie pangs could counterpeise my plaint:
> If tract of time, a true intent could tire,
> or cramps of care, a constant minde could taint,
> Oh then might I, at will here lieu and sterue:
> although my deedes did more delight deserue.
>
> But out alas, no gripes of greefe suffice,
> to breake in twaine this harmlesse heart of mine
> For though delight be banisht from mine eies,
> yet liues *Desire*, whom paines can neuer pine,
> O straunge affects, I liue which seeme to die
> I liue to see my deere delight go by.
>
> The farewell sweet, for whom I taste such sower
> farewell delight, for whom I dwell in dole:
> Free will, farewell, farewell my fancies flower,
> farewell content whom cruell cares controle.
> O farewell life, delightfull death farewell
> I dye in heauen, yet liue in darksome hell.[88]

In lamenting the departure of Elizabeth the song is typical of other closing songs, such as 'What Vayleth Life Where Sorrowe Soakes the Harte?' which concluded the Norwich progress (1578).[89] Consort-song laments were fashionable in the 1560s-70s, as shown by their frequent use in choirboy plays at court and the numerous examples preserved in the part-books of Robert Dow (copied c.1581-1588).[90] However, this song was more novel because it was accompanied by a hidden mixed consort ('consort of Musicke'[91]) rather than the consort of viols used in choirboy plays at court. (The mixed

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[87] Bates, *Rhetoric of Courtship*, pp.59-61.
[88] Gascoigne, 'Princely Pleasures', sig.D1^{v}.
[89] B[ernard] G[arter], *The Ioyfull Receyuing of the Queenes Most Excellent Maiestie into Hir Highnesse Citie of Norwich* (London, 1578), sig.E4^{v}.
[90] Philip Brett, 'Consort song', in *GMO* <www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/06325> [accessed 24/02/2011].
[91] Gascoigne, 'Princely Pleasures', sig.C8^{r}.

consort had also accompanied 'The Song of Protheus' earlier in the visit.[92]) Gascoigne's lament demonstrates all the conventions of the genre in its evocation of the landscape and heavenly nymphs to help in the lament, in its extensive use of alliteration and in expressing the protagonist's desire for 'delightfull death'. Yet the resonances with Leicester's relationship with Elizabeth would be unmistakeable after the numerous references to marriage throughout the visit and as Leicester had previously presented himself as Desire during revels performed by members of the Inner Temple in 1562.[93] His desire is described as unending: 'no gripes of grief suffice/ to breake in twaine this harmlesse heart of mine'. He claims that if death or dole could end his desire for Elizabeth 'then might I, at will here liue and sterue' rather than return to the court, but he believes that 'my deedes did more delight deserve'. Its closing paradox captures Leicester's position in 1575, enjoying high favour but unable to make progress with his suit, but yet equally unwilling or unable (one of the farewells is to free will) to leave the heavenly presence of the Queen and make a fortune elsewhere. The fashionable and conventional genre of the consort-song lament, formulaic in style but designed to represent strong emotion, allowed Leicester to encapsulate his concerns about his relationship with Elizabeth within a traditional farewell song on a public occasion.

When in August of the same year Elizabeth was presented with a singing oak tree at Woodstock, Elizabeth must have recalled the enchanted wood and singing holly bush that had marked her farewell at Kenilworth at the end of July. Sir Edward Dyer's 'The Songe in the Oke', was the lament of a constant but unfortunate lover who has been turned into an oak tree (fig.4.6) [94] The text describes the performance as involving 'ye sound both of voice and instrument', suggesting a lute song.[95] Ralph Sargent had argued that Elizabeth had neglected Dyer after 1573 and that this poem was intended to recapture her attention.[96] If this were so then this song would be a simple case of a courtier demonstrating his unhappy state in hyperbolic terms in the hope that Elizabeth would favour him once more. However, Steven May has pointed out this version of events is contradicted by Lady Sidney's testimony of his ability to act on behalf of clients at court in September 1574 and Elizabeth's decision to visit Woodstock, the

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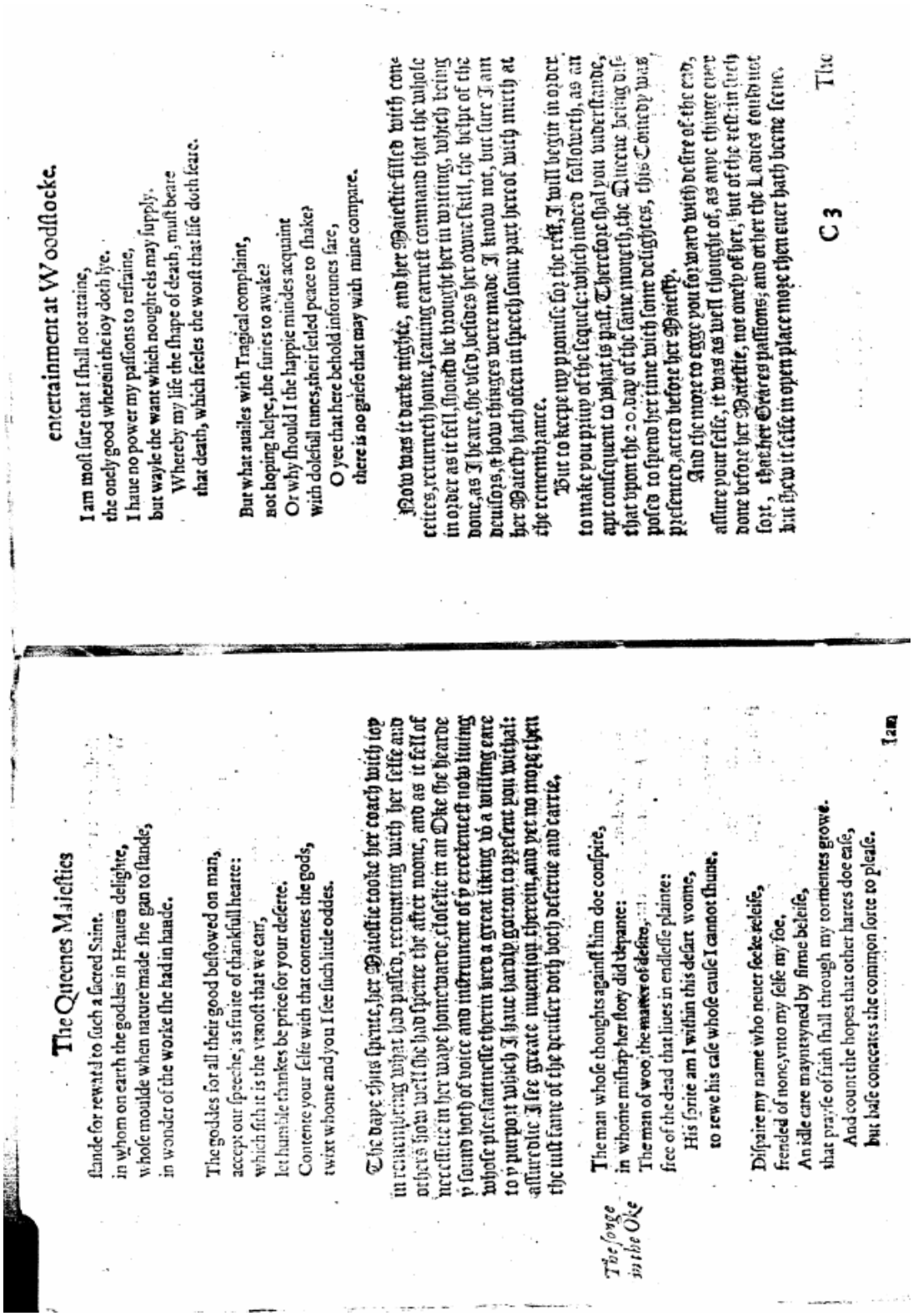
[92] ibid., sig.B1^{r-v}.
[93] Bates, *Rhetoric of Courtship*, pp.48-52
[94] Anon., *The Queenes Maiesties Entertainement at Woodstock* (London, 1585), sig.C2^{v}-C3^{r}.
[95] ibid., sig.C2^{v}.
[96] Ralph Millard Sargent, *At the Court of Queen Elizabeth: The Life and Lyrics of Sir Edward Dyer* (London: Oxford University Press, 1935), pp.23-28.

Figure 4.6: Edward Dyer, 'The Songe in the Oke'[97]



The Queenes Maiesties

stande for reward to such a sacred Saint.
in whom on earth the goddes in Heauen delighte,
whose moulde when nature made she gan to stande,
in wonder of the worke she had in haude.

The goddes for all their good bestowed on man,
accept our speeche, as fruite of thankfull heartes:
which sithe it is the vtmost that we can,
let humble thankes be price for your deserte.
Contente your selfe with that contentes the gods,
twixt whome and you I see such little odds.

The daye thus spente, her Maiestie tooke her coach with lop in remembring what had passed, recounting with her selfe and others how well she had spente the after noone, and as it fell of necessitie in her wayes homewardes, closelie in an Oke she heard a sound both of voice and instrument of a excellentest now tuning whose pleasantnesse therin bred a great liking vnto a willing eare to a purpose which I haue hardly gotten to present you withal: assuredlie I see greate inuention therein, and yet no more then the tuch sauce of the deuiser doth both deserue and carrie.

The songe in the Oke

The man whose thoughts against him doe conspire,
in whome mishap her story did vbraide:
The man of woe, the mark of desire,
free of the dead that liues in endlesse paine:
His sprite am I within this desart woone,
to sewe his case whose cause I cannot shune.

Dispaire my name who neuer seeke releiffe,
frended of none, vnto my selfe my foe,
An idle care maintayned by firme beleiffe,
that prayse of faith shall through my torrentes growe.
And count the hopes that other harses doe ease,
but base concaites the common sorte to please.

Iam

entertainment at Woodstocke.

I am most sure that I shall not attaine,
the onely good wherein the ioy doth lye.
I haue no power my passions to refraine,
but wayle the want which noughtes may supply.
Whereby my life the shape of death, must beare
that death, which feeles the worst that life doth feare.

But what auailes with Tragical complaint,
not hoping helpe, the furies to awake?
Or why should I the happie mindes acquaint
with doleful tunes, their feeled peace to shake?
O yee that here behold infortunes fare,
there is no griefe that may with mine compare.

Now was it darke nighte, and her Maiestie filled with conceites, returneth home, leaving earnest commaund that the whole in order as it fell, should be wrought her in writing, which being done, as I heare, she vsed, besides her owne skill, the helpe of the deuisers, & how things were made I know not, but sure I am her Maiesty hath often in speech some part hereof with mirth at the remembrance.

But to keepe my promise for the rest, I will begin in order to make you priuy of the sequele: which indeed followeth, as an apt consequent to what is past. Therefore shal you vnderstande, that vpon the 20. day of the same moneth, the Princesse being disposed to spend her time with some delightes, this Comedy was presented, acted before her Maiesty.

And the more to egge you forward with desire of the end, assure your selfe, it was as well thought of, as anye thinge euer done before her Maiestie, not onely of her, but of the rest in such sort, that her Graces passions, and other the Ladies could not but shew it selfe in open place more then euer hath beene seene.

C 3 The

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[97] Anon., *Queenes... Entertainment at Woodstock*, sig.C2^{v}-C3^{r}. Image produced by ProQuest as part of *Early English Books Online*. Enquiries may be made to: ProQuest, 789 E. Eisenhower Parkway, Box 1346, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA. Telephone: 734.761.4700. Email: info@il.proquest.com. Web page: http://www.proquest.com.

royal manor for which Dyer was the Steward.[98] He concludes that Dyer may have been contributing verses to a larger event rather than making any specific petition himself, pointing out that we do not know if Elizabeth knew the identity of the author (Dyer's name is not in the published account of the progress).

Sir Edward Dyer had begun his career at court as a member of the Earl of Leicester's retinue and remained closely allied with the Dudley family, suggesting he would be willing to compose verses on Leicester's behalf.[99] Arguing that the Queen's reaction convinced Leicester that there was no further possibility of marriage, Doran believes that the Woodstock entertainment used its story of two lovers – a Princess and a Knight forced to separate because a princess has a duty to marry for her state and not for love – to transmit Leicester's acceptance of her rejection of his suit.[100] The singing oak at Woodstock also seems to be a delayed epilogue to the Kenilworth entertainment, in which Leicester, understanding his suit to have been rejected, recast himself as the unfortunate but constant loyal subject – the oak. 'The Songe in the Oke' associates its protagonist with the lamenting Deep Desire by describing him as 'the man of woo, the matter of desire'. However, this song is stripped of further references to desire, focussing solely on the lament of an unfortunate man. Dyer's song, cryptic in the lack of explanation for the oak's lament, would have a clear context in the minds of those who had travelled with or kept abreast of that summer's progress. On behalf of his patron, Dyer signalled Leicester's acceptance of the end of their courtship with verses such as 'I am most sure that I shall not attaine/ the onely good wherein the ioy doth lye'. Yet 'mayntayned by firme beleife/ that prayse of faith shall through my tormentes growe' Dyer stressed that Leicester's faithfulness would continue as a subject if not as a suitor.

The laments of Gascoigne and Dyer are identical in form, both using four stanzas of ten syllable lines with an ABABCC rhyme scheme. However, Dyer's lament avoids conventional alliterative style and the poem denounces such stereotypical pleas to earth and heaven to join in the lament, asking 'what auailes with Tragical complaint,
not hoping helpe, the furies to awake?'. The difference may be the result of the different poetic styles of the authors. However, it is possible that Gascoigne's poem was deliberately conventional because the subtext of Leicester's desire to marry the Queen

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[98] May, *Elizabethan Courtier Poets*, p.56.
[99] Steven May, 'Dyer, Sir Edward (1543–1607)', in *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, 2008) <www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8346> [accessed 22/10/2009].
[100] Doran, 'Juno Versus Diana', p.268.

was controversial. While 'The Songe in the Oke' has to be deliberately vague about the cause of the woe (Elizabeth), Leicester's acceptance that his suit will not be granted is an inoffensive message and need not be contained in a form and style as strictly conventional as Gascoigne's. This use of convention to frame controversial petitions to the Queen is one that we shall see again both in the progress visit to Cowdray in 1591 and in more private contexts (pp.193-97).

During the 1580s, political tensions and the threat of invasion made it wiser for Elizabeth to remain in and around London so the extensive summer progresses stopped.[101] By 1591 progresses had resumed, although the political atmosphere was increasingly tense. Two issues of concern were the increased confrontations over the religious non-conformity of both Puritans and Catholics and the war against Catholic Spain (which fuelled anxieties about the loyalty of Catholics).[102] These formed the backdrop to Elizabeth's visit to Lord Montague at Cowdray in August 1591. Lord Montague was Catholic, but had enjoyed a reasonable degree of political success early in the reign, serving as an ambassador to Spain and the Netherlands and being Lord Lieutenant of Sussex from 1569 with Lord Buckhurst. However, his lieutenancy was not renewed in 1585 (although Buckhurst's was) and Montague received no further position.[103] As Elizabeth Heale has argued, Elizabeth was given a splendid demonstration of the faithfulness and service of Catholics through the efforts that were put into her entertainment. However, she was also intended to recognise Lord Montague's complaint at her failure to recognise the loyalty of her Catholic subjects.[104] Furthermore, it appears that rumours of Montague's disloyalty were being spread in the summer of 1591. In a speech to Surrey gentry a few months after the progress Montague remarked that 'yt hath bene told her Majestie that yt was dawngerous commyng for her to my house' and in early August while staying with the More family at Loseley she had been warned that 'I was a dawngerous man to the State, and that I kept in my house syx score recusantes... a wonderfull untruth'.[105] The progress therefore both asserts

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[101] Cole, *The Portable Queen*, p.277. Cole provides a detailed analysis of purposes, logistics and patterns of the progresses, including a table of all the progresses Elizabeth is known to have made and her lengths of stay.
[102] John Guy, 'The 1590s: The Second Reign of Elizabeth I?', in *The Reign of Elizabeth I: Court and Culture in the Last Decade*, ed. John Guy (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp.1-19.
[103] Michael Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England: Politics, Aristocratic Patronage, and Religion, c.1550-1640* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2006) pp.130-36, 140-42, 166-69.
[104] Heale, 'Contesting Terms', pp.189, 198, 465.
[105] Questier, *Catholicism and Community*, p.176.

Montague's loyalty and criticises all those who questioned it. Montague's entertainments have a more critical edge than Leicester's entertainments of the 1570s, and this was articulated most forcefully in the songs.

Two versions of the Cowdray entertainments were published: one (STC 39025) including three song-texts, the other (STC 3907.7) omitting these lyrics (see Appendix D) but describing Elizabeth's actions during the visit. Wilson suggests that the edition with the lyrics was prepared prior to the progress (perhaps given out to those who attended) while the version without was published afterwards.[106] This raises the possibility that the songs were deliberately omitted from the second version because of their critical subtexts. Churchyard also left out songs from his accounts of both the Norwich and Bristol progresses (pp.158 and 163). The songs were always the least permanent part of the entertainment as the music never survives as part of the progress text. A song which caused offence could be quietly dropped from circulated accounts without much loss, while to omit a whole drama would reduce the magnificence of the entertainment the version portrayed. The ephemeral nature of songs may be one reason why they were chosen to communicate complaints.

Although part of separate entertainments and performed on different days, the songs seem to follow a narrative of their own. The songs shared a unifying theme of love, which is gradually revealed as a metaphor for the ideal of mutual love between monarch and subject. These songs formed a progression of increasingly direct complaints which showed this mutual love as disrupted by Elizabeth's lack of trust. The first song began like a conventional love song, praising the beloved's beauty:

> Behold her lockes like wiers of beaten gold,
> Her eies like stares that twinkle in the skie,
> Her heauenly face not framd of earthly molde,
> Her voice that sounds Apollos melodie,
> The miracle of time, the worlds storie,
> Fortunes Queen, Loues treasure, Natures glory.[107]

The hyperbole is extreme but the model is clearly a lover's praise of his beloved, while the closing epithets were common praises of Elizabeth.[108] Indeed the lyrics seem to have had a second life as a love song when Richard Jones set the first two stanzas in *The*

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[106] Wilson, *Entertainments*, p.88.
[107] Anon, *The Speeches and Honorable Entertainment Giuen to the Queenes Maiestie in Progresse, at Cowdrey in Sussex* (London, 1591), pp.3-4.
[108] For example Elizabeth is called 'Natures treasure' at Elvetham: Anon., *Honorable Entertainement*, sig.E2^{v}.

Muses Gardin for Delights (1610), omitting the last verse which was specific to the context of the entertainment.[109]

The mood of the second verse was darker, with its references to 'flattering hopes', 'shadows of delight', 'charms that do enchant,' 'false artes deceit' and 'fading joys'. Such complaints were commonly made of courtiers as well as lovers, as we saw in *Damon and Pithias* (pp.156-58). Elizabeth is presented as victorious over these malevolent forces, a claim that would be undermined in the subsequent songs. Yet the final verse of this song emphasised Elizabeth's power over the helpless deer she was hunting:

> your eies are arrows though they seeme to smile
> which neuer glanst but glad the stateliest hart,
> Strike one, strike all, for none at all can flie,
> They gaze you in the face although they die.[110]

Elizabeth's power has a fearsome and disturbing edge to it. Her smiling eyes mask her hidden danger. In performance the word-play on hart/heart would encourage a dual meaning in this passage as a whole. Just as the deer are totally dependent on Elizabeth for their life or death, so too are the courtiers and noblemen.

The second song is a lover's lament, though this genre has no direct connection to the preceding meeting between Elizabeth, a pilgrim and a wild man. The pilgrim presented an oak tree hung with the arms of Sussex families, using the oak's association with constancy to stress the loyalty of the shire. The Wild Man's speech that followed ended with this warning about the difference between appearance and reality:

> such a disguised world it is that one can scarce know a Pilgrime from a Priest, a pauper from a Gentleman, nor a man from a woman. Euerie one seeming to be that which they are not, onely do practise what they should not.[111]

Reading this passage in the light of Elizabeth's removal of Lord Montague from office in 1585 (implying that she considered him a potential traitor), Montague was evidently attacking the assumption that Catholics are disloyal to the Queen. Montague admits that he 'practise[s] what [he] should not': Catholicism. The reference to pilgrims and priests has even been interpreted as a daring reference to his hiding of Catholic priests.[112] Yet the assertion that such practise makes people 'seem[ ] that which they are not' argues

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[109] Richard Jones, *The Muses Gardin for Delight, or Fifth Booke of Ayres 1610*, ed. Edmund Fellowes (London: Stainer and Bell, 1925), pp.44-46.
[110] Anon., *Speeches… at Cowdrey*, p.4.
[111] ibid., pp.7-8.
[112] Heale, 'Contesting Terms', p.201.

that while Catholicism might make someone seem disloyal, this is not true. Lord Montague seems to be asserting that he has been misjudged.

Like the preceding show, the second song also asserts the faithfulness of the lover and by extension Montague.[113] The opening verse compares this love to the phoenix, a bird commonly associated with Elizabeth, but suggests that his constantly renewing love is more exceptional than the phoenix:

> There is a bird that builds her neast with spice,
> and built, the Sun to ashes doth her burne,
> & she by scorching beames to dust doth turne:
> Thus life a death, and death a life doth proue,
> The rarest thing on earth except my loue.

Yet, whereas the first song demonstrated his love, this second song shows that the love is unrequited;

> My loue that makes his neast with high desires,
> and is by beauties blaze to ashes brought,
> Out of the which do breake our greater fires,
> they quenched by disdain consume to nought,
> And out of nought my cleerest loue doth rise.

Elizabeth is often presented as the sun (see also Churchyard's 'The Deaw of Heauen' from Norwich (1578), p.228), but whereas this metaphor usually presents Elizabeth as the nurturer of her subjects, here the sun destroys, turning love to ashes. The 'high desires' surely referred to Montague's lost position of Lord Lieutenant and his political aspirations, reduced to nought by Elizabeth's decision to appoint another man to the job. Yet his love nevertheless rises from the ashes greater still.

Having drawn a stark contrast between his loyal love and Elizabeth's destructive actions towards him, the final couplet of the song reads like a lesson to Elizabeth in fostering loyal love:

> Loue fansies birth, Fidelitie the wombe,
> the Nurse Delight, Ingratitude the tombe.

The imagery of birth, womb and nurse builds on the idea of Elizabeth as mother to her people. As early as 1559 Elizabeth had told parliament that she wanted to be 'a good mother to my contreye', and she continued to use the metaphor to legitimise her female authority and construct the monarch-subject relationship as one of mutual love and

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[113] Thomas Churchyard, *A Handeful of Gladsome Verses, Giuen to the Queenes Maiesty at Woodstocke this Prograce* (Oxford, 1592) refers to Elizabeth as 'the onely Phoenix of this world' (sig.A2^{r}, C1^{r}). Elizabeth was the Phoenix because she had endured the outlawing of her Protestant religion and accusations of treason under Mary to rise as Queen upon Mary's death. Patrick Collinson, 'Elizabeth I (1533–1603)', in *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn 2008) <www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8636> [accessed 20/10/2009].

responsibility.[114] Such love is what Montague claims to have, but the implication in this song is that Elizabeth is not fulfilling her side of the maternal relationship. The lyrics imply that her subject's love for her needs to be nurtured by her own fidelity, or ingratitude will kill it. There is an implicit threat in the suggestion that love for one's monarch can die. Yet it is neutralised by the allegorical language and the conventionality of pleas for death in the rhetorical language of lovers. By ending on such an emotive word as 'tombe,' Montague has drawn attention to his unhappy complaint.

The final song puts further wise words on the subjects of love into the mouth of a fisherman. The song ends the device of the angler and the netter/fisherman, whose low social-status seems to give them license to speak freely with their 'habits base but hearts as true as steele,' as the second verse of the song says.[115] The song further explores the theme of appearance versus reality. The first verse demonstrates how seemingly positive attributes of beauty and wit can mask hidden dangers:

> The fish that seeks for food in siluer streame
> is vnawares beguiled with the hooke,
> And tender harts when lest of loue they dreame,
> do swallow beauties bait, a louely looke.
> The fish that shuns to bite, in net doth hit,
> The heart that scapes the eie is caught by wit.

The second verse then turns the problem on its head and suggests that good virtues can also be found in unexpected places:

> rich pearles are found in hard & homely shels
> Our habits base, but hearts as true as steele.

Read in the light of Lord Montague's situation, it suggests that loyalty can be found in the unlikely place of her Catholic subjects.

More critical lines appear in the second verse, with the line 'we court them thus Loue me and Ile loue thee', a blunt statement of Montague's main complaint. Curt Breight sees this line as a significant expression of Montague's theme of exchanging service and favours between monarch and noblemen.[116] In contrast to the phoenix-like undying love of the second song, Montague suggests that love can only be offered if it is returned. The most daringly critical line, however, is the final line of the song and the one most

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[114] Christine Coch, ' "Mother of my Contrye": Elizabeth I and Tudor Constructions of Motherhood', in *The Mysteries of Elizabeth I: Selections from English Literary Renaissance*, ed. Kirby Farrell and Kathleen Swaim (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2003), pp.134-61 (p.134, 136).
[115] Anon., *Speeches… at Cowdrey*, p.12.
[116] Breight, 'Caressing the Great', pp.152, 156.

prominent in performance: 'We count them lumps that will not bite at loue'.[117] It implies Elizabeth is foolish if she will not respond to the love/service that Lord Montague has offered.

So far it has not been possible to examine extant music from a progress which made such a petition or complaint. However, the song 'Scinthia Queene of Seas and Lands' may provide such an example. It was performed as part of Elizabeth's visit to Harefield in 1602, the home of her Lord Keeper, Sir Thomas Egerton, and his wife, Alice Dowager Countess of Derby, a member of Elizabeth's household. Unlike Lord Montague, this family enjoyed the favour of the Queen. Yet they still had a need to petition the Queen for rewards and favours to support their lavish lifestyle and an illegitimate son, Sir Thomas Egerton sought constantly to improve his social status.[118] The family were also seeking Elizabeth's approval for the marriage of their son to Frances Stanley.[119] Their entertainment of Elizabeth was one of the most expensive in the latter years of Elizabeth's reign, costing £2000, for which they would hope to receive some recognition and reward from the Queen.[120]

As part of the entertainment, a Mariner entered carrying a box and a lottery took place where the ladies of Elizabeth's court drew lots to receive small presents. This lottery was preceded by the song 'Scinthia Queene of Seas and Lands'. The epithet is reminiscent of Elvetham where in 1591 the sea nymph Nereus had hailed Elizabeth as 'Faire Cinthia, the wide oceans Empresse.'[121] The song drew on conventional royal imagery in presenting Elizabeth as Cynthia, a goddess associated, like Diana, with hunting, the moon and chastity. The song was also topical, referring to the recent capture of a vessel containing a million ducats off the Spanish coast, and may also have petitioned Elizabeth to reward her hosts' loyalty and service.[122]

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[117] Anon., *Speeches… at Cowdrey*, pp.11-12.
[118] J.H Baker, 'Egerton, Thomas, first Viscount Brackley (1540–1617)', in *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, 2007) <www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8594> [accessed 03/03/2011].
[119] Gabriel Heaton, 'Elizabethan Entertainments in Manuscript: The Harefield Festivities (1602) and the Dynamics of Exchange' in *The Progresses, Pageants, and Entertainments of Queen Elizabeth I*, ed Jayne Archer *et al* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp.225-244 (pp.237-38).
[120] ibid., p.235.
[121] Anon. *Honorable Entertainement* sig.C3^{r}.
[122] Hyder Rollins, ed., *A Poetical Rhapsody 1602-1621,* 2 vols (Cambridge, Mass : Harvard University Press, 1931), Vol.2, p.210.

A setting of the song exists in Robert Jones's *Ultimum Vale* (1605) in the section arranged for 'lute, viole, and foure partes to sing'.[123] The relationship of this version to the original performance is hard to determine as accounts differ: a manuscript copy of the entertainment received by Sir Edward Conway described it as 'sung by 2 mariners' while the text published in Davison's *Poetical Rapsodie* (1608) indicated only one Mariner.[124] The manuscript version is most likely to be correct as the verses alone give no indication that two mariners would be present. Yet there are problems with seeing Jones's extant setting as an enlarged arrangement of an original version for one or two voices plus lute. Firstly, *Ultimum Vale* contained sections for both solo voice or duet with lute into which such an original could have been placed. Secondly, the imitative section at 'there is no fishing to the sea' (fig.4.7) would be less effective when sung solo to the lute rather than as a four-part ayre, and the held note in bars 30-33 would seem over-extended if accompanied only by lute chords (though these effects might be partially achieved in a duet). Despite these uncertainties, the publication of Jones' setting less than three years after the event (much sooner than Dowland's songs from entertainments were printed) and before the verses appeared in print suggests that Jones's setting may be a version of the song composed for Harefield. There would also seem little reason to reset an occasional text so close to the original event.

Jones's extant song places particular emphasis on the idea of the rewards of royal service. The refrain was an old saying meaning that just as there is no fishing to be compared to sea fishing, nor is there any service to be compared to serving the king.[125] Jones's setting gave particular prominence to the refrain; it made up seventeen of the thirty-five bars and is also repeated so that it occupied two thirds of the total length of the song. The refrain begins imitatively so that in the four-part ayre the words 'there is no fishing to the sea' were sung eight times. The second half of the phrase, 'nor seruice to a King', was emphasised by the upper-part's decorative scale on 'nor' and a sustained note over four bars on 'seruice'. Underneath this the lower parts repeated the words 'nor seruice' four times.

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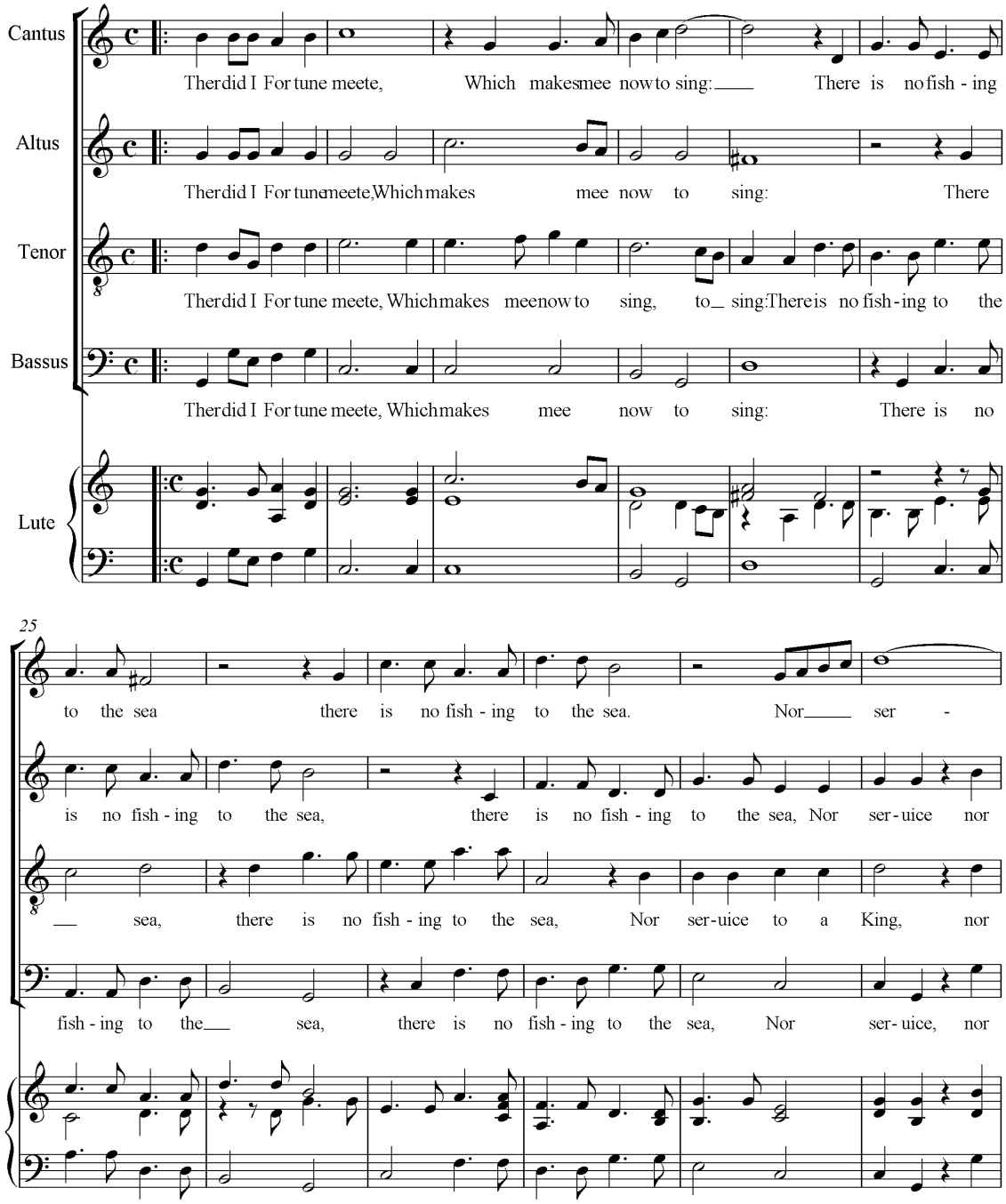
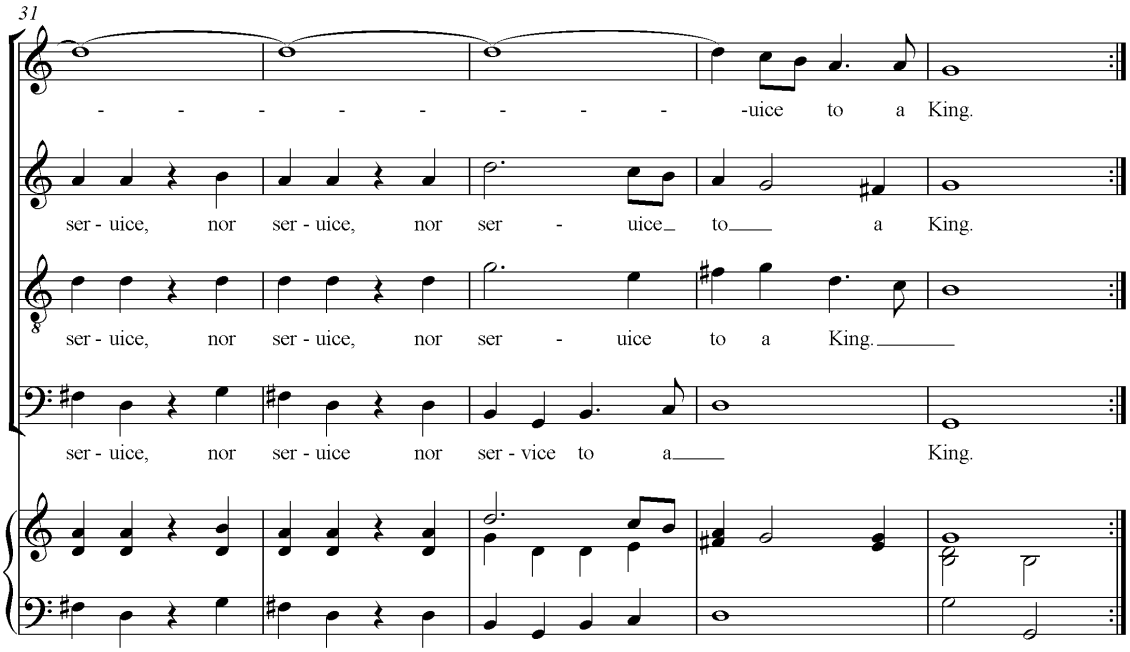
[123] Robert Jones, *Ultimum Vale, with a Triplicity of Musicke* (London, 1605), sig.E2^{v}-F1^{r}.
[124] P. Cunningham, ed., *Shakespeare Society Papers*, 4 vols, (London, 1845), Vol.2, pp.65-75; I[ohn]. D[avies], 'A Lottery Presented before the Late Queenes Maiestie at the Lord Chancellor's House 1601' in *A Poetical Rapsodie Containing: Diuerse Sonnets, Odes, Elegies, Madrigals, Epigrams, Pastorals, Eglogues, with Other Poems*, ed. Francis Davison (London, 1608), pp.4-8.
[125] Rollins, ed., *Poetical Rhapsodie*, Vol.2, p.208.

Figure 4.7: Robert Jones, 'Scinthia Queene of Seas and Lands', bars 19-35.[126]



[126] Jones, *Ultimum Vale*, sig.E2^{v}-F1^{r}; David Greer, ed., *Collected English Lutenist Partsongs I* (London: Stainer and Bell, 1987), pp.149-152.



Assuming this setting is broadly similar to the Harefield version, by emphasising the notion of royal service the hosts perhaps sought to remind Elizabeth of their own service both in providing such a lavish entertainment and over a longer term at court. In the context of the distribution of gifts by the Mariner (and the hosts), this could be interpreted as a subtle petition that such loyal service should be matched by similar rewards from the Queen. The verses tell how Elizabeth has received ‘many a Iewell, many a Iem’ from sending Fortune on the seas. However, the Mariner’s few ‘toyes’ that he shares with Elizabeth and her ladies have been provided by Fortune, not Elizabeth. Fortune is described as having a ‘franke and royall hand’ in distributing favours, perhaps suggesting that the liberal sharing of fortunes and favours is a princely virtue which Elizabeth should exercise.

In all these progresses, noblemen made use of semi-public court occasions, whose primary focus was the Queen, to present their political messages to her. Noblemen had to ensure that their petitions and complaints did not disrupt their primary duty of entertaining the Queen with pleasing shows. To achieve this they used love songs and laments which could be interpreted both as examples of conventional, fashionable genres and in light of the political circumstances of the progress and the relationship between host and monarch. This necessary ambiguity created an intellectual game of decoding political messages but increased the likelihood of messages being either missed or misinterpreted. The circulation of the materials from these progress entertainments, both informally in manuscript and officially in published accounts,

allowed careful reading, re-reading and discussion in the following weeks and months. The published version of the Woodstock entertainment specifically directed the reader to examine the text in this way:

> if you marke the woords w^{t} this present world, or were acquainted with the state of the deuises, you shoulde finde no lesse hidden then vttered, and no lesse vttered then shoulde deserue a double reading ouer[127]

Yet there was no guarantee that the Queen and fellow noblemen would perceive all the levels of meaning or that they would not interpret the entertainment differently to the nobleman's original intentions. Noblemen had to balance the importance of getting one's message across with the courtly etiquette required to respectfully criticise the Queen.

Love Songs: Favour and Intimacy

All the songs so far studied in this chapter were performed during public occasions; but individuals enjoying a close personal relationship with the Queen could also create contexts for music-making that were more private and spontaneous. Several courtiers who counted themselves among Elizabeth's favourites performed or commissioned music to convey personal messages to the Queen concerned with maintaining this special relationship they enjoyed with the monarch.

Simply performing music for the pleasure of the Queen was a means of gaining favour. Informing Thomas Challoner (English Ambassador in Spain) of the news from court in 1563, Sir John Mason (a member of the Privy Council) told of the continued favour of Lord and Lady Lennox. Of Lord Darnley, their son, he wrote,

> My Lord Darnley… is also a daily waiter and playeth very often at the lute before the Queen, wherein it should seem she taketh pleasure, as indeed he plays very well.[128]

Lord Darnley was an important figure because he was connected by birth to both the Scottish and English monarchies, his grandmother being Margaret Tudor, sister of Henry VIII and widow of James IV. Secret journeys to the French and Scottish courts by Lord Darnley and servants of the Lennox household attempting to gain favour with Mary Stuart (as Queen Consort of France and later Mary Queen of Scots) led to his

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[127] Anon., *Queenes... Entertainement at Woodstock*, sig.B1^{r}.

[128] Sir John Mason, 'Sir John Mason to Challoner', in *Secretaries of State: State Papers Foreign, Elizabeth I, 1558*-1577, GB-Lna*:* SP 70/60, fol.99^{r}-100^{v} (fol.100^{r}) [19 July 1563], in *SPO* <http://go.galegroup.com/mss/i.do?id=GALE|MC4311481030&v=2.1&u=britlib&it=r&p=SPOL&sw=w&viewtype=Manuscript> [accessed 18/03/2010].

family being imprisoned by Elizabeth in 1561. Yet by 1563 the family had been forgiven and were being shown considerable favour at court by Elizabeth.[129] Though usually unrecorded, this use of courtly talents to entertain the monarch was probably common; for example, Henry VIII often invited Sir Peter Carew to sing songs with him for recreation.[130] Darnley's musical performances were noted by Mason only as evidence of the surprising intimacy the Lennox family were gaining with the Queen and possibly because his favour was interpreted as suggesting Elizabeth's preference for the Lennox family's claim to be her successors over the Grey family, who were preferred by many Protestants.[131]

Although Darnley's performances had some political role, they appear to have been lute solos rather than songs which could convey a persuasive message via the words. In the late 1580s and 1590s there is evidence of courtiers composing lyrics either to sing themselves to ballad tunes or be set to music and performed by professional musicians on their behalf. These occasions show greater planning and, where the context is known, an immediate political situation in which a defined message or complaint needed to be communicated to the Queen. While the use of intimacy in such performances shares similarities with music-making like Darnley's, the songs are far more intense in their pleas or complaints and in the fashioning of their courtier-monarch relationship.

Although one might have expected courtiers to have been using songs to convey personal political messages throughout the reign, such a practice depended upon courtiers writing their own political verses.[132] The status and function of poetry at the court underwent significant changes throughout Elizabeth's long reign. In contrast to the courtly poets of Henry VIII's reign, such as Sir Thomas Wyatt and Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, Stephen May argues that mid-century English noblemen held poetry in low esteem. Very few courtiers seem to have written any poetry, those who did wrote few

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[129] Elaine Greig, 'Stewart, Henry, Duke of Albany [Lord Darnley] (1545/6–1567)', in *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, 2008) <www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26473> [accessed 12/04/2010].

[130] John Stevens, *Music and Poetry in the Early Tudor Court* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), p.286.

[131] Caroline Bingham, *Darnley: A Life of Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, Consort of Mary Queen of Scots* (London: Constable, 1995), pp.78-83. The succession was a particular concern after Elizabeth nearly died of smallpox in 1562. In the alternative line of succession Katherine Grey had offended Elizabeth by secretly marrying Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford and son of Protector Somerset, and giving birth to two sons.

[132] It is possible that they may have had a poet write lyrics for them but this would diminish from the personal nature of the lyrics and would be more akin to the producing of music for progress entertainments.

poems, and no sixteenth-century courtesy book for the aristocracy suggested that a courtier should compose poetry.[133] This situation began to change in the 1570s, which saw the first known examples of personal poems composed for Elizabeth (rather than formal poetry commemorating an occasion) by Edward de Vere, the Earl of Oxford, and the very first poems of Sir Edward Dyer. However, political poems still constituted only the minority of these poets' outputs and most reflected a courtier's immediate experience of the court rather than address Elizabeth directly.[134] Such poems were part of the social life of courtiers and were designed for the entertainment of a small group of family and friends to whom they would be read aloud, enclosed with letters, or circulated by manuscript.[135] However, in his survey of the 1580s, May identifies the development of 'utilitarian poetics' which saw courtiers such as Sir Arthur Gorges, Sir Walter Ralegh and Robert Devereux, the Earl of Essex writing poetry with the primary purpose of communicating with Elizabeth and maintaining their relationship with her for their individual advancement.[136] He suggests that it was Ralegh who set the course for utilitarian court poetics and for the singing of courtier verse to the Queen, both of which became common for the rest of Elizabeth's reign.[137]

The earliest evidence of political song-writing for personal gain may be a poem by Sir Walter Ralegh called 'Fortune hath taken thee away my Love', which Steven May dates to 1587.[138] He believes that the lyrics were written in response to the rise in favour of the Earl of Essex, threatening Ralegh's position as a royal favourite. This may have been written to fit the popular ballad tune, 'Fortune my Foe'.[139] The connection is suggested by the theme of Fortune and the similarity of metre between tune and poem. Robert Naunton also connected the tune with Ralegh when describing his rise and later decline in favour in *Fragmenta Regalia*:

> he had gotten the Queens ear at a trice …, which nettled them all, yea those that he relyed on, began to take this his suddain favour for an Allarum, and to be sensible of their own supplantation, and to project his, which made him shortly after sing, *Fortune my foe, &c*.[140]

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[133] May, *Elizabethan Courtier Poets*, p.45. Except an ambivalent reference in Castiglione's *The Courtyer* to poetry's function in entertaining ladies.
[134] May, *Elizabethan Courtier Poets*, pp.52-57, 97.
[135] Arthur Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), pp 1-3, 8.
[136] May, *Elizabethan Courtier Poets*, pp.103-39.
[137] ibid., pp.117, 133.
[138] May, *Elizabethan Courtier Poets*, p.132.
[139] Gerald Abraham, 'A Lost Poem by Queen Elizabeth I', *Times Literary Supplement*, 30 May 1968, p.553.
[140] Sir Robert Naunton, *Fragmenta Regalia, or, Observations on the Late Queen Elizabeth, Her Times and Favorits* (London, 1641), p.31.

It is unclear whether Naunton meant to imply the literal use of the song for political ends, or whether he intended the statement metaphorically. However, Ralegh himself had already used poetry in the context of political rivalry in the early 1580s, when Sir Thomas Heneage and Sir Christopher Hatton had tried to limit Ralegh's rise in favour. Ralegh wrote the poem 'Farewell False Love, thow oracle of lyes' to which Heneage responded with the poem 'Most welcome love, thow mortall foe to lies'.[141]

Composing lyrics to fit a pre-existing tune was a technique fundamental to the broadside ballad and is known to have been practiced by Sir Philip Sidney.[142] It meant that Ralegh had no need to employ a professional musician to compose music or to perform the song. This created an intimate performance, enacting the poetic convention of a lover serenading his lady and making a love song appropriate to Ralegh's plea to protect his favoured position. The lyrics of the first verse are clear that the love Ralegh has lost is Elizabeth:

> fortune hathe taken away my love
> my lyves joy and my soules heaven above
> fortune hath taken thee away my princes
> my worldes joy and my true fantasies misteris

Ralegh tactfully blames fortune, which even 'Conquers kinges', rather than his mistress for his current distress. However, this does not prevent him ending the poem by asserting the contrast between his constancy and Elizabeth's changing favour:

> With wisdomes eyes had but blind fortune seene
> then had my love, my love for ever beene
> but love farewell: thoughe fortune conquer thee
> no fortune base nor frayle shal alter mee.[143]

Ralegh's suggestion that Elizabeth's love is changed by fortune deliberately subverts her motto, *semper eadem*, and invokes conventions of female inconstancy (which, as we saw, Elizabeth sought to distance herself from) in a bid to persuade her to repay his love with favour. He challenges her to prove that she is constant by reaffirming his favoured position.

There is also a poetic answer to Ralegh's poem which begins 'Ah silly pugge wert thou so sore afraid'. This poem is ascribed to Elizabeth in George Puttenham's *Arte of English Poesie* (which includes just a single couplet) and in MS Petyt 538.10 from the

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[141] May, *Elizabethan Courtier Poets*, p.116. 'Farewell False Love' was later set to music by William Byrd.
[142] William Ringler, ed, *The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), p.xliii; Letter from Sir Philip Sidney to Edward Denny, 22 May 1580, printed in James Osborn, *The Young Philip Sidney 1572-1577* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), p.540.
[143] Ralegh, *Poems*, pp.19-20.

Inner Temple Library.[144] This also fits the tune of 'Fortune my Foe' and may represent a sung reply by Elizabeth to Ralegh. It directly answers Ralegh's arguments and reassures him that his position of favour is not under threat. Responding to Ralegh's assertion that 'deade to all joyes I only lyve in woe', the poem answers:

> Dead to all joyes and living unto woe,
> Slain quite by her that nere gave wiseman blowe
> Revive againe and live without all drede[145]

Answer-poems were common in the manuscript verse exchanges between circles of family and friends in the upper classes. However, they could often be humorous parodies and satires.[146] The Elizabeth poem mocks Ralegh's exaggerated and stereotypical lament and the intimate pet names 'silly pugge' and 'my Wat' could easily be the humorous inventions of a satirical answer poem. That the only source to contain both poems (Wiltshire Record Office 865/500) provides no attributions at all also weakens the assumption that this poem is evidence for a genuine exchange of songs between Elizabeth and Ralegh.[147]

The Earl of Essex is also known to have written love songs about royal favour to ballad tunes. His poem 'Say, What is Love?' has a nonsense refrain that suggests it was written to fit a now-lost ballad tune. The metrical scheme is particularly unusual with alternating short and long lines (four and eight syllables) ending with a line of ten syllables followed by the thirteen-syllable refrain. After a first verse declaring that love is a 'foolishe toye', a second verse provides the singer's evidence for this claim:

> In her sweete grace,
> I once enjoyed the highest place
> But now not soe,
> Her frowninge Rage hath wrought my woe,
> Hath wrought me woe, And cast me headlone downe,
> Hey downe, a downe, a downe, Hey downe, a downe, downe
> downe, downe.[148]

These lyrics do not address Elizabeth directly, which may suggest that they were composed as a reflection on his current circumstances to entertain a circle of family and friends rather than as a petition to the Queen. Yet other verses by Essex performed to Elizabeth also use the third person to describe her, including those given in an account by Sir Henry Wotton.

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[144] ibid., p.20.
[145] ibid.
[146] Marotti, *Manuscript, Print*, pp.159-70.
[147] Ralegh, *Poems*, pp.22-23.
[148] Steven May, 'The Poems of Edward De Vere, Seventeenth Earl of Oxford and of Robert Devereux, Second Earl of Essex. An Edition and Commentary', *Studies in Philology* 77 (1980), 1-132 (p.46).

Wotton was one the Earl of Essex's secretaries and his memoirs describe the political song-writing that he claims was commonly employed by Essex to court royal favour:

> There was another time long after, when Sir Fulke Grevill (late Lord Brook) a man in appearance intrinsecal with him, or at the least admitted to his Melancholly hours, either belike espying some weariness in the Queen, or perhaps (with little change of the word, though more in the danger) some wariness towards him; and working upon the present matter (as he was dexterous and close) had almost super-induced into favour the Earl of Southampton; which yet being timely discovered, my Lord of Essex chose to evaporate his thoughts in a Sonnet (being his common way) to be sung before the Queen, (as it was) by one Hales, in whose voice she took some pleasure; whereof the complot, methinks, had as much of the Hermit as of the poet.
>
> And if thou should'st by her be now forsaken,
> She made thy Heart too strong for to be shaken.
>
> As if he had been casting one eye back at the least to his retirednesse. But all this likewise quickly vanished, and there was a good while fair weather over head.[149]

Wotton gives no idea of the date when this occurred; however Stephen May dates this episode to the period 1590-92 when the Earl of Southampton was particularly prominent at court.[150] Essex's song was prompted by a threat to his position as Queen's favourite from the Earl of Southampton, demonstrating how music participated directly in the competition for patronage and status in the court. In addition, Wotton stresses that this was Essex's 'common way'. The reference to Essex's 'retiredness' describes another common tactic that Essex employed throughout his career to put pressure on Elizabeth: withdrawing from court until she made concessions towards him.[151] Wotton describes Essex as sensing either 'wariness' or 'weariness' in the Queen's attitude towards him. The quoted lyrics seem designed to allay Elizabeth's wariness: they stress that Essex will remain faithful to his mistress (Elizabeth) even if she is unfaithful to him. Essex might also address Elizabeth's 'weariness' of him by impressing or entertaining her with this special musical offering. Wotton suggests that this song worked and Essex retained his favoured status.

The use of Robert Hales, a favourite singer-lutenist of Elizabeth, demonstrates a desire to offer Elizabeth something pleasing and suited to her tastes. It is unclear whether Hales improvised a melody and accompaniment to the song, or composed it, or performed a composition by another musician on this occasion. However, a song by

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[149] Wotton, *Reliquiae Wottonianae*, pp.165-66.
[150] May, 'The Poems', p.88.
[151] Hammer, *Polarisation*, pp.318-19, 379.

Hales called 'O Eyes Leave Off Thy Weeping' is preserved in Robert Dowland's *Musicall Banquet* (1610).[152]

Numerous songs have been connected to the Earl of Essex. Kirsten Gibson's analysis of John Dowland's lute songs 'Can She Excuse my Wrongs' and 'O Sweet Woods the Delight of Solitariness' shows how both songs can be read as love songs relating to the political relationship between the Queen and her courtiers, especially Essex. Furthermore, both employ musical or textual quotations that accentuated the sense of political alienation by evoking the metaphor of the woods as a place of retreat. 'Can She Excuse' employed the popular tune 'Woods So Wild' in the lute accompaniment (or in the altus part in the four-part ayre or the second part in the five-part galliard), while 'O Sweet Woods the Delight of Solitariness' borrowed a couplet from Sir Philip Sidney's *Old Arcadia*:[153]

> O Sweet woods the delight of solitarinesse,
> O how much doe I loue your solitarinesse.

Sidney, like Essex, had periods of withdrawal from court and used such images of pastoral retreat in his writing (p.106). Essex also portrayed himself as the successor to Sidney in the Accession Day tournament of 1590.[154] Diana Poulton has suggested that both these song-texts were written by the Earl of Essex though the evidence is inconclusive. For 'Can she excuse' her evidence rests on stylistic grounds which have been disputed by literary scholar, Steven May, and the fact that the tune of 'Can She Excuse' became known as the 'Earl of Essex's Galliard'.[155] The name, however, cannot tell us whether Essex wrote the lyrics for political persuasion, or whether the theme of the lyrics originally applied to the frustrations of courtiers more generally and only later became associated with the well-known plight of the Earl. Certainly it was not until after the Earl's death that the galliard took his name.[156] Similarly, while Poulton attributes 'O Sweet Woods' to Essex on the basis of the reference to Wanstead (where Essex had withdrawn to from court in 1597), this only provides convincing evidence that this is a song about Essex. As a well-known figure of the court it was to be expected that songs should be written about him (in the same way as the 'Bonny Boot'

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[152] Robert Dowland, *A Musicall Banquet Furnished with Varietie of Delicious Ayres* (London, 1610), sig.C1^{v}-C2^{r}.
[153] Kirsten Gibson, ' "So to the wood went I": Politicizing the Greenwood in Two Songs by John Dowland', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 132 (2007), 221-51.
[154] George Peele, *Polyhymnia Describing, the Honourable Triumph at Tylt, Before Her Maiestie, on the 17. of Nouember, Last Past, Being the First Day of the Three and Thirtith Yeare of Her Highnesse Raigne* (London, 1590), sig.A4^{r-v}.
[155] May, 'The Poems', pp.114-15.
[156] Gibson, pp.11-12.

madrigals were written about a courtier, thought to be Sir Henry Noel).[157] Lillian Ruff and Arnold Wilson have connected Essex's career with the changing moods and fluctuating frequency of madrigal and lute-song collections.[158] They argue that the words of lute-songs, particularly 'If My Complaints', 'Would my Conceit', 'Shall I Sue' and 'Die Not Before Thy Day', form a commentary on the unfolding relationship of Elizabeth and Essex, particularly his downfall, rebellion and execution.[159] There is, however, no direct evidence to relate these songs to the Earl. For few of these texts is there any suggestion that these were written by the Earl himself and designed for direct political persuasion. Furthermore, although the turbulent career of Essex and the anecdote from Wotton's memoirs make it tempting to attribute such political love songs to the Earl, frustrated ambitions and falls from royal failure were common experiences for courtiers. While it is possible that some songs were written for the kind of political manoeuvring that Wotton describes, their survival in printed collections was due to the shared courtly experience which they articulated. Many songs would have been written solely with such reflective purposes in mind.

There are two songs whose lyrics are directly attributed to Essex: Richard Martin's 'Change Thy Minde Since She Doth Change' and Daniel Bacheler's 'To Plead My Faith', both in Robert Dowland's *Musicall Banquet* (1610).[160] These attributions are not challenged elsewhere and are especially convincing in the case of Bacheler, who was a musician in the Earl's household and had previously been an apprentice at court in the 1580s.[161] Richard Martin may have been the member of the Chapel Royal of that name.[162] Both the genre of these songs (love complaint) and the composer's connections to the court or Essex make these plausible candidates for the kind of performances described by Wotton. There is also John Dowland's 'It was a Time When Silly Bees', which has been attributed to both Essex and his secretary, Henry Cuffe.[163] However,

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[157] David Greer, ' "Thou Court's Delight" Biographical Notes on Henry Noel,' *Lute Society Journal* 17 (1975), 49-59. A recent alternative suggestion for the identity of Bonny Boots is Christopher Morley (possibly a relation of the composer, Thomas Morley). Sukanta Chaudhuri, 'Marlowe, Madrigals, and a New Elizabethan Poet', *Review of English Studies*, n.s.39 (1988), 199-216 (pp.213-15).
[158] Lillian Ruff and D. Arnold Wilson, 'The Madrigal, the Lute Song and Elizabethan Politics', *Past and Present* 44 (1969), 3–51 and 'Allusion to the Essex Downfall in Lute Song Lyrics', *Lute Society Journa*l 12 (1970), 31-36.
[159] Ruff and Wilson, 'The Madrigal', pp.31, 36-37.
[160] Dowland, *Musicall Banquet*, sig.B2v-C1r, D2^{v}-E1^{r}.
[161] Robert Spencer, 'Bacheler, Daniel', in *GMO* <www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/01699> [accessed 22/07/2010].
[162] Edward Doughtie, *Lyrics from English Airs, 1596-1622* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1970), p.583.
[163] May, 'The Poems', p.113.

unlike these other complaints, the text consists of allegorical narrative. It reads more as a reflection on the futility of appealing to the monarch than a direct petition (when the bee complains to the king over his lack of favour, the king responds, 'Peace peevish bee, Thou'rt bound to serve the Time, the thyme not thee').[164] Therefore, it is the settings by Martin and Bacheler that are most likely to give us insight in the style of music used for these sung complaints.

The poem 'To Plead My Faith' (fig.4.8) does have a similar sentiment to the couplet quoted by Wotton. Essex stresses his faith while lamenting his mistress's lack of regard for his loyalty. Although more sorrowful in tone than complaining, the mistress is accused of having rejected his love: 'Forget my name since you have scorn'd my love'.[165] However, 'Change Thy Minde' is openly critical. The first verse advises the lover to abandon his false mistress:

> Change thy minde since she doth change,
> Let not fancy still abuse thee;
> Thy untruth cannot seme strange
> When her falsehood doth excuse thee.
> Love is dead and thou art free,
> She doth live but dead to thee.[166]

The verses feel less like a lament than an expression of anger. Whereas most courtiers expressed fear at losing royal favour, Essex's verses threaten to abandon his attendance on the Queen. The final verse of the poem goes as far as suggesting that Elizabeth's virtue, honour and status were diminished by her treatment of him:

> Dye, but yet before thou dye,
> Make her know what she hath gotten;
> She in whom my hopes did lye,
> Now is chang'd, I quite forgotten,
> She is chang'd, but changed base,
> Baser in so vilde a place.[167]

This song has been dated to 1597-1598 by the song book's use of Essex's title of Earl Marshal and the circumstances of its copying into John Lilliat's manuscript (GB-Ob: MS Rawlinson Poet 148) between poems dated 1596 and 1597.168 Essex was particularly aggrieved in late 1596 due to Elizabeth's lack of gratitude for his victory at Cadiz and because the position of Secretary of State had been given to his rival, Robert

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[164] Dowland, *Third Booke*, ed. Fellowes, pp.36-37.
[165] May, 'Poems', p.46.
[166] ibid., p.45.
[167] ibid., pp.45-46.
[168] May, 'Poems', pp.90-91; Doughtie, *Lyrics*, p.582.

Figure 4.8: Daniel Bacheler, 'To Plead My Faith'.[169]

Cantus

To plead my faith, where faith hath no re - ward,
To heape com - plaints, where she doth not re - gard,

Lute/ Orpharion

Bassus

To plead my faith, where faith hath no re - ward,
to heape com - plaints where she doth not re - gard,

5

To moue re-morse, where fa - uour is not borne:
Were fruit - less,boote - less, vaine and yeeld but scorne.

To moue re - mo - rse where fa - uour is not borne:
Were fruit - less, boote - less. vaine and yeeld but scorne.

9

I lou - ed her whom all the world ad - mir'de.
And my vaine hopes, which far too high as - pir'de

I lou - ed her whom all the world as - mir'de.
And my vaine hopes, which far too high as - pir'de

[169] Dowland, *Musicall Banquet*, sig.D2^{v}-E1^{r}. Christopher Morrongiello, 'Edward Collard (d. 1600) and Daniel Bacheler (d. 1619): A Critical Study and Edition of their Lute Music', 3 vols (DPhil Dissertation: University of Oxford, 2005), Vol.3, pp.227-28. The cantus part of the original edition is notated a tone higher than the lute and bassus parts, with a one-flat key signature. Morrongiello suggests that the cantus part has been transposed so that if the singer takes his pitch from the lute, he can read in an easier key; Dowland's preface states that the songs are 'sorted to the capacities of young practitioners (Vol.1, p.176-78).

13

I was re - fus'de of her that can loue none:
Is dead and bur - i'd and for e - uer gone.

I was re - fus'de of her that can loue none:
Is dead and bur - i'd and for e - uer gone.

17

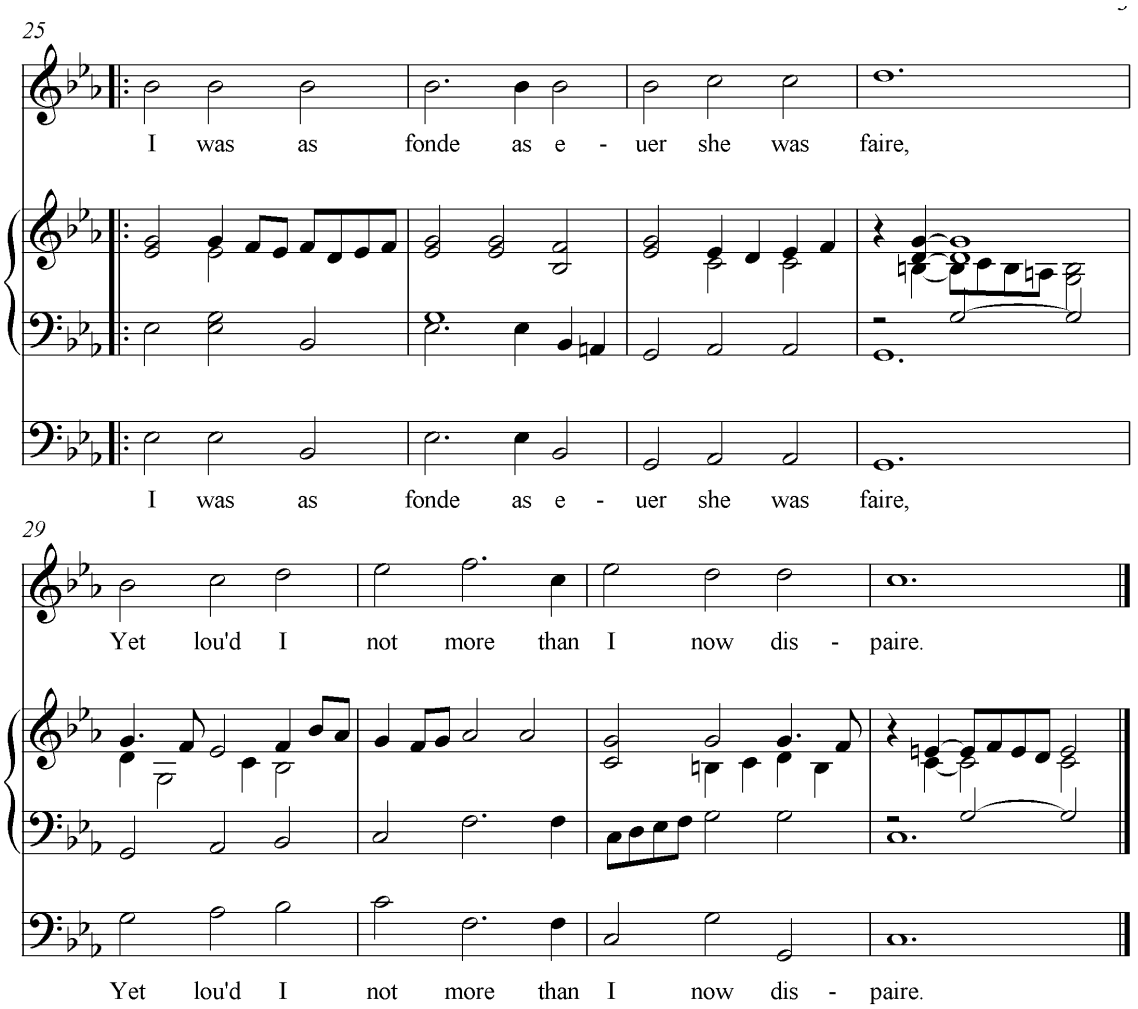
For - get my name, since you have scornde my Loue,
Since for your sake I doe all mis - chiefe proue,

For - get me name, since you have my Loue,
Since for your sake I doe all mis - chiefe proue,

21

And wo - man - like doe not too late la - ment:
I none a - cuse nor no - thing doe re - pent.

And wo - man like doe not too late la - ment:
I none a - ccuse nor no - thing doe re - pent.



Cecil, while he was away fighting there. In 1597, during his absence on an expedition to the Azores, the Lord Admiral was created Earl of Nottingham, giving him precedence over Essex at the gathering of the new Parliament. To make matters worse, Nottingham's patent of creation gave him, rather than Essex, credit for the victory at Cadiz. Essex's response was to withdraw from court and claim illness. He refused to return to carry out his duties unless he was appointed Earl Marshal and Nottingham's patent was changed. He was finally created Earl Marshal in late-December 1597.[170] His troubled relationship with the Queen continued in 1598, culminating in the dispute over appointing a new Lord Deputy for Ireland, during which Essex turned his back on the Queen. She struck him across the head for his insolence, while he had to be prevented from drawing his sword, before he again withdrew angrily from the court.[171]

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[170] Hammer, *Polarisation*, pp.368, 384-86.
[171] Paul Hammer, 'Devereux, Robert, second Earl of Essex (1565–1601)', in *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2004; online edn, 2008) <www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7565> [accessed 14/04/2010].

Yet complaints as bold and as angry as Essex's would be permissible because they were understood in the context of the hyperbolic love complaints that had been presented at court by courtiers since the 1570s. Considering the poetic love complaints of Dyer and Oxford, May writes:

> These hyperbolic passions must have been recognised for the exaggerations they were… the author's intentions were distanced from the face value of the poetry.[172]

The tone of love poetry had become less excessive in its rhetoric since the 1570s, but the sentiments remained larger-than-life. The songs of both Ralegh and Essex used an exaggerated rhetorical style that emphasised the artificiality of the situation even as it created a moving performance. This was underlined by the way in which neither Elizabeth nor the courtier was directly referred to in the songs. Elizabeth had to infer that the professional singer represented the courtier, that the beloved was herself, and that the situation represented in highly-exaggerated form some aspect of their courtier-monarch relationship.

Similarly, David Fischlin has shown that the lute song was a genre often associated with intimacy, introspection and self-expression, typically expressing love or melancholy.[173] Its conventions and connotations were ideal for allowing the courtier to express deeply personal sentiments emphasising his intimate relationship with Elizabeth. However, as with Patricia Fumerton's games of secrecy and Elizabeth's performances, the songs of these courtiers gave the appearance of revealing private thoughts, but did so through public forms of rhetoric and ornament, making the relationship between appearance and reality ambivalent.[174] This ambivalence was a common feature of court expression, which Bates describes as a play of deception and sincerity in communication which is made through external, observable signs whose relationship to the real situation is indecipherable.[175] The songs would be interpreted as a rhetorical performance, exaggerated in its tone, regardless of the extent it represented the true strength of the courtier's feelings. Yet while sincerity was diminished through performance, the passion and persuasiveness of the representation was enhanced. The sentiments of abandonment and constant fidelity to an unfaithful mistress, descriptions of the physical effects of their woe, and expressions of their desire for death were typical of the

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[172] May, *Elizabethan Courtier Poets*, p.57.
[173] Daniel Fischlin, 'The Performance Context of the English Lute Song, 1596-1622', in *Performance on the Lute, Guitar and Vihuela: Historical Practice and Modern Interpretation*, ed. Victor Anand Coelho (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp.47-71.
[174] Patricia Fumerton, ' "Secret" Arts: Elizabethan Miniatures and Sonnets', *Representations* 15 (1986), 57-97.
[175] Bates, *Rhetoric of Courtship*, p.44.

complaints of courtly lovers, but nonetheless created a moving picture of grief supposed to elicit Elizabeth's sympathy. Just as when conventional genres such as laments and love songs were used during the progresses, it is convention and rhetoric that allowed complaints to be made by creating distance from the real-world to avoid offence, yet allowing the message to be strongly conveyed.

For the two Essex songs, the relatively simple and understated musical settings of both these songs contrast with their highly emotional texts. Both settings are dances. Bacheler's song (fig.4.8) is based on an earlier galliard by the composer (no.32 in Morrongiello's edition), adapting the first and last strains and composing new middle sections.[176] Adapting a dance tune would assist a composer in setting lyrics quickly to meet the political needs of a patron. Christopher Morrongiello has pointed out that the opening phrases of both the galliard and song are very closely related in melody and harmonic progression to the opening of Dowland's 'Flow my Tears' and 'Lachrimae'.[177] The echo of the 'Lachrimae' motif would suggest a mournful mood, as might the Phrygian cadences in bars 3-4, 23-34 and 27-28 (the Phrygian mode being associated with lament by theorists such as Zarlino).[178] On the other hand, the song avoids any madrigalian touches, including obvious opportunities for word-painting on the lines 'and my vain hope, which far too high aspired/ Is dead and buried for ever gone'. Only the subtle effect of repeated Cs at 'I loved her whom all the world admir'd' and 'I was a fond as ever she was fair' add a slight insistent quality to the text as the protagonist literally pleads his faithful love. Furthermore the song has very regular phrases: of the eight melodic phrases, six are identical in rhythm (the exceptions being the second phrase in bars 5-8 and the final one in bars 29-32).

Martin's setting (fig.4.9) is an almand and could also have been quickly composed. Martin chose to compose just eight bars of music, by setting the first four lines of each verse to the same two phrases of music; the harmonies of bars 5-6 are almost identical to bars 1-2. This harmonic progression, with its bass line descending through a fourth and ending in a Phrygian cadence would, as in Bacheler's setting, be appropriate to the

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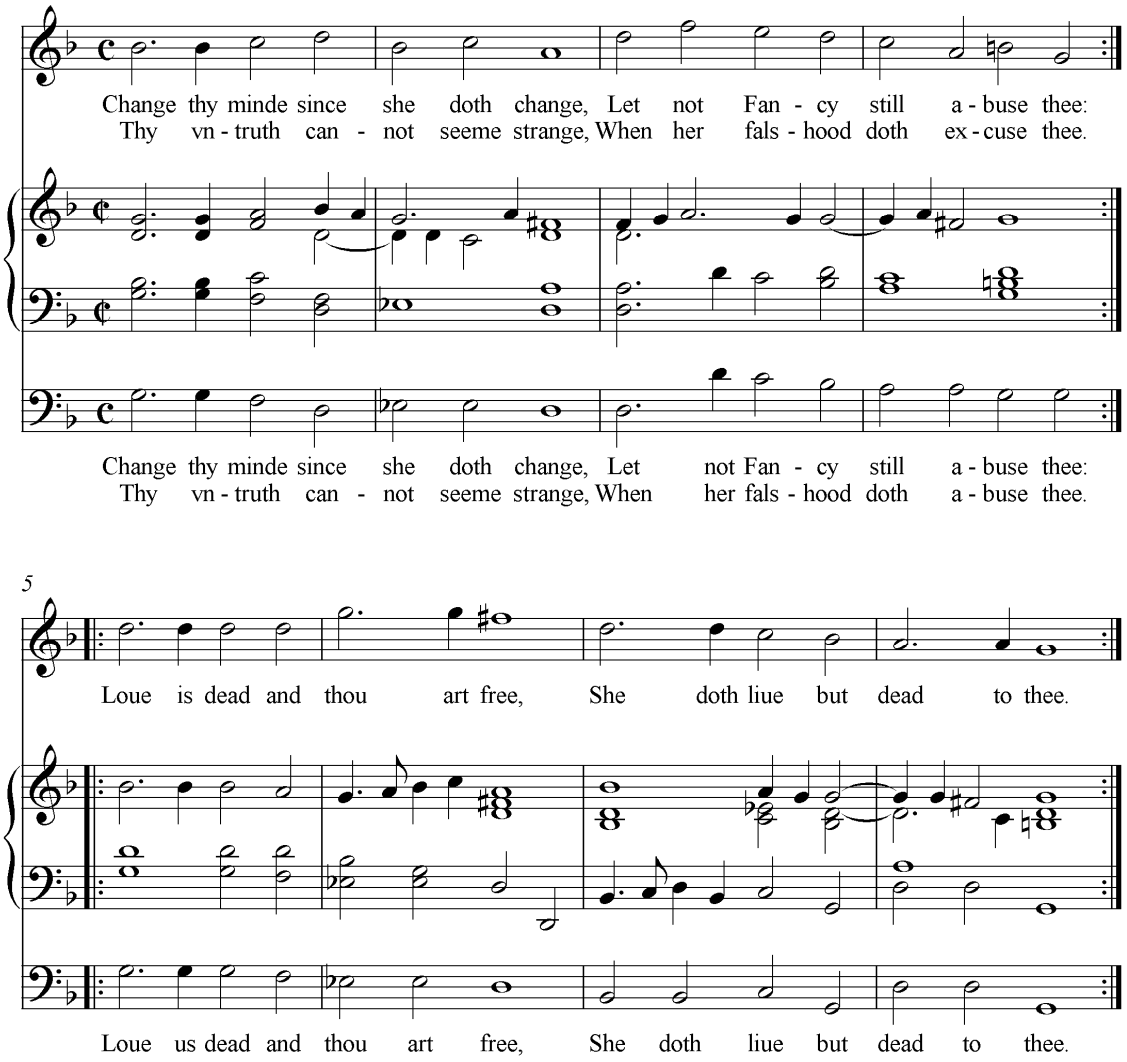
[176] Morrongiello, 'Edward Collard and Daniel Bacheler', Vol.1, pp.170, Vol.3, pp.128-30.
[177] ibid., Vol.1, pp.171-72.
[178] Claude Palisca, 'Mode Ethos in the Renaissance', in *Essays in Musicology: A Tribute to Alvin Johnson*, ed. Lewis Lockwood and Edward Roesner (Philadelphia: American Musicological Society, 1990), pp.126-39 (p.133).

Figure 4.9: Richard Martin, 'Change Thy Minde Since She Doth Change'.[179]



mood of lament. However, the emotional portrayal is again unembellished by any word-painting or expressive use of dissonance. There is nothing to draw attention to the critical tone of the lyrics. Rather, the song is rhythmically very regular (with four two-bar phrases and limited rhythmical diversity in the vocal part) and melodically simple (proceeding largely in stepwise motion) with just subtle use of register to stress the climax point of each verse: at 'thou art free' in the first stanza.

The style of both Bacheler and Martin's songs differs from through-composed love laments like John Dowland's 'Sorrow Stay' (fig.4.10).[180] Here irregular rhythms, short phrases, instrumental interjections, as well as the greater use of dissonance (for example

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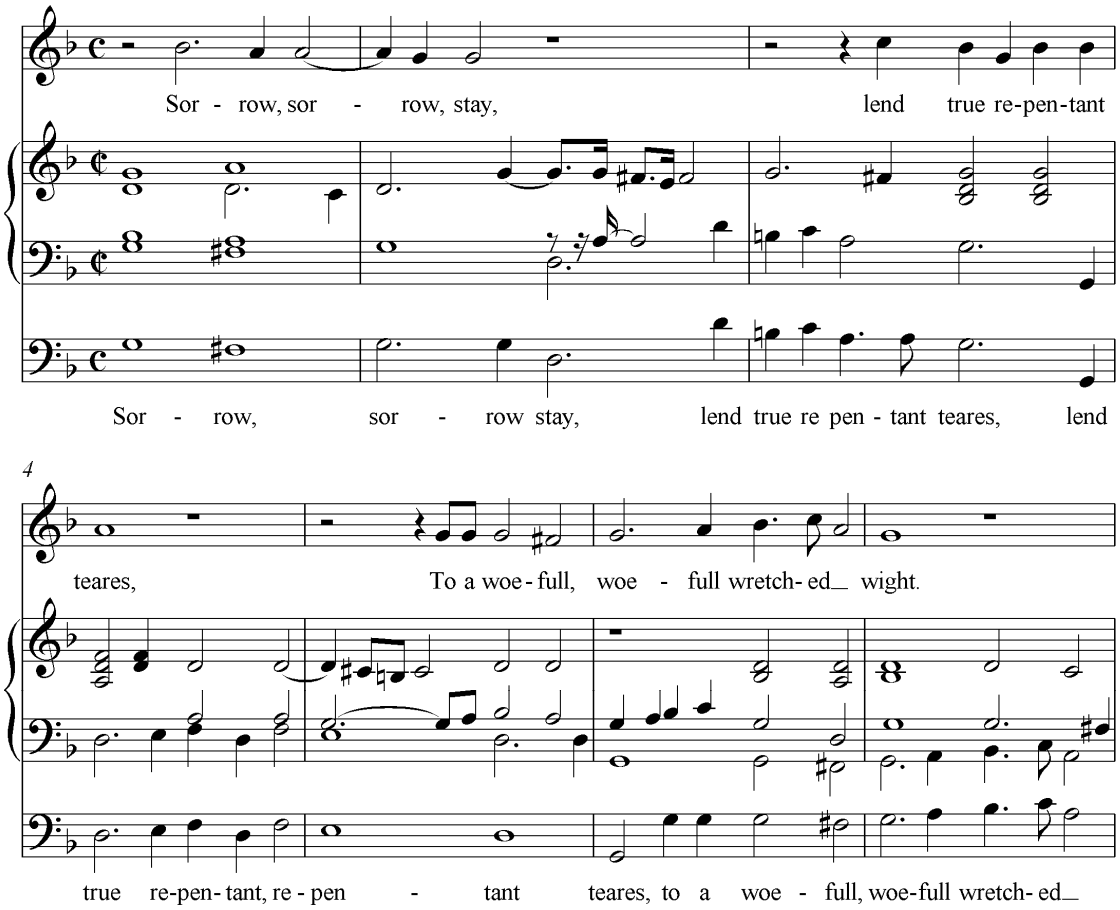
[179] Dowland, *Musicall Banquet*, sig.B2^{v}-C1^{r}; Dowland, *Musical Banquet*, ed. Stroud, p.6. Bassus part is texted and so could either be sung or played on a viol.
[180] John Dowland, *The Second Book of Songs (1600)* ed. Edmund Fellows, rev. Thurston Dart (London: Stainer and Bell, 1969), p.13.

Figure 4.10: Dowland, 'Sorrow Stay, Lend True Repentant Teares'.[181]



the suspension at the opening words) create a style that is more rhetorical and declamatory. Rather, Bacheler and Martin have chosen a style of musical setting which uses the same strategy as already seen in lyrics by enclosing complaints within conventional forms: the hyperbolic passions of the lyrics are contrasted with regularity of rhythm and melody and a strophic or otherwise repetitive form. A conjunct or repetitive melody is more memorable and might increase the impact of the song by allowing fragments of tune and lyrics to be recalled by Elizabeth after the performance ends. This simpler style would also have had some practical advantages in allowing the lyrics to be set to music quickly to take advantage of a particular opportunity or pressing situation. Message and timing were more important than sophisticated musical artistry on such occasions.

The final example of such intimate musical politics comes from the final months of Elizabeth's reign. On 18th September 1602 Sir William Browne, secretary to George Talbot the 17th Earl of Shrewsbury, wrote to his employer:

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[181] ibid.

> I send yo^{ur} Lo: herein enclosed som verses compounded by Mr Secretary [Robert Cecil] who gott Hales to frame a ditty vnto itt, the occasion was as I hear yt the young Lady of Darby wearing about her neck in her bosom a picture wch was in a dainty tablet, the Queen espying itt asked what fine iewell that was the Lady Darby was curious to excuse the showing of itt butt the Queen wold haue itt and opening itt and fynding it to be M^{r}. Secretaryes, snatcht itt away and tyed it vppon her shoe, and walked long wth it there, then she tooke itt thence and pinned itt on her elbow and wore it sometymes there also, wch M^{r}. Secretary being told of made these verses, and had Hales to sing them in his chamber, itt was told her ma^{ty} yt M^{r}. Secretary has rare musick and songs she wold needes hear them and so this ditty was soung, wch y^{u} see first written, more verses there be lykewyse whereof som or all were lykewyse soung. I do boldly send these things to yo^{ur} Lo: wch I would not do to any els for I hear they are very secret, some of ye verses argew that he repynes no thoghe her maty please to grace others, and content himself with th[e fav]our he hath.[182]

Like Essex, Cecil called on Hales to sing his verses. Lynn Hulse has demonstrated Robert Cecil's importance as a patron of musicians: he employed his own full-time household musicians (relatively rare for the nobility at this time), owned music books and instruments, and received dedications of their publications from Thomas Morley, Robert Jones and John Dowland.[183] However, Cecil's position on this occasion differed from that of Essex or Ralegh because there was no immediate rival against whom he needed to protect his position. Instead his music was a response to an action by the Queen.

Although the verses do not survive with the letter, Cecil's lyrics have been found in two poetry miscellanies of the early-seventeenth century belonging to a judge called Sir Christopher Yelverton (where they are ascribed to 'R.C.') and a Justice of the Peace, Richard Roberts.[184]

> ffrom a servaunt of Diana, as faithfull as the best
> a lady got a picture, and war it at her breste
> his pereles mistres tooke it, it pleasd her soe to doe
> an ware it at her elbowe, though first tyde at her shoo.
>
> What meant that Angellike queene to weare that picture so?
> meant she to skorne her servaunt, and to disgrace him? no.
> She at her elbowe ware it, to signifie that hee
> to serve her at her elbowe doth ever love to bee.
>
> And at her foote she plac'd it, where he would postrat lye
> to shewe where he resolved, even at her foote to dye
> And at her foot &c[185]

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[182] Facsimile and transcription given in Joshua Eckhardt, 'From a Seruant of Diana' to the Libellers of Robert Cecil. The Transmission of Songs written for Queen Elizabeth I', in *Elizabeth I and the Culture of Writing*, ed. Peter Beal and Grace Ioppolo (London: British Library, 2007), pp.115-31 (pp.124-25).
[183] Lynn Hulse, 'The Musical Patronage of Robert Cecil, First Earl of Salisbury (1563-1612)', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 116 (1991), 24-40.
[184] Eckhardt, 'From a Seruant of Diana', pp.115-16.
[185] ibid., pp.126-29.

Joshua Eckhardt's discussion of the sources suggests that the poem 'My loue doth flye wth winges of feare' also came from this occasion. In both miscellanies it is printed before Cecil's poem, which it runs into with no more than a line break. Unlike Cecil's poem this one does argue that 'he repynes no thoghe her maty please to grace others, and content himself with th[e fav]our he hath', particularly in its second and third verses:

> My love doth see, and doth admire
> admiring breedeth humbleness
> blinde love is bold, but my desire
> the more it loues presume the lesse.
>
> My love seekes not reward, nor glorie
> but wth it selfe contentinge
> is never sullen, never sorry
> never repining nor repenting.[186]

In Richard Roberts's miscellany this poem is entitled 'Of the last Queene by the Earle Clanricarde'.[187] Robert Burke, the fourth Earl of Clanricarde, was an Irish nobleman who was raised in England and well-connected with the English court and nobility: in his diary on 10th October 1602 John Manningham described Clanricarde as 'well esteemed of by hir Majestie, and in speciall grace at this tyme'.[188] Thus by this date Clanricarde was at court and enjoying the Queen's favour, facts that support Roberts's attribution.[189]

If the attribution is correct, Eckhardt suggests either that this is an example of musical and poetic rivalry in which Cecil was defending his position against Clanricarde's success at court or that Cecil and Clanricarde co-operated to have their songs performed together.[190] If the former were the case, we might expect the rivalry between the Cecils and Essex in the 1590s to have prompted similar poetic and musical competition, whereas no other verses by Cecil survive. However, the circumstances described in Browne's letter suggest that co-operation was necessary as Cecil needed an accomplice to tell the Queen of the songs being performed in his chamber and persuade her to hear them. Robert Cecil's position of favour with the Queen was built on his usefulness to

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[186] ibid., p.125.
[187] ibid., p.131.
[188] Colm Lennon, 'Burke, Richard, fourth Earl of Clanricarde and first Earl of St Albans (1572–1635)', in *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/67043> [accessed 29/10/2009]; John Manningham, *The Diary of John Manningham of the Middle Temple, 1602-1603*, ed. Robert Sorlien (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1976), p.59.
[189] Eckhardt, p.121.
[190] ibid.

her as a minister following in his father's footsteps, so he had no need at this stage in his career to feel under threat from a young Earl. A situation in which Clanricarde acted as Cecil's accomplice, in exchange for having his own lyrics performed as well, seems plausible.

Modern scholars have interpreted the meaning of Elizabeth's actions in strikingly different ways. Before the discovery of the lyrics, David Price had described Elizabeth's action as arising from jealousy and that Cecil 'could only appease Elizabeth with a song.'[191] Similarly, Lynn Hulse suggested that Cecil wrote the song to 'flatter', 'appease' and 'placat[e]' Elizabeth.[192] In contrast, May suggested it was a rare glimpse of Elizabeth 'playfully teasing her courtiers' and the seizure of the portrait as 'a manifest sign of her fondness for him'.[193] Eckhardt, with the aid of Cecil's lyrics, supports the latter view, suggesting that Elizabeth 'playfully, even flirtatiously walked about court' with the miniature and interprets the episode as a demonstration of Cecil and Elizabeth's close relationship:

> In a construction of harmony and mutual trust, Cecil claimed Elizabeth as his own spokesperson and offered to operate as hers. The Queen silently registered the courtier's devotion and the courtier's verses explicated her actions accordingly.[194]

However, the lyrics do not reveal what Elizabeth meant by her actions, only how Cecil wanted them to be interpreted. Elizabeth's actions could have been interpreted as either angry or playful. Catherine Bates has described the problematic ambivalence of courtly expression and the ease with which the external signs and gestures of courting could be misunderstood.[195] This occasion demonstrates the difficulty for courtiers of interpreting the Queen's mood towards them. Elizabeth could not have taken any severe offence at Lady Derby wearing a portrait of her uncle, but the placing of Cecil's portrait on her shoe was hardly a flattering way to treat it. On the other hand, the placing of the portrait miniature on the shoe may have been a means of hiding it, perhaps as part of a game to see how long it would take Cecil to notice (and which was made easier, when Cecil failed to notice, by placing the miniature at her elbow). Wotton's account suggests Essex had a similar problem, unsure of whether the Queen was wary of him or simply weary. Cecil's verses address the possibility of a negative interpretation, asking the very question that must have been on both his own mind and that of all the other courtiers

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[191] David Price, 'Gilbert Talbot, Seventh Earl of Shrewsbury: An Elizabethan Courtier and his Music', *Music and Letters* 57 (1976), 144-51 (p.147).
[192] Hulse, 'Musical Patronage of Robert Cecil', p.35.
[193] May, *Elizabethan Courtier Poets*, pp.133-34.
[194] Eckhardt, 'From a Seruant of Diana', p.119.
[195] Bates, *Rhetoric of Courtship*, pp.43-44

who had seen Elizabeth wearing the miniature – 'What meant that Angellike queene to weare that picture so?/ meant she to skorne her servaunt, and to disgrace him?' – and gives the firm answer 'no'. Cecil takes control of the meaning of this courtly performance, ensuring that his courtly reputation among his fellow couriers will not be damaged, by disseminating a positive interpretation of the Queen's actions. His interpretation was also aimed at the Queen, allowing him to assert his loyalty in case Elizabeth should take offence, but responding to the possibility that this was merely courtly teasing and flirtation with his own tool of courtly love, a song.

Considering all these performances, some further common themes emerge that suggest how and why music took on this political role. Rather than trying to influence any specific policy decision, these songs shaped courtiers' relationships with Elizabeth, and they were mostly created by men who had reason to suspect that their position might be under threat. They often aimed to make the courtier socially attractive to Elizabeth, which explains the sense of play evident in Ralegh's ballad or the circumstances of Cecil's song. For Ralegh and Essex, their personal favour translated into political influence so it was vital for each of them to maintain his position as favourite. Cecil's importance, however, stemmed from his political influence as Secretary of State which the circumstances of this song seem to show was being translated into a closer personal relationship.

Firstly, presenting a musical performance to the Queen was like the giving of a gift. Gifts from a courtier to a monarch signalled gratitude for past favours, demonstrated the worthiness of the giver and anticipated future patronage. As well as being pleasing to the recipient, the etiquette of giving and receiving gifts created a social pressure for the listener to receive the gift politely and to reciprocate in some way.[196] A song was a gift which could also deliver a message, and the relationship between the giver and his message differed depending on the level of intimacy employed in the performance. Songs written to ballad tunes were performable by the courtier himself, allowing him to deliver his message personally. Conversely, employing a professional musician such as Hales distanced the delivery of the message from its writer and added formality to the occasion. For Cecil, and especially Essex, songs allowed the courtiers to address the Queen indirectly through a professional musician when personal access might have

[196] Illana Ben-Amos, *The Culture of Giving: Informal Support and Gift-Exchange in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp.5-9, 205-07.

been denied or when they were unsure of the reception they might receive. The courtier might also hope to benefit from the better quality of a professional singer and the recognition of his effort in arranging such a composition and performance.

Secondly, courtiers sought to fashion this relationship by casting themselves and Elizabeth in stereotypical roles. Cecil presented himself as Elizabeth's servant, Clanricarde acted the part of the humble admirer, while Ralegh was the unfortunate lover. The verses contained in Wotton's memoirs show Essex taking on the stereotypical persona of the lovesick poet. However, Wotton interpreted these verses as having 'as much of the Hermit as of the poet' and referring back to a period of withdrawal from court. Whether Essex intended to portray himself as a hermit-like figure – perhaps threatening to retire from court life if he did not continue in Elizabeth's favour – or whether Wotton was simply mocking Essex's melodramatic reaction to changes in his favour, is unclear. In fashioning their identities, the courtiers also create a role for Elizabeth either as the virtuous, unattainable beloved or, in Essex's most critical songs, the cold-hearted and cruel mistress.

Finally, performances by courtiers were also like Fumerton's games of secrecy in the way they counterpoint the public and the private. This is most obvious in the letter of William Browne (p.196). Although he claims that these matters are 'very secret', his information is already second-hand and he is spreading the tale further still. Thus the performance was the subject of common court gossip, and the lyrics at least circulated widely enough to reach the miscellanies of two gentlemen outside of the court. Music was always more public than sonnet or miniature as it was harder to control who overheard a live performance than who read or looked at an object. Furthermore, whereas Elizabeth was able to control the contexts of her performance, courtiers had to perform in the space where Elizabeth was willing to listen, limiting their ability to control how public or private the performance would be. The most likely location for these performances would the Privy Chamber; yet although access was restricted, there were still likely to be courtiers around to hear the performance. However, this inherent lack of secrecy may have been an advantage to courtiers. Leaked details of intimate performances suggested the courtier's closeness to the Queen and his power to influence and petition.

We see in these examples the potential for private musical performances to influence power and politics. Elizabeth was willing both to participate and even initiate these courtly games. Elizabeth's wearing of the portrait miniature in 1602, whether flirtatiously or jealously, seems designed to initiate the creative and playful response Cecil gave. In encouraging such behaviour Elizabeth emphasised her position as the central focus of her courtiers' lives, while offering courtiers an outlet for their complaints and petitions. Songs offered a 'refined form of protest' in which potentially offensive texts were contained safely within artistic forms and conventions.[197] Mixing the intimate and the public, the conventional and the critical, and personal sentiments with rhetoric, love songs offered complex and polyvalent means of political manoeuvring for fashioning and maintaining a close relationship with Elizabeth.

Appeals from Musicians

It was not just the nobility and courtiers who wished to petition the Queen. For those who were involved in the devising, composing and writing of these entertainments there was the opportunity to include one's own petitions and requests alongside those themes and messages dictated by host, court or monarch. These might be personal requests for patronage or recognition, or more general petitions for greater support of their art and profession. Furthermore, taking part in a progress gave these artists the opportunity to showcase their own talents, not only to the Queen, but to the host of accompanying noblemen, courtiers and foreign ambassadors who were all potential sources of employment and patronage.

Musicians could expect tips from the spectators for their performances: noblemen such as the Earls of Leicester and Essex gave money to the court musicians at New Year festivities, while the feeble rewards given by the Duke of Nevers in April 1602 became the subject of court gossip in one of John Chamberlain's letters to Dudley Carleton.[198]

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[197] Hammer, *Polarisation*, p.318.

[198] Peter Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court, 1540-1690* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p.48; Hammer, *Polarisation of Elizabethan Politics*, p.318[n.10]; Simon Adams, ed., *Household Accounts and Disbursement Books of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, 1558-1561, 1584-1586* (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp.150 (1560), 163 (1561); John Chamberlain, 'John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton', in *MS Secretaries of State: State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth I*: GB-Lna: SP12/283a, fol.177[r]-79[r] (fol.77[v]) [26 April 1602], in *SPO* <http://go.galegroup.com/mss/i.do?id=GALE|MC4304680529&v=2.1&u=britlib&it=r&p=SPOL&sw=w&viewtype=Manuscript> [accessed 27/08/2010];

However, many court musicians were also awarded substantial privileges in kind and they also gave New Year gifts to the Queen, receiving gilt plate in return.[199] The most common were grants of leases such as that given to flautist Gommar van Oostrewijk in January 1590 for 'lands and tenements in Banbury, Barrower, Bagsholte and others in the counties of Worcester, Lincoln and others for 21 years'.[200] The favoured position of Ferdinando Richardson, a Groom of the Privy Chamber who played the virginals, is shown when he is granted not a lease but land from one Thomas Mercer that had passed to the crown on his death in June 1585.[201] Another privilege was for importing or exporting goods: Nicholas Lanier (flute and cornet-player) received a license to import fifteen tons of French wine duty free in March 1562.[202] Musicians may have used their own contacts abroad or sold on the license to merchants.[203] Some were granted monopolies on particular areas of trade, as we saw with Byrd and Tallis, on printed music books and lined music paper (p.12).[204] Other grants included money (£200 was given to violinist Joseph Lupo in January 1601 for his 'long and faithful service') or offices (Ferdinando Richardson was given the office of constable of the castle of Chester in January 1589).[205] Musicians could even enjoy sufficient favour to make petitions on behalf of others: a lease was granted to William Fysher in July 1577 'in consideration of the service of Alfonso Ferrabosco' and another to Cissell Gorges in May 1590 'at the humble suit of Ambrose Lupo' (a long-serving violinist).[206] It was these potential rewards (along with the status of the position and gaining the courtesy title 'gentleman') that made the post of court musician so attractive. For musicians working outside the court, events such as the progresses were an opportunity to display their skills in the hope of gaining such a post.

One of the entertainments at Sir Julius Caesar's house at Mitcham in 1598 took the form of a debate between a Poet and a Painter about which is the greater art, into which a Musician later enters. While the overall purpose of the show was to flatter Elizabeth, one small scene comically represents the poverty of artists, especially a musician. The Musician is mocked by the Poet and Painter for his pretensions to high status (because music is one of the seven liberal sciences) while living in poverty:

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[199] Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, pp.47-51.
[200] *RECM*, Vol.6:1558-1603, p.52.
[201] ibid., Vol.6, p.46.
[202] ibid., Vol.6, p.10.
[203] Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, p.48.
[204] *RECM*, Vol.8, p.32.
[205] ibid., Vol.6, pp.70, 51.
[206] Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, p.48; *RECM*, Vol.6, pp.34, 53.

> *Musitian*. What doe you here, you are excluded from the number of artes. I am one of the seven liberall science.
> *Poet*. Yea; and the liberalst of them all seven; for thow playest much, and gettest little.
> *Mus*. I should; for what is…. for melancholie more soveraigne?
> *Poet*. A soveraigne
> *Mus*. Who breedeth more pleasure then a good musitian?
> *Painter*. A goode cooke.
> *Mus*. Angells frequent musitians.
> *Poet*. Looke in thy purse and thou wilt prove thy self a lyer.[207]

While the Musician draws on popular defences to defend his worth (evoking the angelic music of heaven and music-making as a cure for melancholy), the Poet and Painter employ wordplay to suggest the Musician's literal poverty. The sovereign and the angel were types of coin (the former with the royal coat of arms and portrait of the monarch, and the latter having a picture of Archangel St Michael killing a dragon), and the Musician is mocked that he has none. Portrayed comically so that it would simultaneously entertain and act as a plea for patronage, such episodes may have acted as a subtle petition to potential patrons to be generous in their rewards.

Although an alternative interpretation might read the scene as a writer's joke at the expense of his fellow musicians, music and poetry are closely connected through the device; it is the Poet who performs a 'song' (it is unclear whether it was recited or sung) and in the conclusion the Poet promises to keep his verses for 'semesters to sing.'[208] In addition, the Musician's defence of his art in relation to the Poet and the Painter is supported by 'The Ditie of the Greak Song' which demonstrates music's status as high art. The song was sung in Greek and told a story of Cupid being stung by a bee and receiving little sympathy from Venus, who compares the sting to being hit by one of Cupid's darts. No other progress is known to have songs sung in a foreign language. The patron, Sir Julius Caesar, was one of the Queen's judges so it would be appropriate for his progress entertainments to express his education, and it would also flatter the Queen, who was also known to be well-educated with knowledge of Greek. Furthermore, this demonstrates music and poetry at their most learned. Greek was a language of learning (like Latin), and Greek music was regarded as the ideal music, for it was in Greek myths that the stories of music's power to tame wild beasts and move stones to build cities were told. Putting these two entertainments together, they could be said to form an argument that musicians should be given patronage by the nobility so

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[207] Leslie Hotson, ed., *Queen Elizabeth's Entertainment at Mitcham* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953), p.26.
[208] Hotson, ed., *Queen Elizabeth's Entertainment*, pp.24-25, 27.

that the high status of their art should not be mismatched with the poverty of their living.

Such support for musicians from the author is not surprising as the two artists had to collaborate to create the entertainment. Furthermore several authors were also composers; this was the case for Richard Edwards (Master of the Chapel Royal Children, writer of court plays and composer of consort songs), William Hunnis (a subsequent Master of the Chapel Royal Children, composer of consort songs and writer of devices for the Kenilworth Progress) and Thomas Campion (poet and musician).[209] The author of this entertainment is unknown, although Leslie Hotson suggests John Lyly on the basis of stylistic comparison.[210] Lyly, while not a musician, had worked closely with the choirboys of the Chapel Royal and St Paul's Cathedral to produce court plays. It is therefore not unreasonable to suggest that the writer of the Mitcham entertainment added a subtle message about the importance of musical and poetic patronage to his devices.

Collaboration between writers and musicians is most evident in the Shepherds' Entertainment at Sudeley in 1592. The character 'Do.', who sang the song 'Hearbes, Wordes and Stones', was probably composer and performer John Dowland, as he set the text to 'My Heart and Tongue were Twinnes' for the same progress (printed in *A Pilgrimes Solace* in 1612). Again the author of these entertainments is unknown. It is possible that Dowland himself composed the song lyrics. Poulton suggests that Dowland had been seeking employment at Elizabeth's court at the time of this progress, and both songs and their surrounding dialogue can be read as petitions for employment. The Shepherds' Entertainment was never performed due to bad weather, but the support for Dowland's petition would have been portrayed not only in the music and his lines, but also in the lines of other characters. Dowland's spoken lines would have cast him in the persona of the melancholy and ill-rewarded musician: 'I haue plaide so long with my fingers that I haue beaten out of play al my good fortunes.'[211] This line must have composed by the writer rather than improvised by Dowland during the performance, as

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[209] Michael Smith, 'Edwards, Richard', in *GMO* <www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/08593> [accessed 27/07/2010]; Michael Smith, 'Hunnis, William', in *GMO* <www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/13568> [accessed 27/07/2010].
[210] Hotson, ed., *Queen Elizabeth's Entertainment*, p.5.
[211] Joseph Barnes, ed., *Speeches Deliuered to Her Maiestie this Last Progresse at the Right Honorable the Lady Russels, at Bissam, the Right Honorable the Lorde Chandos at Sudley, at the Right Honorable the Lord Norris, at Ricorte* (Oxford, 1592), sig.B4^{r}.

it was included in the 'loose papers' which Joseph Barnes collected.[212] The song he was to sing, 'Hearbes, Wordes and Stones', lamented a lady who would not be moved by tokens of love as she found all of them potentially deceitful: flowers hide weeds, words tell lies and gemstones can be fake. Again this song is appropriate to its dramatic context where the shepherds have been discussing the subject of love. However, the theme of a lady who will not be moved by the petitions of a man was also appropriate to Dowland's continued failure to achieve a position at the English Court.[213] Furthermore, the line spoken after the song by the shepherd, Melibaeus, also seems to support Dowland's petition: 'Well song and wel plaide, seldome so well amonge shepheardes.'[214] Shepherds and the countryside were often presented as the opposite to the court and courtiers; therefore Melibaeus's line may have been intended to imply that it was unusual for a musician outside the court to play so well, as one would expect such a talent to be employed by the court. This device suggests not only co-operation between writer and composer but sympathy and a willingness to help other artists seeking employment.

Dowland's other song for this progress, 'My Heart and Tongue', shares the theme that one cannot force anyone to love and similarly contains his plea as just one of several layers of interpretation. Apollo is lamenting the loss of Daphne, who was turned into a tree to save her from Apollo's lust, supposedly by the presence of Elizabeth, Queen of Chastity. Dowland's setting is a galliard with the lamenting tone suggested through a Phrygian cadence at the end of the opening line (fig.4.11). The song's theme is encapsulated in the refrain:

> Engrave upon this tree, Daphnes perfection,
> That neither men nor Gods can force affection[215]

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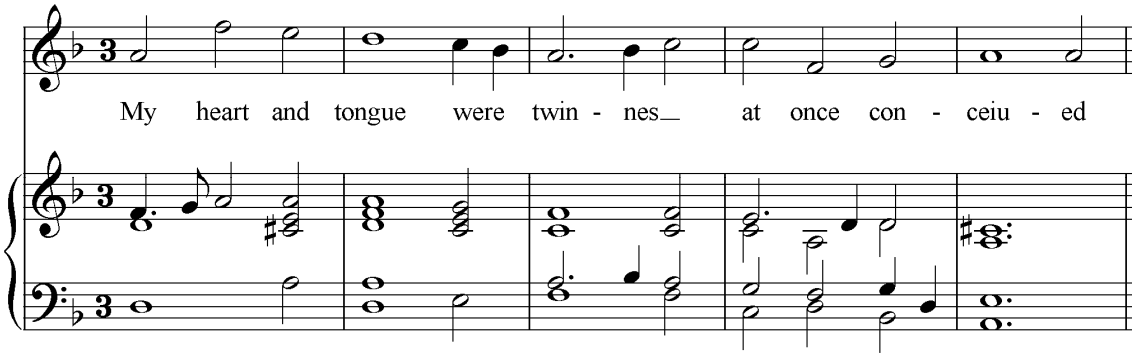
[212] ibid., sig.A1^{v}.
[213] Poulton also suggests that this song was a petition, but while the dramatic excuse for the song is weak, I do not agree that it was disconnected from the argument of the entertainment (Poulton, *Dowland*, p.30).
[214] Barnes, *Speeches Deliuered*, sig.B4^{r}.
[215] ibid., sig.B2^{r}. The first line of the refrain is 'Then this be sure, since it is true perfection' in Dowland's *Pilgrimes Solace*, sig.K2^{v}-L1^{r}.

Figure 4.11: Dowland 'My Heart and Tongue were Twinnes', bars 1-5.[216]



The refrain (fig.4.12) is marked melodically by a more declamatory style at its opening, followed by an expansive final line which repeats the words 'nor gods' while rising to the highest pitch of the piece, over a more contrapuntal and slightly imitative lute accompaniment. Some lines, however, fit the dramatic situation less well: what is meant by the lines describing gods and kings whose 'wordes are deedes, but deedes nor wordes regarded?' Apollo's words and deeds were regarded because Elizabeth intervened to save Daphne from them. Daphne is a shepherd and her actions were noticed. Nor does there seem any reason for Elizabeth's words or deeds to be described as not regarded, given both Daphne and Apollo acknowledge her role in the events. This line could be explained as referring to the singer playing the role of Apollo. Dowland's failure to obtain a court position had left him feeling that his words (singing) and deeds (lute playing) were not regarded.[217] Following this alternative layer of interpretation, 'my loue with paine, my paine with losse rewarded' can refer not only to Apollo's love for Daphne, but to Dowland's love for his monarch and lack of reward for service. Dowland's petitions to the Queen were subtle – they were not the only, nor even the main message of the entertainments and the songs – yet they were there to be interpreted, alongside the typical royal imagery of love versus chastity.

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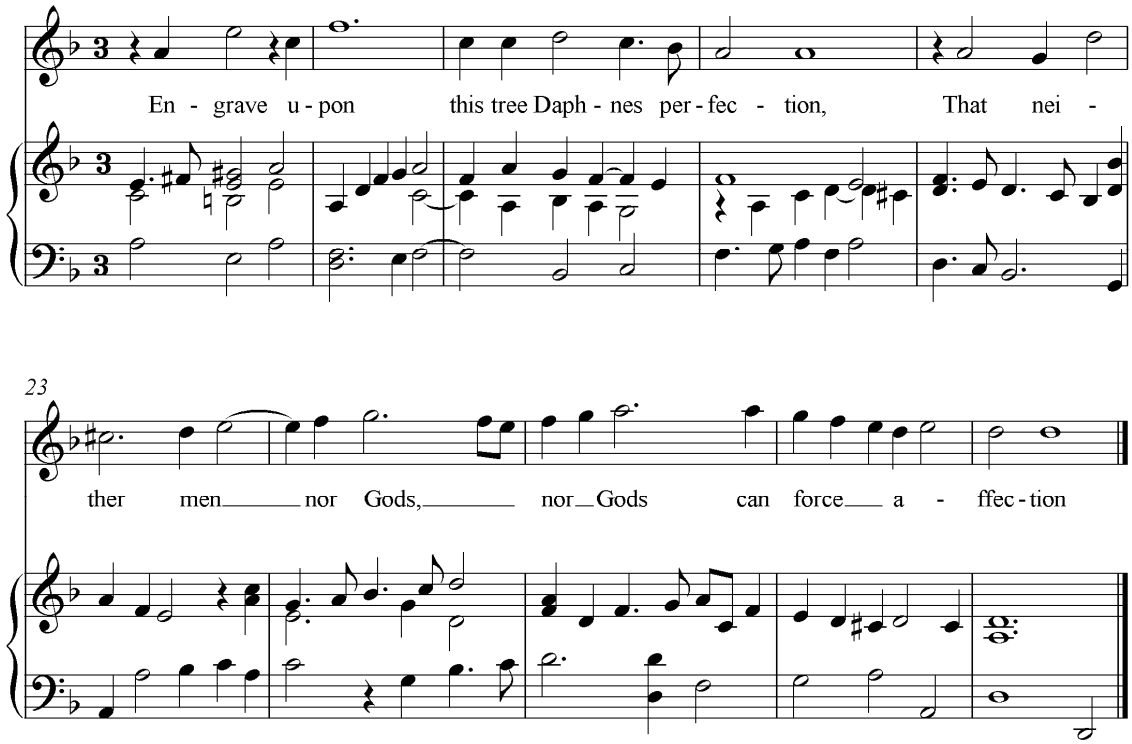
[216] John Dowland, *A Pilgrimes Solace Wherein is Contained Musicall Harmonie of 3. 4. and 5. Parts, to be Sung and Plaid with the Lute and Viols* (London, 1612), sig.K2^{v}-L1^{r}; John Dowland, *A Pilgrimes Solace*, ed. Edmund Fellowes (London, Stainer and Bell, 1925), pp.54-55. In *Pilgrimes Solace* the song is also presented as a four-part ayre. It is shown here as a lute song because at Sudeley it was performed by 'one that sung, and 'one that plaied' (Barnes, *Speeches Deliuered*, sig.B2^{r}).

[217] A letter from Dowland to Robert Cecil indicates this was certainly the case by 1595: Poulton, *Dowland*, pp.30, 37-38.

Figure 4.12: Dowland 'My Heart and Tongue were Twinnes', bars 18-27 (with the words from the progress).



The problem of identifying the authors and composers of entertainments makes interpreting the agendas of poets and musicians challenging. Their primary task in producing an entertainment for a progress was always to follow the wishes of the host. Yet in devices that were already mixing the multiple voices of host and monarch, flattery and petitions, there was sometimes space to add a brief appeal from the artists too.

Conclusion

Underlying all these analyses of musical counsel, complaint and persuasion, has been the issue of why music was chosen as the vehicle for political persuasion. Most of the persuasive songs used an occasion whose primary purpose was the entertainment of the Queen and court. The more spontaneous songs provided by Ralegh and Essex could function like gifts designed to charm Elizabeth. Good entertainment and evidence of effort spent on her behalf would please the Queen and could even be enough to enhance the host's position in royal favour. Pleasurable interludes also offered an opportunity to hold Elizabeth's attention. In the midst of the long speeches and numerous mini-dramas of the progresses, the contrast provided by the music of a song would attract the

attention of the courtly audience. Furthermore, the delight of high quality music was thought to make the listener more open to the message being conveyed. The chronicler of the Woodstock entertainment tells us that Elizabeth 'hearde ye sounde both of voice and instrument of ye excelentest now liuing whose pleasantnesse therein bred a great liking wt a willing eare to ye purport'.[218] The combination of pleasure and persuasion is exactly that suggested by Castiglione's Lord Octavian (p.37). However, it is not only music that Octavian recommends for making one's message appealing, but all the courtly arts.[219] This raises the question of what was specific about music that made courtiers and noblemen choose to address their praise, advice, petitions and complaints through music.

T.G. Bishop has argued that music's function in culture was fundamentally different from that of other cultural modes.[220] He believes that Elizabethans stressed music's 'recoding power' as a distinctive and transformative kind of cultural act.[221] Musical representations are displaced from the ordinary: they are more abstract, oblique in their expression but able to express the inexpressible.[222] For example, interpreting the incident with the miniature portrait of Cecil (before the discovery of the lost lyrics) he suggested that music could be a form of mediation, refiguring relations into the musical mode when 'spoken appeals might be futile or provocative'.[223]

Bishop's claim that music is a separate mode of communication tends to exaggerate the difference in function between music and other courtly arts. Most of the political activities we have identified in this chapter are not specific to music alone. Courtiers presented poems to the Queen as well as having them set to music. Music might be a means of communicating when spoken appeals might be futile, but Robert Carey used competing as the Forsaken knight on the tiltyard as a different way of attracting royal attention to restore his reputation in 1593.[224] Court drama treated current political debates with greater depth than any musical setting.[225] While George Puttenham

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[218] Anon., *Queenes… Entertainement at Woodstock*, sig.C2^{v}.
[219] Castiglione, *Courtyer*, sig.Nn3^{r}.
[220] T.G. Bishop, 'Elizabethan Music as a Cultural Mode', in *Reconfiguring the Renaissance: Essays in Critical Materialism*, ed. Jonathan Crewe (London: Associated University Presses, 1992), pp.51-75.
[221] ibid., pp.56-57.
[222] ibid. p.66.
[223] ibid., p.62.
[224] Robert Carey and Robert Naunton, *Memoirs of Robert Carey and Fragmenta Regalia* (Edinburgh, 1808), pp.56-57.
[225] See for example, Walker's discussion of *Gorboduc* (performed at court in 1562) in relation to issues of royal marriage and succession in *Politics of Performance*, pp.196-221.

described the pastoral topos as one in which 'vnder the vaile of homely persons, and in rude speeches' one could 'insinuate and glaunce at greater matters, and such as perchance had not bene safe to haue beene disclosed in any other sort'.[226] Moreover, separating out the cultural mode of music from the poetic, dramatic or visual is an almost impossible task. Nearly all the examples given by Bishop or in this chapter rely on a text as the primary means of communication or representation.
However, Bishop's idea of transposition and displacement does describe one of the functions of all courtly arts of persuasion, including music. Putting advice, petitions and complaints into drama, poetry or music separated these messages from an immediate relationship with real-world events. Furthermore, music could create this distance more effectively than spoken arts like poetry and drama. Singing rather than speaking exaggerated the artifice that displaced and contained these messages by being furthest removed from everyday communication.

Bishop also argues that 'crossing into music seems often to have stripped sensitive issues of their actively polemic and even subversive force, or rather, to have enabled such force to appear disguised in plain sight.'[227] The notion that art was a safe outlet for political persuasion has also been suggested by Louis Montrose, who argues that courtly arts – pageantry, poetry, drama, music, dance and visual iconography – were not just manipulated for personal advantage, but also a means of controlling the intense political competition at court through 'the imposition of collective aesthetic forms on unruly personal energies'.[228] Montrose is vague about who was responsible for imposing these aesthetic forms, but presumably it was a mixture of the conventional deference courtiers were required to show their monarch and Elizabeth's toleration of courtly arts as an arena for persuasion and complaint. Jean Wilson's characterisation of the counsel offered through staged tableau at Elizabeth's coronation as 'respectful persuasion' suggests such a balancing of the monarch's authority and the desires of courtiers or the civic elites to offer advice.[229] Paul Hammer has suggested this willingness to allow courtiers to use entertainments as platforms for their own ambitions and opinions prevented them from turning to more threatening forms of rivalry or dissent.[230]

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[226] George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie Contriued into Three Bookes* (London, 1589), p.31.
[227] Bishop, 'Elizabethan Music', p.62.
[228] Montrose, 'Celebration and Insinuation', pp.5-6.
[229] Wilson, *Entertainments*, p.8.
[230] Paul Hammer, 'Upstaging the Queen: the Earl of Essex, Francis Bacon and the Accession Day celebrations of 1595', in *The Politics of the English Court Masque*, ed. David Bevington and Peter Holbrook (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp.41-66 (p.58).

Yet there were some specific ways in music could especially assist the courtier. Associations between music and political harmony may have assisted the courtier in asserting his good intentions. Those who disliked music were seen as potentially rebellious and evil. For example, in the *Merchant of Venice* (1600), Shakespeare's character Lorenzo declares that:

> the man that hath no musique in himselfe,
> nor is not moued with concord of sweet sounds,
> is fit for treasons, stratagems, and spoiles.[231]

Therefore, demonstrating a liking for music might help a courtier reassure Elizabeth of his loyalty even when he expressed criticism. Similarly, in the surviving musical examples, like the Bacheler and Martin's settings of Essex's poems, we saw how complaints might be set to regular dance-styles and simple stepwise melodies. This may have been designed to communicate order and harmony to neutralise the subversive potential of the complaint.

Furthermore, having avoided the appearance of any subversive intent, music actually offered greater persuasive and critical potential than other modes of communication. Music was regarded by Elizabethans as exceptional in its rhetorical power (as we saw in the Introduction) and adapting conventional genres such as the love song or the lament enabled the courtier to use the heightened rhetoric and exaggerated sentiments of these forms, allowing the petition to be expressed more forcefully than might otherwise have been possible. Similarly, verses for music were usually short and succinct, often allowing a more powerful statement of the underlying message of a larger dramatic entertainment. Songs by their nature stood at one remove from the main body of an entertainment, because lyrics had to be sent to a composer and disseminated in notation. Yet far from making music merely dispensable, this meant that music could carry some of the most pointed criticisms. Not only might the music soften the impact of such a message, but it could be silently omitted when details of the progress were circulated publicly.

Whether the occasion was an official court event or provided by the courtier himself, music could delight and flatter Elizabeth, even as it provided a legitimate space in which criticism and complaint could be presented with due respect for royal authority.

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[231] William Shakespeare, *The Norton Shakespeare*, ed. Stephen Greenblatt et al (New York: W.W. Norton, 1997), p.1171 (*Merchant of Venice*, Act V.i Henry V, I.3, 82-84).

5. Music and National Identity

For Elizabeth and her court, representations of national identity served two primary purposes. Firstly, they could conjure up an image of a unified community of people loyal to their Queen. This might draw on a shared history, language, official religion and land in order to create loyalty to the monarch. A second image was aimed at the rulers and governing classes of other countries and presented England as highly cultured, prosperous and powerful. This might draw on the first by asserting the harmonious English state, but its primary purpose was to define the status of England in relation to other countries.

England was an 'imagined community' in Benedict Anderson's sense that England existed as an image of community in the minds of its members (who will never know or meet most of their fellow members) rather than as network of direct relationships between all the individuals. However, England was not in the strictest sense a nation. Concepts of nation and nationalism usually derive from their nineteenth-century manifestations in which the legitimacy of the dynastic realm was questioned and nations desired to be free and governed by 'the people', and where a perception of fraternity or comradeship among members of the nation was more significant than divisions such as class and religion.[1] By contrast, sixteenth-century England was a kingdom, ruled by a monarch, loyal to the Tudor dynasty and the hereditary rights of its heirs.

Krishan Kumar has argued convincingly against applying concepts of nation to this period (and any before the late nineteenth century).[2] Rather than presenting the Reformation as an event which made England an autonomous nation and unified it via a national Church, Kumar argues for its divisiveness (with many retaining loyalties to Catholicism or to more radical forms of Protestantism than Anglicanism) and its encouragement of an international rather than national perspective in opposing the Catholic Church. Furthermore, he argues that participation in the discourse of nationhood was restricted to the nobility and gentry. Any nationalist or patriotic sentiments were expressed solely by this class, and were directed at the crown rather

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[1] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006), pp.6-7.
[2] Krishan Kumar, *The Making of English National Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp.102-20.

than the country. Similarly, Elizabeth's expressions of the love she bore for her people were directed only at this politically important class. There was no 'nation linked by the horizontal ties of nationhood rising above... class, region and religion'.[3]

Despite Kumar's reservations we are left with the problem of how to characterise the concern with English identity evident in works such as William Camden's *Britannia* (1586), Shakespeare's history plays and Saxton's maps of England, or Spenser's desire to 'have the kingdom of our own language' and create a sophisticated English poetic style, or the praise of 'British music' in the preface to Byrd and Tallis's *Cantiones sacrae* (1575), to give just a few examples.[4] Kumar also ignores the concern of Elizabeth and her government to encourage displays of loyalty during royal entries and Accession Day celebrations. It is true that participation in these events was variable: Elizabeth only went on progress in Southern England (but not Devon or Cornwall) and the Midlands (Sempringham in Lincolnshire and Ellenhall in Staffordshire were the most northerly) and frequently ventured no more than 40 miles from London, while Accession Day celebrations took time to spread across the country and depended on local enthusiasm.[5] Yet the very idea of a national celebration with liturgies, psalms and ballads disseminated in print across the country suggests a willingness to imagine a unified kingdom.

Escaping from debates concerning terminology, many scholars have identified some sense of national identity, consciousness or self-imagining. For Christopher Highley, the significance of Englishness can be seen in the desire of both Catholics and Protestants to define themselves as following the true English religion. Protestants argued that Catholicism was non-English because of its foreign figureheads such as the Pope, following the rhetoric Henry VIII had used in declaring England an 'empire' to justify the break with Rome. Catholics responded by labelling Protestantism a foreign heresy threatening the native (Catholic) religion.[6] Furthermore, while some Catholic exiles advocated violent opposition to Elizabeth's reign, others occupied positions of

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[3] ibid., p.103.
[4] Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: the Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), pp.1-3.
[5] Mary Hill Cole, *The Portable Queen: Elizabeth I and the Politics of Ceremony* (Amherst, Mass.: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999), pp.23-24; Roy Strong, 'The Popular Celebration of the Accession Day of Queen Elizabeth I', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 21 (1958), 86-103 (pp. 89-94).
[6] Christopher Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p.14.

'grovelling loyalty to the Elizabethan regime', with a spectrum of positions in between.[7] An English identity and loyalty to its dynastic rulers could therefore exist in tension with religious identity, even for those who felt strongly enough to go into religious exile.

This national consciousness was not yet dominant but contended with other loyalties to localities, religion, dynasty or social class. Nor was it unified: Richard Helgerson demonstrates the variety of representations of England that existed.[8] There was no fixed name (Britannia, Albion, England were all used), no defined territory (were Wales or Ireland to be included?) and no agreement as to whether the nation was to be identified with the king, the people, the language, the laws, the history, the religion or something else. He finds that although the monarch was central to representations of England, other sources of national identity were almost always present too, such as the nobility, the law, the land, the economy, the people or the Church.

Furthermore, Helgerson identifies two distinct discourses concerning who constituted the members of the nation.[9] The inclusive discourse created a broad national community characterised by the people as a whole, while the exclusive one limited the nation to the culture of the upper classes to create an English identity that would be recognised internationally as sophisticated and civilised. I will argue that we can see both competing discourses in the Elizabethan court's use of music: the exclusive discourse identified English culture with the musical activities of the court and nobility to demonstrate England's prosperity and cosmopolitanism to foreigners, while an inclusive discourse used music to represent and enact a national community of loyal English subjects (though one in which boundaries of class were firmly maintained).

This inclusive national identity was related to Elizabeth's desire to present herself as a monarch who loved and was loved by her people. While this rhetoric was not new, Kevin Sharpe argues that 'Elizabeth reiterated and personalized the conceit in hundreds of phrases, gestures and signs, and so made the relation with her people the centrepiece of her representation to princes abroad and to any who sought to challenge her at

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[7] ibid., p.6.
[8] Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood,* pp.8-11.
[9] ibid., pp.9-11.

home'.[10] Accounts of civic entertainments frequently stress the interaction between the Queen and the crowd, and although the truth of such anecdotes is uncertain, they demonstrate how Elizabeth wanted to be portrayed. In the printed account of her coronation entry, Richard Mulcaster wrote, 'if a man shoulde say well, he could not better tearme the citie of London that time, than a stage wherin was shewed the wonderfull spectacle, of a noble hearted princesse toward her most louing people, & the peoples exceding comfort in beholding so worthy a soueraigne'.[11] The metaphor of the stage suggests the artifice of the occasion in which a particular image of Elizabeth and her relationship with her subjects was being created. The initiation of country-wide celebrations of Elizabeth's Accession Day during the 1570s provided opportunities for Elizabeth's subjects to celebrate their Queen that were less stage-managed. Such a national celebration with printed songs and prayers produced and disseminated for these occasions brought local communities together and made them aware of the larger nation.

While it is easy to define elite discourses of national community where entertainments took place within the court, events such as civic entries or Accession Day festivities are less easily classified as popular as they were attended by both the rich and the poor. Peter Burke's definition of popular culture is helpful here because, while he acknowledges an exclusive culture participated in by intellectuals or the upper classes, he sees popular culture as the shared tradition that was participated in and accessible to the lower classes and the elite, the literate and the illiterate.[12] This definition fits comfortably with Helgerson's notion of exclusive and inclusive discourses of national identity (England can be the Queen and court, or the kingdom and all its subjects). However, Tim Harris has criticised the two-tier model suggested by the binary popular/elite because it hides the diversity within each category and leaves the problem of where to position the middle classes.[13] Barry Reay's definition of popular culture combines the middle classes (whose standard of living was relatively comfortable, such

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[10] Kevin Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy: Authority and Image in Sixteenth Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), pp.417-18.
[11] [Richard Mulcaster], *The Passage of Our Most Drad Soueraigne Lady Quene Elyzabeth Through the Citie of London to Westminster the Daye Before Her Coronacion Anno 1558* (London, 1559), sig.A2^{v}. Richard Mulcaster is generally accepted as the author on the evidence of payment to him from the Aldermen for producing an account of the day for the Queen: Germaine Warkentin, ed., *The Queen's Majesty's Passage & Related Documents* (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2004), pp.16, 125.
[12] Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1994), pp.24-28.
[13] Tim Harris, *Popular Culture in England c1500-1850* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995), pp.16-17.

as yeomen, prosperous tradesmen or husbandmen) with the lower classes (labourers, cottagers and paupers living at or below subsistence level). He excludes 'the peerage and gentry of rural areas or the pseudo-gentry and wealthy merchants of towns'.[14] However, for this chapter a distinction is needed between the elite who participated in court culture and the upper classes without (regular) access to court culture, yet who were the organisers and funders of civic festivities for the Queen's visits or for Accession Day celebrations: civic leaders (mayors, burgesses, aldermen), wealthy merchants or locally-important landowners. In this chapter, popular culture describes literature and events aimed at the widest possible audience, including all social classes and attempting to be accessible regardless of literacy or education. More specific cultures within this category are defined where evidence for the consumers or intended audience allows. Furthermore, we shall see examples of exchange between popular and elite or civic and courtly cultures when they met at civic entries or during Accession Day celebrations.

National identity was also closely tied up with Elizabeth's image because she was successful at identifying herself with England.[15] This can be seen the broadside ballad called *A Songe Btwene the Quenes Maiestie and Englande* (1564, possibly first printed in 1559). This extract demonstrates how the ballad separates the personas of monarch and nation but emphasises the intimate bond between them (E is England and B is Bessy/ Elizabeth):

E: Come ouer the born bessy
Come ouer the born bessy
Sowete bessy come ouer to me
And I shall take
and my dere lady make
Before all other that euer I see.

B: My thinke I hear a voice
at whom I do reioyce
and answer the now I shall
Tel me I say
What art thou that bides me com away
and so earnestly doost me call

E: I am thy louer faire
hath chose the to mine heir
and my name is Mery Englande
Therefore com away
and make no more delay

[14] Barry Reay, *Popular Culture in Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Routledge, 1988), p.1.
[15] Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood*, p.131.

Swete besse giue me thy hande

B: Here is my hand
My dere louer Englande
I am thine both with minde and harte
for euer to endure
thou maiest besure
Until death us two depart.[16]

Figure 5.1: Wylliam Birche, *A Songe Btwene the Quenes Maiestie and Englande* set to the tune of 'Ouer the Broome Bessy'.[17]

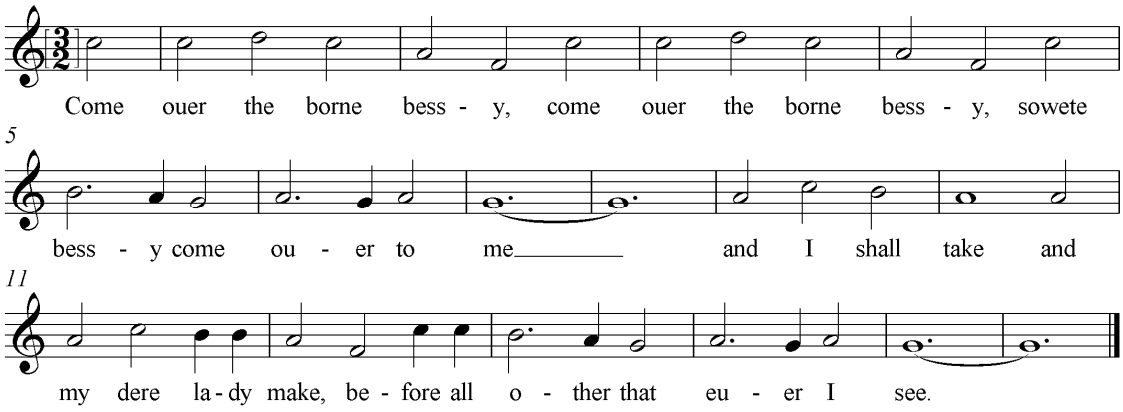
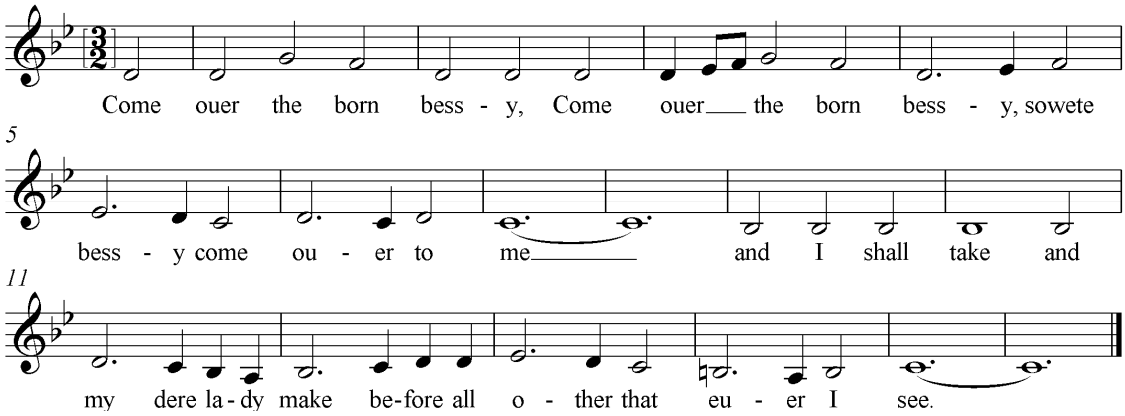


Figure 5.2: Wylliam Birche, *A Songe Btwene the Quenes Maiestie and Englande* set to the tune of 'Brown Bessy, Sweet Bessy'.[18]



Sternfeld identifies two similar tunes to which this ballad (and another 'Come over the burn Bessy' in Shakespeare's *King Lear*) could be sung: 'Ouer the Broome Bessy' (GB-Cu: MS. Dd.2.11: 'broome' being a common misspelling for 'boorne') is shown in

[16] Wylliam Birche, *A Songe Btwene the Quenes Maiestie and Englande* (London, 1564).
[17] Frederick Sternfeld, *Music in Shakespearean Tragedy* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963), p.185. Alterations: an upbeat has been added at the beginning, and at the end of bar 10; in bars 11 and 12 the final minim has been split into crotchets; in bar 14 a semibreve at the beginning of the bar has been altered to a dotted minim and crotchet.
[18] ibid., p.188. Alterations: an upbeat has been added at the beginning; in bar 2 a dotted semibreve has been split into minims; in bar 12 the final minim has been split into crotchets; bars 9-16 have been transposed down an octave to avoid an awkward leap of a seventh.

fig.5.1, while a minor mode version, 'Brown Bessy, Sweet Bessy, Come Over to Me' (Weld Lute Book, privately owned) is shown in fig.5.2.[19] Elizabeth is presented as called by England to be Queen. She is England's 'dere lady', lover, wife and heir. The metaphor of marriage to England was employed by Elizabeth herself in her speech to Parliament in 1559, in which William Camden reports her as having said: 'I am already bound vnto an Husband, which is the Kingdome of England.'[20] This trope was not new to Elizabeth but one of many images that she appropriated from Mary, who prior to her marriage had likened the coronation ring to a wedding ring.[21] However, the ballad presents a more complex and paradoxical set of relationships between Bessy and England: the bond of marriage suggests the official ceremony that has bound monarch and country, her representation as heir underlines her legitimate claim to the throne, her role as lover suggests true affection between kingdom and monarch. The emphasis on her Englishness both distanced her from her sister Mary, who was popularly perceived as Spanish (because of her Spanish mother and marriage to Philip II), and used her subjects' sense of national identity to encourage a bond of loyalty with their new queen.

Music's association with political and social concord meant both musical imagery and practical music-making offered ways of fashioning an image of England as a harmonious kingdom.[22] Jonathan Willis has explored how music both represented and created a new sense of religious community in England after the Reformation. In keeping with notions of harmony as a reconciliation of different and distinct parts, the singing of psalms and hymns brought together people of different ages, genders, and social classes and 'created a bond of unity through musical concord'.[23] However, he shows that music could equally become a vehicle for expressing social divisions and hostility to the new Protestant psalms.

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[19] Sternfeld, *Music in Shakespearean Tragedy*, pp.180-88. He also identifies an earlier 'Come O'er the Burn Bessy' in GB-Lbl: Add MSS 5665 but this is a different to the Elizabethan melody and does not fit either this ballad or that in Shakespeare's *King Lear*.

[20] William Camden, *ANNALES The True and Royall History of the Famous Empresse Elizabeth. Queene of ENGLAND FRANCE and IRELAND* (London, 1625), p.28.

[21] Judith Richards, 'Mary Tudor as "Sole Quene"?: Gendering Tudor Monarchy', *The Historical Journal* 40 (1997), 895-924 (p.912). Paulina Kewes, 'Godly Queens: The Royal Iconographies of Mary and Elizabeth', in *Tudor Queenship: The Reigns of Mary and Elizabeth*, ed. Alice Hunt and Anna Whitelock (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp.47-62

[22] Linda Colley has also considered music and song in relation to national identity in *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (New Haven: Yale Nota Bene, 2005), pp.45-47, 224, 307-08.

[23] Jonathan Willis, *Church Music and Protestantism in Post-Reformation England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp.205-235.

This chapter examines how music and musical imagery was used to portray and create a unified political community. I examine images of the harmonious kingdom produced in both courtly entertainments and in popular printed literature, and relate this imagery to the practical use of music during Elizabeth's royal entries and in Accession Day celebrations where songs enacted local and national harmony. Finally, in contrast to these inclusive notions of national community, the court's musical activities sought to portray a more exclusive English identity to foreign diplomats and visitors. This emphasised England's ability to participate in the international scene, as well as the prosperity, magnificence and sophistication of the English nation. Yet, as we saw in Elizabeth's royal image, musical imagery also creates the potential for representing discord, either through the deliberate disruption of a musical event or through metaphors of dissonant tunes and broken strings.

Imagining Community in Music

We have seen in previous chapters that musical harmony was believed to be capable of creating social and political harmony. Such imagery was common across Europe. For example, two pageants for the Duke of Anjou's entry into Antwerp in February 1582 contrasted Apollo's sun beams and the harmonious singing of the Muses with an opposite scene of caves, mossy rocks and decaying trees in which Discord, Tyranny and Violence hid his from light and harmony. This presented a clear moral message, comparing the healthy state in which dwells light and harmony to the decayed state in which the three vices live.[24] However, under Elizabeth such musical imagery came to represent a more personal connection between Elizabeth and her loving people (as they were portrayed), rather than a generic moral lesson. Kevin Sharpe writes, 'Elizabeth represented her rule as with, as well as over, her subjects and never ceased to mention the reciprocal love between Queen and people which she claimed was a special hallmark of her reign (and perhaps her sex)'.[25] Music became a significant means for evoking this national community united in the love of its monarch in court entertainments, songs and printed literature commemorating the Accession Day.

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[24] David Bergeron, *English Civic Pageantry, 1558-1642* (Tempe, Ariz.: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2003), p.52.
[25] Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy*, p.347.

In images of the England produced in court entertainments, the conventions of equating musical and social harmony often coincided with the pastoral world in which shepherds were traditionally represented pursuing the pastimes of singing and dancing. The pastoral genre has itself been described as 'implying a beautiful relationship between rich and poor', while Louis Montrose's analysis of the functions of Elizabethan pastoral forms extends this to show that it could fashion various relationships between rich and poor subjects, between the Queen and the lower classes, and between the political elite and the Queen.[26] Furthermore the pastoral had socio-economic significance in England, where sheep farming was the basis for the important wool trade.[27] It was an image commonly produced during progresses where the rustic merry-making was extended to include other lower class peoples. We have already seen examples of rustic characters appearing (and singing) on progresses, including shepherds and fishermen (see pp.175-76, 204-05). On Accession Day too, courtiers often appeared with a train of rustic characters, representing the most humble of Elizabeth's subjects, who then usually praised her with a song. Sir Philip Sidney may have chosen to present himself as a sophisticated, musical Arcadian shepherd, but he was accompanied by simple ploughmen (see pp.106-08). The Ditchley Manuscript associated with Sir Henry Lee described the entry of a knight 'clownishly clad' (clownish in the sense of peasant-like) and accompanied by 'a homely rude Companye' who are singing and dancing. They are described as 'no better then Shepards, and heardmen, breaders of Catell, and followers of the plough'.[28] While these were often characters played by actors, on some occasions local people were invited to perform during a nobleman's entertainment. Robert Laneham's letter describing the entertainments at Kenilworth (1575) tells of a play performed by the townsfolk of Coventry, as well as a brideale (rustic wedding feast), mock tilt and Morris dancing; these country shows were presumably put on by local people as they are barely mentioned in Gascoigne's account of the elite entertainment.[29] Similarly, at Cowdray (1592) 'the countrie people' presented a dance with tabor and pipe. [30]

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[26] William Empson, *Some Versions of Pastoral* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1935), p.11; Louis Montrose, ' "Eliza, Queene of Shepheardes", and the Pastoral of Power', *English Literary Renaissance* 10 (1980), 153-82 (pp.179-80).
[27] Louis Montrose, 'Of Gentlemen and Shepherds: The Politics of Elizabethan Pastoral Form', *English Literary History* 50 (1983), 415-59 (pp.421-23).
[28] GB-Lbl: Add MS 41499A [Ditchley Manuscript], fol.2^{r}-3^{v}.
[29] Robert Laneham, *A Letter Whearin Part of the Entertainment Vntoo the Queenz Maiesty at Killingwoorth Castl in Warwik Sheer in this Soomerz Progress 1575 is Signified* (London, 1575), pp.26-39; George Gascoigne describes the 'countrie shewe' and 'merry marriage' as 'so plaine as needeth no further explication': *The Pleasauntest Workes of George Gascoigne Esquyre* (London, 1587), sig.B2^{r}
[30] Jean Wilson, *Entertainments for Elizabeth I* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1980), p.95.

Several madrigals and canzonets also create this image of rustic people united in song to praise Elizabeth. John Mundy's 'Turn about and see me' from *Songs and Psalmes Composed into 3.4. and 5. Parts* (1594) is reminiscent of the numerous occasions on which Elizabeth was hailed by gods, wild men or shepherds while walking in the grounds of a nobleman's house and may have originated in such an occasion:

> Turn about and see me
> how lustily I spring
> as joyfully as may be
> as glad as anything
> If you will ask the cause and why
> I mean to tell you by and by
>
> She lives that I do honour most
> far passing all the rest
> a mighty prince and excellent
> sweet Eglantine the best
> then joy with me both great and small
> her life brings joy unto us all.[31]

The poem does not reveal the status of the protagonist, but a rustic persona is suggested by the simple tone of the language (for example, lines such as 'as glad as anything'). Thomas Morley's 'Blow, Shepherds, Blow' (*Canzonets or Little Short Songs to Three Voyces*, 1593) is another three-part song which presents a group of shepherds greeting Elizabeth as 'shepherds queen and lovely sweet mistress' in their music.[32]

Yet while rustic figures such as ploughmen were invariably associated with the lower classes, pastoral imagery could be used to depict a specifically courtly or aristocratic community. Some madrigals that describe shepherds meeting their Queen are more Arcadian in style and imply that the shepherds are merely courtiers in disguise (as we saw with Sir Philip Sidney in his persona as Philisides and his 'Disprayse of a Courtly Life', pp.106, 113). In contrast to these three-part songs by Morley and Mundy, the more elaborate four and five-part madrigals by Byrd and Cavendish seem to present a higher class of shepherd praising Elizabeth. In Michael Cavendish's five-voice madrigal, 'Come Gentle Swains' (*14 Ayres in Tabletorie to the Lute... And 8 Madrigalles to 5 voyces,* 1598), the swains are 'gentle' and their daughters are 'dainty'

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[31] John Mundy, *Songs and Psalmes Composed in 3, 4, 5 Parts,* ed. Thurston Dart (London: Stainer and Bell, 1961), pp.10-14.
[32] Thomas Morley, *Canzonets for Two and Three Voices,* ed. Thurston Dart (London: Stainer and Bell, 1956), pp.39-43.

and 'adorned with comely duties'.[33] Similarly in Byrd's 'This Sweet and Merry Month of May' (*The First Sett of Italian Madrigalls Englished*, 1590) the shepherds employ Classical imagery when they praise Elizabeth as 'Beauteous Queene of second Troy'.[34] Pastoral harmony could therefore either produce inclusive images of the kingdom (visualising England as the unity of all its subjects) or represent only the court and political elite.

Neither pastoral imagery, nor music's connotations of social harmony, nor the image of the Queen's loving relationship with her subjects was original to Elizabeth. Yet all three were characteristic of the portrayals of Elizabeth and England, and Helen Cooper suggests that the application of these themes in England was distinctive: 'Elizabethan pastoral is almost unique in its refusal to be nostalgic: the pastoral dream is fulfilled, and it is the Queen herself who holds it in being'.[35] Rather than presenting the pastoral world as a now-lost paradise, England was portrayed as enjoying such a golden age brought about by the virtuous Virgin Queen.

One of greatest advantages of the musical image of an inclusive national harmony was that it did not make its members equal. Rather music was used as a metaphor for the importance of inequality in both ecclesiastical institutions and in the state. In the conduct book *The French Academie* (a 1586 English translation by T.B. of Pierre de La Primaudaye's *L'Académie françoise*, 1577), there is a chapter 'Of the Harmonie and agreement that ought to be in the dissimilitude or unlike callings of subiects, by reason of the duetie and office of euery estate'. It begins:

> a citie or ciuill company is nothing else but a multitude of men vnlike in estates or conditions, which communicate togither in one place their artes, occupations, workes and exercises, that they may liue the better, & are obedient to the same lawes and magistrates. We learned also, that of such a dissimilitude an harmonicall agreement ariseth by due proportion of one towards another in their diuers orders & estates, euen as the harmonie in musicke consisteth of vnequall voyces or sounds agreeing equally togither.[36]

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[33] Michael Cavendish, *Madrigals to Five Voices*, ed. Edmund Fellowes, rev. Thurston Dart and Philip Brett (London: Stainer and Bell, 1961), pp.26-33.
[34] Thomas Watson, *Italian Madrigals Englished: 1590*, ed. Albert Chatterley (London: Stainer and Bell, 1999), pp.114-19.
[35] Helen Cooper, *Pastoral: Mediaeval into Renaissance* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1977), p.192.
[36] Pierre de La Primaudaye, *The French Academie Wherin is Discoursed the Institution of Maners, and Whatsoeuer Els Concerneth the Good and Happie Life of All Estates and Callings, By Preceptes of Doctrine, and Examples of the Liues of Ancient Sages and Famous Men*, trans. T.B. (London, 1586), p.743.

An early seventeenth-century emblem by Henry Peacham makes a similar point. Accompanying a picture of a lute and music book on a table is the motto 'paritas confusionis mater' (equality is the mother of confusion) and the epigram;

> Taedia quae tereti solet indere Barbitos auri
> Lesbia, cum paribus personet icta modis;
> Haec eadem, paritas tua sponsa Ecclesia Christi
> Cum paria esse vides membra subinde parit.
> (What sense of annoyance a Lesbian lyre usually imparts to a refined ear whenever it is plucked to sound with undifferentiated tones. This same feeling will be produced by you equality within you O Church, you bride of Christ, whenever you see your members being equal.)[37]

Just as in music either the top or tenor part is more important than the other parts, so in society some people must have higher status to govern and maintain order.

These images of a hierarchical yet harmonious England were also disseminated into wider culture through commemorative literature produced for Accession Day. In such literature the different groups that honour Elizabeth are distinguished both by class and by place. Maurice Kyffin's *The Blessednes of Brytaine* (1587) exhorts the 'enobled Knight':

> *Advaunce your selues, on firey foming steedes:*
> ...
> *At* Tylt & Turnay*, trying Martiall Might;*
> *And Battring strokes, at* Barriers *forcefull fight.*

By contrast 'cuntry folke'

> *Lowd Carols sing, to celebrat this Tyme;*
> *Show signes of ioy (as Cuntry manner yeldes,)*
> *In sporting Games, with Daunce, and rurall Rhyme:*
> *Ech Swayne, and Sheppard, sound his piping Reede,*
> *For ioy enioying Feelds, and Flocks to feede.* [38]

Peele's *Anglorum Feriae* (1595) also described the knights competing in tournaments while in the countryside he exhorted people to:

> Weare Eglantine
> And wreathes of Roses red & white put on
> In honor of that day yow lovelie Nymphes,
> And paeans singe & sweete melodious songes;
> Alonge the chaulkie clyffes of Albion
> Leade Englandes Lovely Shepherdes in a daunce,
> Ore hill & dale & downes & daysie plotts
> And bee that Day Englandes highe Hollyday.[39]

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[37] Alan Young, ed., *The English Emblem Tradition, Volume 5: Henry Peacham's Manuscript Emblem Books*, Index Emblematicus (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), p.113. I have altered his translation of 'modis' as 'measures'. In musical terms the word is more likely to refer to either 'mode' or 'tone': D.R.Howlet and R.E. Latham, 'modus', in *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Source,* 12 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), Vol.2, p.1818.

[38] Maurice Kyffin, *The Blessednes of Brytaine, or A Celebration of the Queenes Holyday* (London, 1587), sig.B3^{v}-B4^{r}.

The countryside is made distinctly English with the references to Albion's cliffs, daisy plots, Eglantine (the rose associated with Elizabeth) and roses of red and white (symbolising the Tudor Rose uniting the Red Rose of Lancaster and the White Rose of York).

Yet like the knights with their trains of rustic followers, Peele presented elite and peasants as united in musical praises as 'coorte and cuntrie carrol in hir praies/ And in hir honor tune a thousande laies'.[40] A carol was a vernacular song with stanza and burden which could be courtly or popular, religious or secular. The term was frequently used by poets in pastoral contexts as can be seen in Spenser's *The Shepheardes Calender* ('carrol lowde, and leade the Myllers rownde'), Drayton's *Idea, the Shepheards Garland* ('he full many a caroll sung,/ Vntill the fields and medowes rung') or Dametas 'caroll' from Sidney's *Arcadia*.[41] In all these cases 'carol' refers to a joyful, popular song often of love or praise. Indeed Sir Henry Lee's retirement song associated carols with rustic praises of Elizabeth (p.135).

Moving beyond the typical contrast of country music-making versus aristocratic martial sports, Kyffin expanded the musical imagery by describing nature as resounding with Elizabeth's praise:

> *Let Hilles, and Rockes, rebounding* Ecchoes *yield,*
> *Of* Queene Elizabeths *long lasting Fame;*
> *let woody Groaves, and Watry Streames be fild,*
> *And Creekes, and Caues, with sounding of the same:*
> *O* Cambria*, stretch, and straine thy vtmost breth,*
> *To praise, and pray for* Queene Elyzabeth.[42]

Cambria refers to Wales, reflecting Kyffin's Welsh roots – he was born in Oswestry on the Welsh Border, then a largely Welsh-speaking town – and perhaps also evoking the extent of Elizabeth's kingdom and the praise of even the distant corners of her realm. We have moved from the traditional music-making of shepherds to the biblically-inspired image of hill and rocks praising Elizabeth (when the Pharisees commanded Jesus to rebuke his disciples who are joyfully praising God in loud voices, he replied that 'if they keep quiet, the stones will cry out' (Luke 19: 40)), as well as the myth of

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[39] George Peele, *Anglorum Feriae Englandes Hollydayes Celebrated the 17th Novemb. Last, 1595* (London, 1595; rpnt Ipswich, 1840), sig.B1^{r}.
[40] ibid., sig.C1^{v}.
[41] Edmund Spenser, *The Shepheardes Calender Conteyning Twelue Aeglogues Proportionable to the Twelue Monethes* (London, 1579), fol.41^{r}; Michael Drayton, *Idea the Shepheards Garland Fashioned in Nine Eglogs* (London, 1593), p.61; Philip Sidney, *Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia* (London, 1590), fol.224^{r-v}.
[42] Kyffin, *Blessednes of Brytaine,* sig.B3^{v}-B4^{r}.

Orpheus being able to move inanimate objects with his music. Kyffin presented music as the force that unites the English land, country and townspeople and even the nobility.

These writers also represented civic harmony too. Kyffin evoked the musical tributes of elaborate civic festivities which commonly used bell-ringing, consorts, music for pageants, and drums and trumpets (see pp.28-29, 236):

> *Ring out lowd sounding Bels; on Organs play;*
> *To Musiks Mirth, let all Estates incline:*
> *Sound Drummes, & Trumpets, renting Ayre & Ground*
> *Stringd Instruments, strike with Melodious sound.*

When describing the rejoicing of London, particularly here the Mayor, Peele incorporated the same image of tuned heart strings employed by Sir John Davies (p.85):

> Loe Londons Shepherde Gardian of his flock
> Praiseth the Mightie-one of Israel,
> And with the stringes of his unfained harte;
> Tunes his true ioie for all those dayes of Peace.[43]

Elsewhere in the poem he described Londoners singing in praise and thanks for their Queen. Elizabeth is the inspiration for both music-making and harmony. However, London in 1595 had seen unrest on Shrove Tuesday: riots over the price of fish and butter and a march of a thousand apprentices on Tower Hill that had resulted in London being placed under martial law for the rest of the summer.[44] The disjunction between the poem and political reality would have been obvious, so it was probably intended to encourage future stability rather than be read as a true image of London.

The practical music-making of subjects became an image of England's concord. This was probably intended not simply to praise the Queen but also to encourage English subjects to behave in a harmonious way. This may explain why Peele's image of civic harmony is specifically that of London, despite London's recent unrest. Musical imagery was capable of figuring a relationship that united Queen, nobility, shepherd and the labourer in an image of the national community that was both hierarchical and harmonious.

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[43] Peele, *Anglorum Feriae*, sig.C^{v}-C1^{r}.
[44] Ian Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability: Social Relations in Elizabethan London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp.1-2.

Creating Harmony: Local and National Identity in Royal Entries

Elizabeth made royal entries into towns on 83 occasions during her summer progresses and these occasions were an opportunity to unite a local community and to shape the relationship between the town and monarch.[45] David Bergeron described the town pageants as a 'a vast celebratory theatre, constructing community even as this community responded to its creation', while C.E. McGee argued that towns 'publicly fashion[ed] their relationship with the crown in ways consistent with local aspirations and civic pride of place'.[46] Mary Hill Cole argues that the royal visits bolstered civic pride, strengthened the sense of local community and enabled the town to present petitions to the Queen as it simultaneously bolstered Elizabeth's authority and popularity.[47] Elizabethan beliefs in the connection between sonic and political harmony gave music the potential to play a significant role in fashioning both these local and national identities.

William Leahy has rightly criticised the notion that Elizabethan processions and progresses were unproblematic displays of sovereign power to suitably impressed subjects.[48] Pageant literature was usually aimed at the culturally dominant so that the response of the lower classes to these events has been marginalised and told only through the eyes of the political elite. Though these people were styled in the literature as Elizabeth's loving subjects, they were also viewed as potentially disruptive by those in power, and therefore in continual need of subjecting. While evidence for the reactions of the crowds is scarce, Leahy's examination of the social and cultural conditions surrounding the pre-Coronation procession (1559) and the Armada Victory procession (1588) suggests that groups of Elizabeth's subjects could have been at best indifferent and at worst opposed to the pageantry and spectacle.

However, the question which Leahy does not address is how Elizabeth and the ruling elite sought to control and influence the assembled crowd to be the ideal 'loving subjects' they wished them to be. Susan Anderson suggested that the Norwich progress

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[45] Cole, *Portable Queen,* p.32.
[46] Bergeron, *English Civic Pageantry,* p.4; C.E. McGee, 'Mysteries, Musters, and Masque: The Import(s) of Elizabethan Civic Entertainments', in *The Progresses, Pageants, and Entertainments of Queen Elizabeth I*, ed. Jayne Archer, Elizabeth Goldring and Sarah Knight (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp.104-21 (p.105).
[47] Cole, *Portable Queen,* pp.97-98, 107-34.
[48] William Leahy, *Elizabethan Triumphal Processions* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005).

in 1578 not only presented the Queen to her subjects and the subjects to the Queen, but also 'displays the loyalty of the population to those very people themselves, reminding them of what they should think, and demanding their participation in it'.[49] The royal entry was an opportunity to recreate in microcosm the social harmony and ordered hierarchy that was the ideal for Elizabeth's kingdom and regime as a whole. Through playing their part in this staged entry and acting out this ideal commonwealth, the participants learned their part in the social order and the behaviour and attitudes expected of them.

The account of Bernard Garter, one of the devisers for Elizabeth's visit to Norwich, demonstrates that these authors were well aware of the connection between musical harmony and social concord through his use of musical metaphors to describe the atmosphere during the entry:

> First appeared... the Maiestie of my Prince... which gladded the hartes of the people there, as they... laboured to trauayle forth to view the excellency of their soueraigne,... Then the aboundant clemencie of hir highnes, receyuing the loyall hartes of hir louing people in parte, as good as their meaning deserued, so enflamed their former desires, as euery sparke kindled a bonfire. The Nobilitie delighting this Harmony, so endeuoured to hold in tune euery string of this heauenly Musike, as there semed but one hart in Queene, Counsaile, and Communaltie. The Mayor, Magistrates, and good Citizens employed their study and substaunce to holde on this happy beginning, the Prince had hir pleasure, the Nobilitie their desire, the whole traine such intertainment: As for the tyme of hir continuance there, Norwich seemed (if any such there be) a terrestriall Paradise.[50]

Garter employs the same image of heart strings that we saw in Peele's *Anglorum Feriae* and Davies's 'To the Queen' (see pp.85, 224). It articulates the same loving relationship between people and sovereign as projected in Mulcaster's account of Elizabeth's coronation entry almost twenty years earlier. However, while the city is presented as unified, its members are not equal, and the varying status of different groups of participants is defined: 1) the Queen, 2) the nobility, 3) the mayor, magistrates and good citizens (people of the city with education, weath and status), and 4) the 'Communaltie'.[51] He therefore suggested divisions between court and town, and the governors and the people of the city which were harmoniously united during the civic visit. However, as we have already seen, for Elizabethans, the equation of musical and

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[49] Susan Anderson, 'Music and Power at the English Court, 1575-1624' (PhD Dissertation: University of Leeds, 2006), p.102.
[50] B[ernard] G[arter], *The Ioyfull Receyuing of the Queenes Most Excellent Maiestie into Hir Highnesse Citie of Norwich* (London, 1578), sig.A2^{r}.
[51] The *OED* defines the commonalty as 'the general body of the community; the common people, as distinguished from those in authority': 'Commonalty', in *OED Online* <http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/50045112>[accessed 31/03/2010].

political harmony was not only metaphorical. During royal entries, music served as a mediator between the court and local communities, with language and musical style carefully chosen so that the occasion would appeal to courtly and elite tastes as well as being accessible and comprehensible to everyone regardless of class or education. Furthermore, the songs actively encouraged participation from the crowds and therefore the literal enactment of musico-political unity. Given the Elizabethan belief (taken from Plato, see p.34) that 'the chaunging of Musicall notes, hath caused an alteration of the common state' and that music is 'a cause of breeding in vs... morall vertues', the songs for these events may have been motivated by a desire to use music to instil social concord in English subjects, creating the conditions for a peaceful town and realm.[52]

Some of the music-making during visits was aimed at fostering a sense of community between the courtly and civic elites. For example, during the visit to Norwich, the major and magistrates commissioned Henry Goldingham to produce a masque to entertain the Queen, including a song sung by Apollo.[53] Accompanied by a mixed consort, this was designed to show the sophistication of the civic elite. This was private entertainment performed one evening during the visit. Another song, 'From Slumber Softe', recalls a dream in which the gods argue as to who has the highest virtue before Jove resolves the strife by encompassing all the virtues within Elizabeth. Elizabeth is compared to Diana, Ceres, Pallas, Juno, Minerva, Venus and Diana.[54] A Classical education would be needed to fully understand the conceit of this song, which is more like the kind of masques and mythological devices performed at court or on Elizabeth's visits to noblemen (it anticipates the quarrelling goddesses Juno, Pallas and Venus in Peele's court play *Araygnement of Paris*). While the well-educated magistrates and wealthier families could appreciate this courtly conceit and its source in the story of Paris and the Golden Ball, its full significance is less likely to have been comprehended by the lower classes. Furthermore, Susan Anderson points out that this song was accompanied by soft music played within an arch. She also notes the change from public declamation to a more private and intimate register in this song as an unnamed protagonist reveals his dream vision.[55] It would therefore be audible only to the procession as it passed through the arch and not the crowds assembled along the route. Anderson interprets this moment

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[52] Anon., *The Praise of Musicke Wherein Besides the Antiquitie, Dignitie, Delectation, & Vse Thereof in Ciuill Matters, is also Declared the Sober and Lawfull Vse of the Same in the Congregation and Church of God* (Oxford, 1586), p.62 (quoting Plato).
[53] G[arter], *Ioyfull Receyuing*, sig.E1^{r}-E3^{v}.
[54] ibid., sig.C3^{r-v}.
[55] Anderson, 'Music and Power', pp.98-100.

as designed to demonstrate the sophistication of the hosts and to advertise the closeness of the city to the Queen. However, the exclusive setting and learned tone of the song would have prevented the wider urban community from witnessing or understanding it.

In contrast other songs were written in a popular tone, designed to be performed by large numbers of singers and instruments, and encouraging participation from the crowd. In Norwich, Thomas Churchyard's 'The Deaw of Heauen Droppes This Day' was sung by an ensemble of 'the Waytes and best voices in the Citie' (probably the city waytes and the cathedral choir) on 'the great Stage that was next the Market place':

> The deaw of heauen droppes this day
> on dry and barren ground,
> Wherefore let frutefull heartes I saye
> at Drumme and Trumpet sound
> Yeelde that is due, shew that is meete,
> to make our ioy the more,
> In our good hope, and hir great prayse,
> we neuer saw before.
>
> The Sunne doth shine where shade hath bin,
> long darknesse brought vs day,
> The Starre of comfort now coms in,
> and heere a while will stay.
> Ring out the belles, plucke vp your sprightes,
> and dresse your houses gay,
> Runne in for floures to straw the streetes,
> and make what ioy you may.
> *The deaw of Heauen. &c.*
>
> Full many a Winter haue we seene,
> and many stormes withall,
> Since heere we saw a King or Queene
> in pomp and Princely pall.
> Wherefore make feast, and banket still,
> and now to triumph fall,
> With dutie let vs shew good will,
> to gladde both great and small.
> *The deaw of Heauen. &c.*
>
> The Realme throughout will ring of this,
> and sundry Regions moe
> Will say, full great our fortune is,
> when our good hap they knoe.
> O Norwich, heere the well spring runnes,
> whose vertue still doth floe,
> And loe this day doth shine two Sunnes
> within thy walles also.
> *The deaw of Heauen. &c.*[56]

[56] Thomas Churchyard, *A Discourse of the Queenes Maiesties Entertainement in Suffolk and Norffolk with a Description of Many Things Then Presently Seene* (London, 1578), sig.B4^{v}-C1^{r}.

The reference to drums and trumpets, common features in civic festivities, suggests a rousing, popular performance. In addition a more popular tone is created by the poetic metre. Rather than the ten-syllable lines of 'From Slumber Softe', Churchyard has composed this song in ballad metre with alternating lines of eight and six-syllables. It is in the form of a carol with an opening burden that is repeated between the following stanzas. While a few other songs in later entertainments at noblemen's houses use repeated couplets at the ends of verses ('With Fragrant Flowers' at Elvetham, the closing song 'Happie Houre, Happie Day' at Ditchley, and 'Cynthia Queen of Seas and Land' at Harefield), none uses an extensive refrain like this song.[57] Only the supposedly rustic song of the ploughmen that accompanied Sir Philip Sidney's Accession Day entry in 1577 (see p.112) uses a comparable refrain of several lines length. There would seem to be little practical reason to have such a long refrain in a song performed by professional musicians, as it added nothing to the meaning that is not contained in the verses.

However, the form of Churchyard's song is very like a broadside by R. Thacker's broadside, *A Godlie Dittie to be Song for the Preseruation of the Queenes Most Exclent Maiesties Raigne* (1586).[58] This song was probably written initially for a civic festivity (see below pp.253-54) and is a highly unusual broadside because it contains printed music for the tenor part of a four-part song.[59] The surviving tenor part begins with a series of rests (preceding the verse) equal to the length of the first phrase, as if an echo or repeat was intended (fig.5.3). Like 'The Deaw of Heauen', it has a verse and a burden, both of eight lines. From the printed music we can see that the burden was sung to Sternhold and Hopkin's tune for Psalm 81, while music for the verse cannot be identified and may have been newly composed. Such a format would allow people to join in with the well-known psalm melody of the burden, even if they could not read the printed music to perform the new melody of the verse. This may provide an explanation for the unusually long burden in Churchyard's song. It is possible that 'The Deaw of Heauen' was similarly designed so that, although it was primarily performed by professional singers, the crowd could join in with the well-known melody of the burden.

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[57] R. Warwick Bond, *The Complete Works of John Lyly*, 3 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1902), Vol.1, p.499 (Bond attributes many progress entertainments to Lyly but there is no evidence of his involvement at Harefield); Wilson, *Entertainments for Elizabeth*, pp.135-36.
[58] R. Thacker, *A Godlie Dittie to be Song for the Preseruation of the Queenes Most Exclent Maiesties Raigne* (London, 1586).
[59] John Milsom, 'Music, Politics and Society', in *A Companion to Tudor Britain*, ed. Robert Tittler and Norman Jones (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), pp.492-508 (p.497).

Figure 5.3: R. Thacker, *A Godlie Dittie to be Song for the Preseruation of the Queenes Most Exclent Maiesties Raigne,* 1586.[60]

All En-glish hearts re-ioyce and sing, that feares the Lord and loues our Queene,

9

yeld thanks to God our heauen-ly king, who hy-ther-to hir guide hath been:

14

with faith-full hartes O God we craue long life on earth her

18

Grace may haue long life on earth her Grace may haue.

21

We laude and prayse, his name all-wayes, who doth our queene de-fend, and

28

still we pray God night and day, to keepe her to the end.

35

Thou fame dye out, send all a-bout, how that with hart and voice,

42

in spite of those that be her foes, this day: we does re-ioyce.

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[60] The song has a verse in duple metre followed by a refrain ('We laude and prayse') in triple metre. The transcription corrects several errors: in the verse, semibreve rests after 'sing' and 'king' have been shortened to minim rests to maintain the metre. The final statement of 'her grace may have' also contains a rhythmical error, which I have corrected by turning the minim *g* on 'Grace' into a semi-minim. By comparing the refrain with the tune for Psalm 81 in Thomas Sternhold and John Hopkins (*Tenor of the Whole Psalmes in Foure Partes* (London, 1563), p.201), I have altered the following irregularities of pitch: 1) the word 'doth' (bar 25) was printed as *e* the broadside; 2) the *g* of 'about' (bar 28) was a b_b on the broadside. For the phrase 'and still we pray God night and day' neither the sheet nor the psalm book provides a satisfactory rhythm so I have lengthened 'pray' (originally a semibreve).

As ballad metre was also used for many psalms in Sternhold and Hopkins' *Whole Booke of Psalmes*, Churchyard's burden could have been sung to a psalm tune as in *A Godlie Dittie* (the professional musicians performing a harmonised setting).

Churchyard's 'The Deaw of Heauen' also uses carefully chosen images likely to have been meaningful to ordinary people. The 'deaw of heauen' is an Old Testament metaphor (Genesis 27:28, 39, Deuteronomy 33:13, 28, Daniel 4:15, 21-25, 33, Zechariah 8:12) that was likely to be known through regular church attendance. It often occurs (with the exception of the Daniel passage) in the context of blessings and images of prosperity. The reference to 'frutefull heartes' (also drawing on biblical imagery of bearing fruit, for example Matthew 13:1-23, Matthew 21:43, John 15:1-8) equates showing due reverence to one's sovereign with Christian duty. This is followed by metaphors of the sun, stars, winter, storms and wellsprings. As in the opening image of the Queen as heavenly dew nourishing barren ground, many of these metaphors emphasise the idea of the Queen giving life and bringing happiness to her people. Whereas winters and storms have filled the years since a sovereign last visited Norwich, she brings light where there was darkness and springs of virtue. In each verse these metaphorical praises of Elizabeth are followed by instructions to her subjects: be loyal to your Queen, show reverence appropriate to her high state, and give her praise.

Broadside ballads were also written to welcome the Queen. *The First Anointed Queene I Am, Within This Town Which Euer Came* was prepared for Elizabeth's visit to Rye in 1573 (fig.5.4). The use of the present tense in the exhortations to the people to rejoice and in phrases such as 'such ioy before was neuer seen/ in Rye as now to lodge the Queen', as well as the repeated use of the word 'now', suggest it was to be sung during the visit. Other broadsides (not necessarily all sung) were written retrospectively to commemorate civic progresses and enhance the reputation of the town abroad. The Stationers's Register records two broadside ballads that were published after the Norwich progress: *Ye Receiving of the Quenes Maiestie into Norwiche* published by John Cherlewood on 24th March 1579 and *A Pleasant Sonnet of the Joyfull Receyving of ye Quenes Maiestye into Norwyche with the Dolor of ye Same at Hir Departure*, published by Richard Jones on 31st March 1579.[61]

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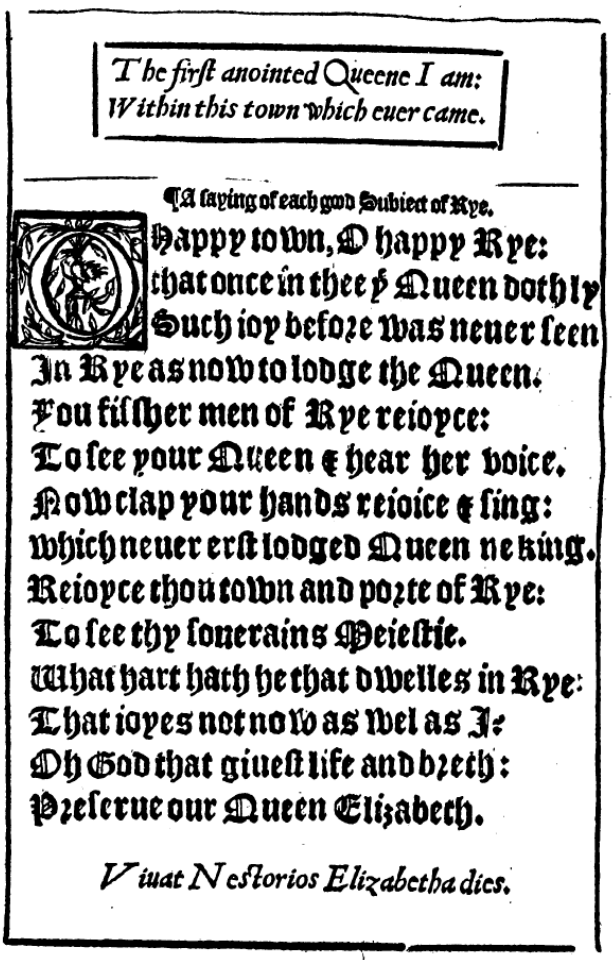
[61] E. Arber, ed., *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London: 1554-1640*, 5 vols (London: Stationers Company, 1875-94), Vol.2, pp.349-50.

Figure 5.4: ***The First Anointed Queene I Am, Within This Town Which Euer Came*** **[1573].**[62]



The first anointed Queene I am:
Within this town which euer came.

¶A saying of each good Subiect of Rye.

Happy town, O happy Rye:
that once in thee ꝑ Queen doth ly
Such ioy before was neuer seen
In Rye as now to lodge the Queen.
You fisher men of Rye reioyce:
To see your Queen & hear her voice.
Now clap your hands reioice & sing:
which neuer erst lodged Queen ne king.
Reioyce thou town and porte of Rye:
To see thy sonerains Meiestie.
What hart hath he that dwelles in Rye:
That ioyes not now as wel as I:
Oh God that giuest life and breth:
Preserue our Queen Elizabeth.

Viuat Nestorios Elizabetha dies.

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A Famous Dittie of the Ioyful Receauing of the Queens Most Excellent Maiestie, by the Worthy Citizens of London (1584) is also commemorative, beginning with a description of the procession.[63] However, it is possible that the second half of this text was adapted from a song that was actually sung. At the sixth verse and the line 'the people cri'd with might and main', the lyrics change to praising Elizabeth and a refrain begins, which is repeated with variations in subsequent verses: 'a most renowned virgin queen/ whose like on earth was never seen' or 'O Lord preserve our noble queen/ whos like on earth was neuer seen.' The tone is similar to the prayer ending the Rye ballad: 'O God that giuest life and breth: preserve our Queen Elizabeth'.[64] According to the broadside, *A Famous Dittie* was to be sung to the tune of 'Wigmores Galliard'. The courtly

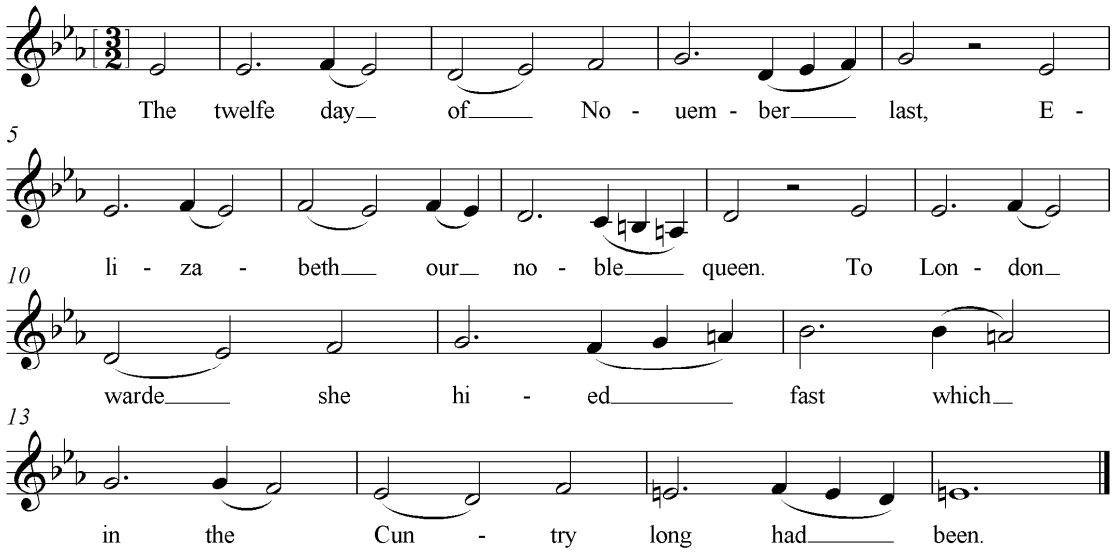
[62] Anon., *The First Anointed Queene I Am, Within this Town which Euer Came* (n.p., 1573?). STC 7582.5, Houghton Library, Harvard University. Image produced by ProQuest as part of *Early English Books Online*. Enquiries may be made to: ProQuest, 789 E. Eisenhower Parkway, Box 1346, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA.Telephone: 734.761.4700. Email: info@il.proquest.com. Web page: http://www.proquest.com

[63] Richard Harrington, *A Famous Dittie of the Ioyfull Receauing of the Queens Moste Excellent Maiestie, by the Worthy Citizens of London the Xij Day of Nouember, 1584. at Her Graces Coming to St James* (London, 1584).

[64] Anon., *First Anointed Queene*.

connotations of the galliard (a courtly dance) would be particularly appropriate to a royal procession. The tune identified by Claude Simpson does not fit easily to these verses, but the ballad's slightly unusual 8-syllable per line structure (rather than alternating 8 and 6 syllables) does suit the melody (see fig.5.5).[65] The original tune may have been simpler than the lute arrangement in William Ballet's Lute Book suggests and therefore an easier fit to the words.

Figure 5.5: *A Famous Dittie* (opening four lines) set to the tune of Wigmores Galliard.[66]



These popular songs encouraged participation from the crowd. Churchyard's 'The Deaw of Heauen' tells the spectators:

> Ring out the belles, plucke vp your sprightes,
> and dresse your houses gay,
> Runne in for floures to straw the streetes,
> and make what ioy you may.[67]

Ringing bells and decorating the streets were all common ways of preparing for and marking a royal visit. Similarly the verses of *The First Anointed Queene* address the people:

> You fisher men of Rye reioyce:
> To see your Queen & hear her voice.
> Now clap your hands reioice & sing:
> Which neuer erst lodged Queen ne king.[68]

The ballad exhorts fishermen – ordinary townspeople – to join in, informing them of the significance of the occasion and creating a role for the crowd in the entry of the Queen

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[65] Claude Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and its Music* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1966), pp.783-85.
[66] Tune from Simpson, *British Broadside Ballad*, p.783. I have added upbeats at the beginning and on the last beats of bars 4 and 8. Rests in bars 4 and 8 replace both replace a descent to a crotchet *g*.
[67] Churchyard, *Discourse...Suffolk and Norffolk*, sig.B4^{v}.
[68] Anon., *First Anointed Queene.*

and inviting them to participate by clapping and singing. As well as praising the Queen, these songs foster local pride at receiving such a visit from the Queen. The Rye ballad uses the town's name six times within the fourteen lines of the song. Similarly in Churchyard's 'The Deaw of Heauen', the final verse captures both Norwich's fortune in having such a visit and the fame that should spring from their efforts in this entertainment (see p.228).

However, such harmony was always an ideal. At the pageant following 'The Deaw of Heauen' in Norwich, Elizabeth was greeted by 'maruellous swéete and good' music, but Churchyard complains that 'the rudenesse of some ringer of belles did somewhat hinder the noyse and harmonie'.[69] The artful illusion of perfect harmony was shattered by the lack of skill of a bellringer. Thomas Churchyard provides some insight into the tensions that existed beneath the celebratory surface. At one point he tells us that he was 'not well prouided of thinges necessary for a Shewe (by meane of some crossing causes in the Citie)'.[70] Churchyard is not explicit about the problem – his comment might refer to civic leaders failing to provide sufficient funds or perhaps the failure of local craftsmen to produce the required props in time – but it is suggestive of tensions between the hired-in devisers and the town. Churchyard also faced such tensions at Bristol where he reports that a local schoolmaster prevented the reciting of several speeches because he 'enuied that any stranger should set forth these shoes'.[71] Hints of the potential for discord can also be seen the ballads related to royal entries. The Rye ballad asks, 'What hart hath he that dwelles in Rye/ That ioyes not now as wel as I', indicating that some people were not so enthusiastic about the Queen's visit.[72] The *Famous Dittie* from Elizabeth's entry in London contains several verses that condemn traitors, and the people are described as crying out:

> O Lord preserue your noble grace:
> and all your secret foes deface.[73]

These anecdotes and verses remind us that the image of harmony was always an ideal, covering up existing local and political tensions while also attempting to bring such a concord into being.

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[69] Churchyard, *Discourse...Suffolk and Norffolk*., sig.C1^{r}.
[70] ibid., sig.C4^{v}.
[71] Thomas Churchyard, *The Firste Parte of Churchyardes Chippes Contayning Twelue Seuerall Labours* (London, 1575), sig.D6^{v}.
[72] Anon., *First Anointed Queene.*
[73] Harrington, *Famous Dittie.*

Creating Harmony: Music for National Celebration on Accession Day

The public festivities of Elizabeth's Accession Day provided opportunities to enact the unity of Queen and country even when Elizabeth was not present. As in royal entries, music came to be a traditional part of the celebrations with psalms and songs. John Chamberlain described Accession Day in London 1602 as passing with 'preaching, singing, shooting, ringing, and running [at the tilt]'.[74] Many of these songs would have circulated orally, learned by copying the singing of the ballad seller and singing in church, home or ale-house.[75] However, some can be traced in extant manuscripts, printed broadsides, service books, and records of further, now-lost ballads in the Stationers Register (See Table 5.1, pp.239-41). These sources demonstrate the diversity of audiences and contexts for this celebratory music-making: psalms, secular ballads and elite publications including Latin texts or printed music. They also reveal how popular celebration was officially encouraged by Church, government and civic authorities, as well as being fuelled by popular demand and commercial printing.

Despite the emphasis on national unity we saw in the Accession Day literature of Peele and Kyffin (pp.222-24) Accession Day was never uniformly celebrated: some localities never honoured the day, some only rang their bells, some towns never put on civic festivities and few did so every year. Church services, when held, were not necessarily well-attended.[76] Furthermore celebrations had a distinctly Protestant tone and this can be seen in songs which praised Elizabeth as a symbol of the Protestant church, and at times could be explicitly anti-Catholic. There were also objections from those who felt that Elizabeth's church settlement had not gone far enough. Natalie Mears argues that St Peter Westcheap in London, one of the earliest churches to mark Elizabeth's Accession Day, did so not out of praise, but in order to admonish Elizabeth for not having achieved sufficient reform yet. Once Accession Day became an increasingly popular celebration

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[74] John Chamberlain, 'John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton', in *MS Secretaries of State: State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth I*: GB-Lna SP12/285, fol.149^{r}-150^{v} (fol.149^{r-v}) [19 November 1602], in *SPO* <http://go.galegroup.com/mss/i.do?id=GALE|MC4304680756&v=2.1&u=britlib&it=r&p=SPOL&sw=w&viewtype=Manuscript> [accessed 05/05/2010].

[75] Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety 1550-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp.11-38; Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England 1500-1700* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), pp.299-334.

[76] Ronald Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England: The Ritual Year: 1400-1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp.149-51.

in praise of Elizabeth in the 1570s, this church stopped marking the day.[77] Furthermore, both Puritans and Catholics complained that the celebrations were idolatrous.[78]

Elizabeth was not the first monarch to be celebrated in cheaply published psalms and ballads. The accession of Mary was marked by a chapbook containing 'A Godly Psalme of Marye Queene', written by Protestant minister, Richard Beeard (hoping in vain that Mary would continue the religious direction of Edward VI) with a four-part harmonisation. Another was constructed by Thomas Bownell using lines from three Biblical psalms.[79] In addition, her chaplain, William Forrest, wrote *A New Ballade of the Marigolde* (a pun on Mary), which was probably printed in 1553.[80] However, Elizabeth was the first to have her Accession celebrated yearly, which encouraged the continued publication of such songs throughout her reign.

Accession Day celebrations were never enforced by legislation, nor were they an official holiday. They appear to have developed as a local tradition in London in the mid 1560s, with the earliest known celebration being bell-ringing at St Botolph Aldersgate and St Peter Westcheap in London in 1564.[81] Roy Strong has shown how celebrations spread across the country: bells were rung in Worcester as early as 1568; Kent, the South-West and Shropshire began bell-ringing in the early 1570s, Lancashire in 1579, Yorkshire in 1585 and Durham in 1590.[82] There was much local variation, but festivities in many places became more elaborate over time. In Oxford money was spent on a sermon in 1571; a sermon, organist and bread and wine for communion in 1572; in 1573 there was payment for gunpowder indicating a salute; in 1585 musicians, a sermon, alms for prisoners and bread for poor were paid for; while in 1587 a drum player was paid; and in 1590 payments began for bonfires.[83] Maidstone, Ipswich, Coventry and Nottingham are all known to have put on pageants and plays in the

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[77] Natalie Mears, *Queenship and Political Discourse in the Elizabethan Realms* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp.232-33.
[78] Strong, *Cult of Elizabeth,* pp.125-26.
[79] Richard Beeard, *A Godly Psalme of Marye Queene Which Brought Vs Comfort Al, Through God, Whom Wee of Dewtye Prayse, That Giues Her Foes a Fal* (London, 1553); Cathy Shrank, 'Beeard, Richard (*fl.* 1553–1574)', in *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, 2006) <www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1944> [accessed 03/07/2010].
[80] Hyder Rollins, ed., *Old English Ballads 1533-1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1920), pp.8-12.
[81] David Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1989), p.52.
[82] Roy Strong, 'The Popular Celebration of the Accession Day of Queen Elizabeth I', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 21 (1958), 86-103 (pp.89-92).
[83] Mears, *Queenship and Political Discourse,* p.250.

streets.[84] While the organisation of such festivities was usually initiated by local leaders (either church or civic), there is no evidence of government pressure or enforcement.[85]

William Camden believed that the Northern Rising in 1569 and the Papal Bull excommunicating Elizabeth in 1570 had encouraged the spread of these celebrations.[86] The large number of ballads and godly songs printed in response to these events certainly has connections with the development of Accession Day ballads. There are sixteen extant ballads related to the turbulent events of 1569-70 (Appendix E). These ballads circulated news, rejoiced in the fall of the rebels and spread anti-papist sentiments. Many end with stanzas exhorting loyalty to Elizabeth and to England, such as William Kirkham's *Ioyfull Newes for true Subiectes, to God and the Crowne:*

> God graunt euery one after his vocation,
> To remember the accompt he must laye downe:
> And that we maye all in this Englysh Nation
> Be true to God, the Queene and the Crowne.
> Come humble ye down, come humble ye downe,
> God graunt Queene Elizabeth longe to weare ye crowne.[87]

However, two ballads – John Awdelay's *A Godly Ditty or Prayer to be Song Vnto God for the Preseruation of His Church, Our Queene and Realme, Against All Traytours, Rebels, and Papisticall Enemies* and John Kingston's now-lost *A Godly Meditation in Myter for the Preservation of the Queens Maiestie for Peace* – are particularly significant because, like the first Accession Day songs, both claim to be not merely ballads, but 'godly', a 'prayer' or a 'meditation'.[88] For the preceding decade of Elizabeth's reign we have evidence of just four ballads in her praise (see Appendix E) and none in this religious vein. Furthermore, Awdelay's *A Godly Ditty* (fig.5.6) includes a woodcut of the royal arms. This might suggest that the song had some official support, or at least that the publisher thought he would benefit by appearing official. As we shall see, the first Accession Day songs were authorised by the government, printed by the court printer and clearly publicised their official nature. However, with no surviving ballads in praise of Elizabeth between 1570 and 1577 and the Stationers Register missing for the period 1571-76, any link between these ballads in response to a time of crisis and the development of songs for Accession Day remains uncertain.

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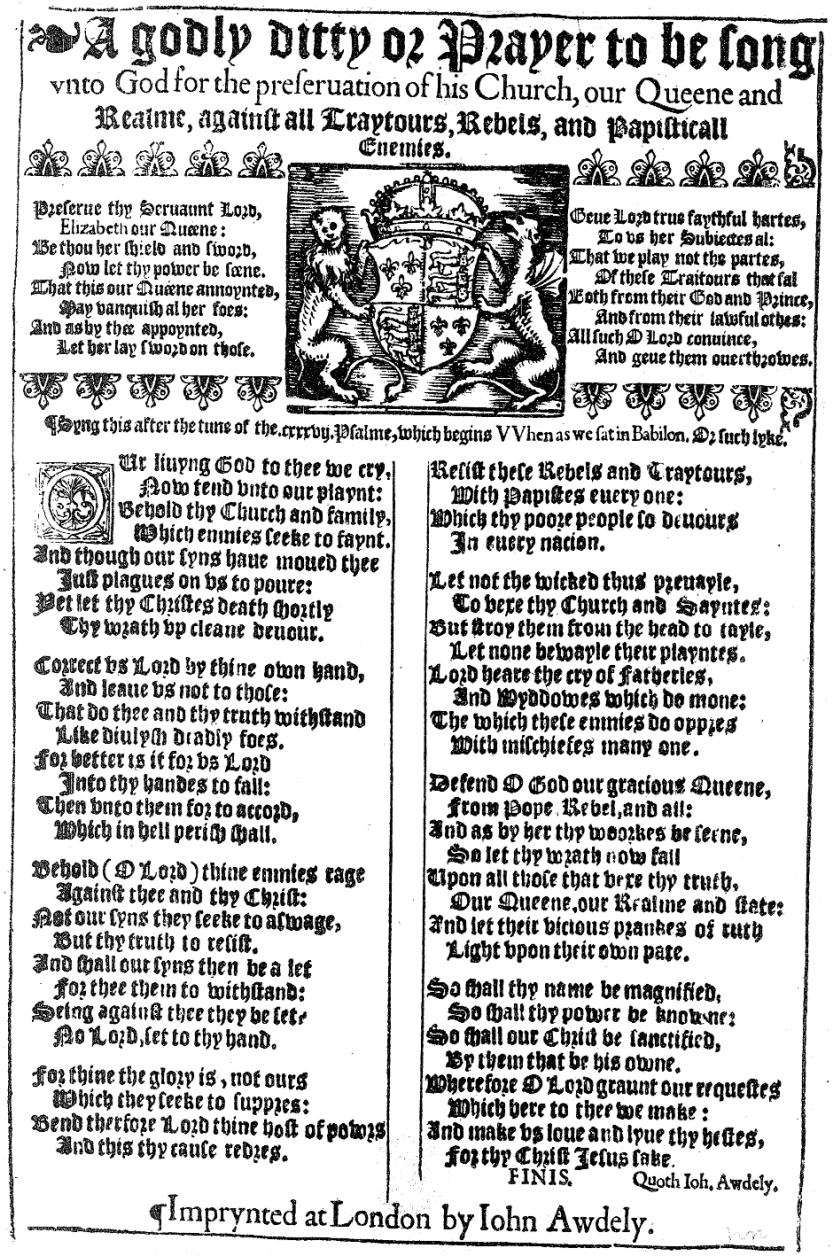
[84] Cressy *Bonfires*, p.54; Strong, 'Popular Celebration', pp.91-94.
[85] Cressy, *Bonfires*, p.56.
[86] Camden, *Annales,* p.255.
[87] William Kirkham, *Ioyfull Newes for True Subiectes, to God and the Crowne the Rebelles are Cooled, their Bragges be Put Downe* (London, 1570?).
[88] John Awdelay, *A Godly Ditty or Prayer to be Song Vnto God for the Preseruation of His Church, Our Queene and Realme, Against All Traytours, Rebels, and Papisticall Enemies* (London, 1569?); Arber, *Transcript,* Vol.1, p.404.

Figure 5.6: John Awdelay, *A Godly Ditty or Prayer to be Song Vnto God for the Preseruation of His Church, Our Queene and Realme, Against All Traytours, Rebels, and Papisticall Enemies* (1569?).[89]



A godly ditty or Prayer to be song vnto God for the preseruation of his Church, our Queene and Realme, against all Traytours, Rebels, and Papisticall Enemies.

Preserue thy Seruaunt Lord,
Elizabeth our Queene:
Be thou her shield and sword,
Now let thy power be seene.
That this our Queene annoynted,
May vanquish al her foes:
And as by thee appoynted,
Let her lay sword on those.

Geue Lord true faythful hartes,
To vs her Subiectes al:
That we play not the partes,
Of these Traitours that fal
Both from their God and Prince,
And from their lawful othes:
All such O Lord conuince,
And geue them ouerthrowes.

Syng this after the tune of the.cxxxvij.Psalme, which begins VVhen as we sat in Babilon. Or such like.

Our liuyng God to thee we cry,
Now lend vnto our playnt:
Behold thy Church and family,
Which ennies seeke to faynt.
And though our syns haue moued thee
Iust plagues on vs to poure:
Yet let thy Christes death shortly
Thy wrath vp cleane deuour.

Correct vs Lord by thine own hand,
And leaue vs not to those:
That do thee and thy truth withstand
Like diuylsh dradiy foes.
For better is it for vs Lord
Into thy handes to fall:
Then vnto them for to accord,
Which in hell perish shall.

Behold (O Lord) thine ennies rage
Against thee and thy Christ:
Not our syns they seeke to alwage,
But thy truth to resist.
And shall our syns then be a let
For thee them to withstand:
Seing against thee they be set,
No Lord, set to thy hand.

For thine the glory is, not ours
Which they seeke to suppres:
Bend therfore Lord thine host of powrs
And this thy cause redres.

Resist these Rebels and Traytours,
With Papistes euery one:
Which thy poore people so deuours
In euery nacion.

Let not the wicked thus preuayle,
To vexe thy Church and Sayntes:
But stroy them from the head to tayle,
Let none bewayle their playntes.
Lord heare the cry of Fatherles,
And Wyddowes which do mone:
The which these ennies do oppres
With mischieffes many one.

Defend O God our gracious Queene,
From Pope, Rebel, and all:
And as by her thy woorkes be seene,
So let thy wrath now fall
Upon all those that vexe thy truth,
Our Queene, our Realme and state:
And let their vicious prankes of ruth
Light vpon their own pate.

So shall thy name be magnified,
So shall thy power be knowne:
So shall our Christ be sanctified,
By them that be his owne.
Wherefore O Lord graunt our requestes
Which here to thee we make:
And make vs loue and lyue thy hestes,
For thy Christ Iesus sake.

FINIS. Quoth Ioh. Awdely.

Imprynted at London by Iohn Awdely.

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Table 5.1 outlines the Accession Day songs that either survive in print or manuscript or were recorded in the Stationers Register. Tessa Watt's analysis of godly ballads suggested that around 65% were registered with the Stationers Company.[90] Based on the twelve registered entries, this would equate to eighteen or nineteen ballads between 1578 and 1602, which is less than one a year. As four of the twelve ballads were

[89] John Awdelay, *A Godly Ditty or Prayer to be Song Vnto God for the Preseruation of His Church, Our Queene and Realme, Against All Traytours, Rebels, and Papisticall Enemies* (London, 1569?). Image produced by ProQuest as part of *Early English Books Online*. Enquiries may be made to: ProQuest, 789 E. Eisenhower Parkway, Box 1346, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA. Telephone: 734.761.4700. Email: info@il.proquest.com. Web page: http://www.proquest.com

[90] Watt, *Cheap Print*, p.42.

Table 5.1: Broadside Ballads for Accession Day.[91]
(Extant copies are given in **bold**. Other ballads are provided entries in the Stationers' Register)

Date	Title	Author	Publisher/ Seller	Details
Stationers's Registers missing 1571-76				
1576: *A Fourme of Prayer, with Thankes Geuyng, to be Vsed Euery Yeere, the .17. of Nouember, Beyng the Daye of the Queenes Maiesties Entrie to Her Raigne.* Printed by by Richarde Iugge, printer to the Queenes Maiestie				
1577	***A Prayer and Also a Thankesgiuing vnto God for His Great Mercy in Giuing, and Preseruing Our Noble Queene Elizabeth, to Liue and Reigne Ouer Vs, to His Honour and Glory, and Our Comfort in Christ Iesus: To be Sung the Xvii Day of Nouember 1577***	**I. Pit, minister**	**Christopher Barker**	**(Contains the imprint 'allowed by authoritie')**
1578: Publication of a revised *Fourme of Prayer,* by Christopher Barker (current Printer to the Queen) now with 'A Thankesgiuing to be Sung as 81. Psalme'				
1578 3 Oct	*A Psalme or Songe of Praise and Thankes Gyvinge to be Songe on the Xviith Day of November for the Quenes Maiesty*		Christopher Barker	[From the service book?]
1578 15 Nov	*An Antheme or Songe Beginnine the Lord Save and Blesse with Good Encrease the Churche Our Queen and Realm in Peace*		Christopher Barker	[Probably the 'Antheme or Prayer' in 1580[?] service]
1578 15 Nov	*ii Little Anthemes or Thinges in Meeter of Hir Maiestie*		Christopher Barker	[From the service book?]
1578 15 Nov	*A Song for Yche Subiect that in England Beare Breathe to Praise God and Saie God Save Quene Elizabeth*		Richard Jones	1st known commercial ballad for Accession Day
1580?: Publication of another revised *Fourme of Prayer,* by Christopher Barker now with three hymns (' A Thankesgiuing', 'An Antheme or Prayer for the Preseruation of the Church, the Queenes Maiestie and the Realme' and 'A Song of Reioysing... to the Tune of the 25. Psalme')				
1583	***Ann: Foelicissimi Regni Reginae Elizabeth: XXVI***	**William Patten**	**Abel Jeffes**	**Contains music, the imprint 'forbidding all other to print this, or the like' and an ink drawing of Patten's arms**
1584	*A Psalme to be Songe as a*		Abel Jeffes	

[91] Compiled using Hyder Rollins, *An Analytical Index to the Ballad-Entries (1557-1709) in the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1924), Arber, *Transcript,* and Livingston, *British Broadside Ballads*

11 Nov	*Thankesgyvinge on the Xvijth of November 1584, for the Queenes Happie Reigne &c*			
1585: Edward Bunny's *Certaine Prayers and Other Godly Exercises, for the Seuenteenth of Nouember.* Printed by Christopher Barker. Contains 'An Antheme'				
1586	***A Godlie Dittie to be Song for the Preseruation of the Queens Most Exclent Maiesties Raigne***	**R Thacker**	**Abel Jeffes**	**Contains printed music (refrain sung to Psalm 81) and the imprint 'cum privilegio Maiestatis' ?Accession Day**
1586	***A Prayer & Thanksgiving to God for Ye Blessed, Prosperous & Peaceable Raigne of that Gratious & Famous Q: Eliz: Made in Berwick, Sung There in Triumphe, ye . 17. of Novemb: 1586***	**Ste. Barnclough**	**GB-Lbl: Egerton MS 2877, fol.104v-105r**	**Manuscript. Written for Berwick**
1587 14 Nov	*A Prayer and Thancksgyvinge Vnto God for the Prosperous Estate and Longe Contynuance of the Queenes Maiestie to be Songe on the Xvijth of November 1597*		Jno. Cherlewood	Possibly a collection like Barker's ii Little Anthemes (1578)92
1587 20 Nov	*A Newe Yeres Remembrance Wherein We May Ween Howe Muche We Be Beholden to Ye Quene*		Tho. Duffield	Post Accession Day. Marking a new year in reign
1588 4 Nov	*A Songe Wherein is Conteyned the Treacherie of the Wicked and is Made to be Songe on the Coronacon Daye or at Any Other Tyme*		John Wolfe	'Coronation Day' was a common name for Accession Day. Armada Triumphs were also held in London in Nov
1594 15 Nov	*A Most Ioyfull Newe Ballad Shewinge the Happiness of England for Her Maiesties Blessed Reigne and the Subiects Ioy for the Same*		Edward White	
1595 19 Nov	*A Triumphant Newe Ballad in Honour of the Quenes Maiestie and Her Most Happie Gouernement Who Hath Reigned in Great Prosperitie 37 Yeres*		William Blackwall	In the wake of Accession Day celebrations
1595 20 Nov	*Englandes Trymphe Conteyning Diuerse of those*		John Danter	Song? In the wake of

[92] Rollins suggest that this was a book because of the amount paid to register it. It was probably a short collection like Barker's *ii Little Anthemes* (1578) similarly containing two items (a prayer and a thanksgiving).

	Aboundant Blessings Wherewith This Our Realme Hathe Ben Blessed by Our Most Gratious Queene Elizabethes Reigne			Accession Day celebrations
1598	***Anno Foelicissimi Regni Augustae Reginae Nostrae Elizabeth Quadragesimo Primo, Fauste[m] Iam Incepto***	**William Patten**	**Thomas Purfoote**	**Probably sung to the same music as Patten's 1583 ballad.**
1600	***A Pleasant Newe Ballad of the Most Blessed and Prosperous Raigne of Her Maiestye for the Space of Two and Fortye Yeeres, and Now Entring into the Three and Fortieth to the Great Ioy and Comfort of All Her Ma[iestyes] Faythfull Subiects***	**Anon**	**GB-Lbl: Add MS 82923, fol.184^{v}-185^{r} [Shirburn Ballads] (probably copied from a printed sheet)**	**Survives in manuscript but probably copied from a printed ballad.**
1602	*A Comfortable Songe or Thanke Giving to be Song the Xvijth Day of Nouember for the Most Gratious and Happie Reigne of Our Sovereigne Lady Quene Elizabethe*		Edward Allde	

registered in 1578 this number should perhaps be smaller still. Yet unlike topical ballads, Accession Day ballads were generic in their content and likely to have been reprinted for several years, and only the first edition would need to be registered. More puzzling is that none of the surviving Accession Day ballads was registered. This might indicate that Accession Day ballads were less likely to be registered than other types, but it is more likely to be a result of the unusual nature of the surviving sheets. Carol Livingston has suggested that most broadsides survive because they are special in some way.[93] The unusual nature of the surviving Accession Day sheets is demonstrated by the fact that two have printed music (only three ballads are known to have contained music pre-1600) and two are commemorative sheets by William Patten celebrating 25 and 40 years of Elizabeth's reign.[94] It is therefore likely that the registered copies give the clearest indication of the kind of songs being distributed. The involvement of the court printer is a further anomaly as he did not print other broadside ballads. Cyndia Clegg suggests that few works by court printers and privilege holders were registered, which

[93] Carol Livingston, *British Broadside Ballads of the 16th Century* (New York: Garland, 1991), pp.789-818.
[94] D.W. Krummel, *English Music Printing 1553-1700* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1975), p.161.

may explain why the 1577 *A Prayer and Also a Thankesgiuing* does not appear in the Stationers's Register.[95] Unusually Barker's psalms and anthems of 1578 are recorded. As registering with the Stationers was a means to claim copyright, one potential explanation is that Barker was attempting to prevent pirated copies, perhaps after problems the previous year.

Accession Day celebrations first received encouragement from the church and government in 1576 when a service book was published by the court printer, Richard Jugge: *A Fourme of Prayer, with Thankes Geuyng, to be Vsed Euery Yeere, the 17. of Nouember, Beyng the Day of the Queenes Maiesties Entrie to Her Raigne.* This provides the first evidence for singing on Accession Day; it contained no special anthems or songs for the Accession Day but appointed 'the xxi Psalme in Metre before the Sermon, vnto the ende of the vii verse. And the C. psalme after the Sermon'.[96] This was the first positive sanction of the practice of singing psalms during the celebratory service.[97]

In 1577, Jugge's successor, Christopher Barker, published a broadside, entitled *A Prayer and Also a Thankesgiuing vnto God*, to be sung to Psalm 81.[98] This was written by I. Pit who described himself as a minister. It used the opening lines of Psalm 81 followed by a selection of lines drawn from scripture with the verses referenced in the margins. Unusually for a broadside, it bears the line 'allowed by authoritie', confirming that official approval had been given to its political and religious content. This metrical hymn seems to have been successful: five months later on 9th April 1578, Richard Jones registered *A Song of Reioycinge Wherein Maie be Seene Howe Muche Little England is Bound to Our Queene* (perhaps more secular as it is merely described as a 'song of reioycinge').[99] The autumn of 1578 saw the registration of more Accession Day broadsides: Barker printed two more broadsides and a collection of two 'anthemes' (which may have been a combined version of the two broadsides), while Richard

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[95] Cyndia Clegg, *Press Censorship in Elizabethan England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p.17.
[96] Anon., *A Fourme of Prayer, with Thankes Geuyng, to be Vsed Euery Yeere, the 17. of Nouember, Beyng the Day of the Queenes Maiesties Entrie to Her Raigne* (London, 1576?), STC 16479.
[97] Nicholas Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), p.42.
[98] I. Pit, *A Prayer and Also a Thankesgiuing vnto God for His Great Mercy in Giuing, and Preseruing Our Noble Queene Elizabeth, to Liue and Reigne Ouer Vs, to His Honour and Glory, and Our Comfort in Christ Iesus: To be Sung the Xvii Day of Nouember 1577* (London, 1577).
[99] Arber, *Transcript*, Vol.2, p.326.

Jones's registered the first known Accession Day song produced by a commercial printer.[100]

Barker also printed a revised version of *Fourme of Prayer* in 1578 containing the metrical hymn 'A Thankesgiuing, to be Sung as the 81. Psalme'.[101] This 'Thankesgiuing' was not the same as Pit's *Prayer.* While Pit drew his lines from scripture, the lyrics of the new hymn were freely composed (although the first three stanzas were clearly inspired by Psalm 81's opening evocation of the different kinds of instruments praising God).

A further edition (c.1580) added two more metrical hymns, which seem to be related to Barker's 1578 broadsides. Firstly there was 'An Antheme or Prayer for the Preseruation of the Church, the Queenes Maiestie, and the Realme' with the first lines and refrain 'Saue Lorde and Blesse with Good Increase,/ Thy Church, our Queene and Realme in Peace'.[102] This was probably the same as Barker's 1578 broadside *An Antheme or Songe Beginnine the Lord Save and Blesse with Good Encrease the Churche Our Queen and Realm in Peace*. No tune is given for this anthem, which does not appear to fit any of the tunes of Sternhold and Hopkins's *The Whole Booke of Psalmes* (1562).[103] Its format is that of a carol with a two-line burden at the beginning that repeats between each stanza, so it may have been written to fit a well-known carol melody. The other new hymn in the service book was 'A Song of Reioysing for the Prosperous Reigne of our Most Gratious Soueraigne Lady Queene Elizabeth', an acrostic on 'God Saue the Queene' by I.C., which was 'made to the tune of the 25. Psalme'.[104] This too may have been a reprinting of one of Barker's broadsides (perhaps *A Psalme or Songe of Praise*), but unfortunately the title of the broadside in the Stationers Register is not distinct

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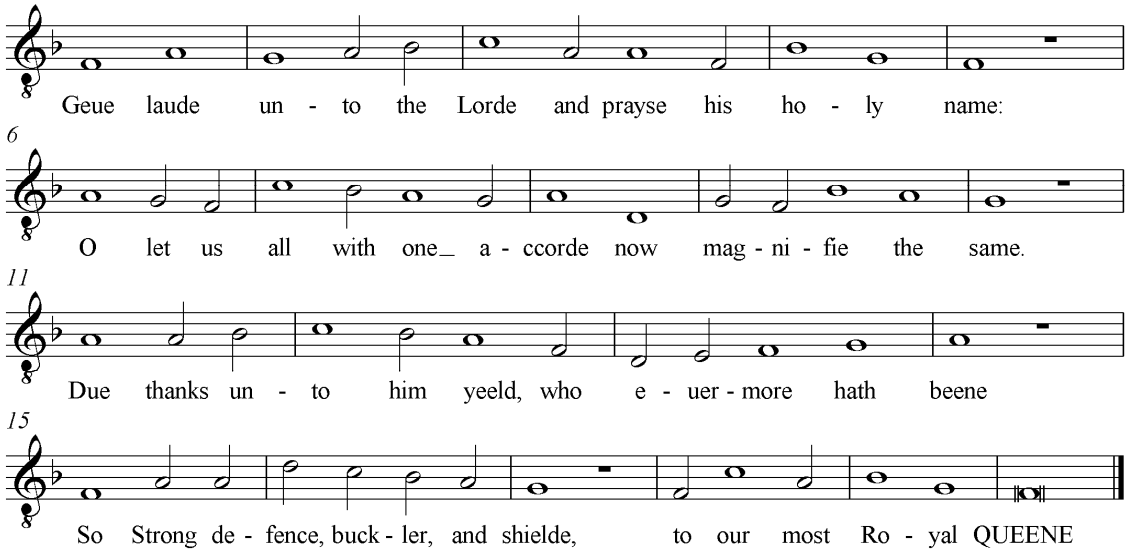
[100] ibid., Vol.2, pp.339, 341.
[101] Anon., *A Fourme of Prayer with Thankes Guing, to be Vsed of All the Queenes Maiesties Louing Subiectes Euery Yeere, the 17. of Nouember, Being the Day of Her Highnes Entrie to her Kingdome* (London, 1578), sig.C4^{v}-C6^{r}. Both Nicholas Temperley (*Music of the English Parish Church*) and Roy Strong ('Popular Celebration' and *The Cult of Elizabeth*) discuss just two editions of *A Fourme of Prayer*: one in 1576 without the song and one in 1578 with three special songs. However, the Short Title Catalogue lists five editions and the songs are distributed somewhat differently than they suggest. Only one of the editions is dated but the STC's estimated dates are given below:
STC 16479: [1576?] Printed by Richard Jugge who died in August 1577
STC 16479.5: [1578?] Almost identical to Jugge's edition but printed by Christopher Barker
STC 16480: Dated 1578 Contains just one song: 'A thankesgiuing'
STC 16481: [1580?] The first edition to include all the three songs
STC 16482: [1590?] (although the British Library copy has 1585 handwritten on the cover) Also contains all three songs.
[102] Anon., *Fourme of Prayer* [1580?] sig.C6^{v}-C7^{r}.
[103] Sternhold and Hopkins, *Whole Booke of Psalmes*, pp.50-51.
[104] Anon., *Fourme of Prayer* [1580?] sig.C7^{v}-C8^{r}.

enough to draw a firm conclusion. Fig.5.7 shows the first verse set to the tune given in Sternhold and Hopkins's *Whole Booke of Psalmes*.

Figure 5.7: I.C., 'A Song of Reioysing for the Prosperous Reigne of Our Most Gratious Soueraigne Lade Queene Elizabeth' set to the tune of the 25th Psalm.[105]



Unlike the two thanksgivings set to Psalm 81, neither 'An Antheme or Prayer' nor 'A Song of Reioysing' makes direct use of the words of a psalm. However, in all the surviving lyrics the emphasis is on praising, thanking and praying to God. Elizabeth is never explicitly praised and she is sometimes not referred to until several verses into the song. Elizabeth is presented as God's servant sent to free England from Mary's Catholic reign and bring about the true Protestant religion. For example the *Thankesgiuing* from the service book praises God because:

> when we were bound in thral
> and eke in griefe did stand
> The Lord did set us free from all,
> by this his servants hand.[106]

Despite often being more freely composed, the lyrics are similar to the plain literary style thought suitable for psalm paraphrases. This style was thought to make the text easier to understand, enabling God's word to be accessible to more people: as Christopher Tye wrote of his *Actes of the Apostles, Translated into Englyshe Metre* (1553), 'though my style be grosse and bad/ The truth perceyue you maye'.[107] The apostles, argued Tye, 'sought an easye vayne/ Playnely to speake, their maisters

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[105] Sternhold and Hopkins, *Whole Booke of Psalmes*, pp.50-51 (no time signature is given as there is none original source and the melody moves flexibly between duple and triple time). The rhythm has been altered for 'euermore' to reflect the way it would naturally be sung (the original rhythm is semibreve followed by two minims).
[106] Anon., *Fourme of Prayer* [1580?], sig.C4^{v}.
[107] Christopher Tye, *The Actes of the Apostles, Translated into Englyshe Metre, and Dedicated to the Kynges Moste Excellent Maiestye* (London 1553), sig.A3^{r}.

wyll/The people to enstruct'. While these Accession Day hymns might not always have contained scriptural words like a psalm paraphrase, they were devotional texts intended to be accessible to a wide audience.

A final edition of *A Fourme of Prayer* (again undated, but c.1585-90) also contained these three songs. Furthermore, in 1585 Edward Bunny published *Certaine Prayers and Other Godly Exercises, for the Seuenteenth of Nouember* ending with 'An Antheme' whose text was a prayer to the Queen. No tune is suggested, but the last two lines form a refrain:

> O Glorious God, respect our song,
> And from the heauens bowe downe thine eyes:
> Graunt that our Queene may prosper long,
> And scape the snares her foes deuise.
> So shall eche faithfull heart always,
> To thee giue honour, laude, and prayse. [108]

Edward Bunny was a subdeacon of York and was made a canon of Carlisle Cathedral in July 1585.[109] The book had a typically Protestant tone: Bunny included a psalm (not metrical) to 'call to remembrance, in what case the Church of God with us was, immediately before the reigne of our gracious soveraigne; so to find out how good cause we haue... to be thankefull to the maiestie of God for her'[110] The anthem follows the trend of offering prayers to God rather than directly praising the Queen and praying for her deliverance from (Catholic) foes. Like the official service book, it was intended to be used in church and it contained a fold-out guide to the key themes of Accession Day which ministers might use in sermons.

The commercial printers soon began to publish songs for Accession Day too. Abel Jeffes's publications in 1583 and 1584 follow the style of many of the official hymns by paraphrasing and adapting psalms.[111] Although Richard Jones had described his 1578 broadside as a song, the title suggests that the religious theme was continued; the title indicates the song was 'to praise God and saie God save Quene Elizabeth', the emphasis here being still on God, more than Elizabeth. From the late 1580s onwards the printing of new Accession Day ballads became more frequent with seven different printers

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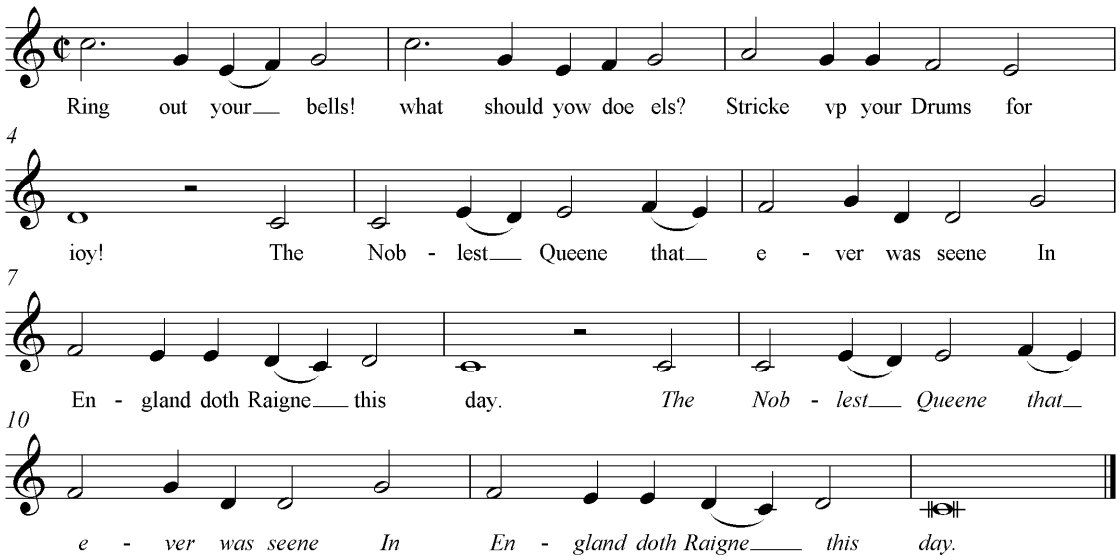
[108] Edward Bunny, *Certaine Prayers and Other Godly Exercises, for the Seuenteenth of Nouember Wherein We Solemnize the Blessed Reigne of Our Gracious Soueraigne Lady Elizabeth* (London, 1585), sig.E4^{v}.
[109] William Sheils, 'Bunny, Edmund (1540–1618)', in *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3943> [accessed 07/02/2011].
[110] Bunny, *Certaine Prayers,* sig.B2^{v}.
[111] William Patten, *Ann: Foelicissimi Regni Reginae Elizabeth: XXVI* (London, 1583); Arber, *Transcript,* Vol.2, p.437.

issuing songs. With this sudden increase in commercial interest came a marked change in tone. Firstly, while the earlier broadsides were usually described as 'psalms', 'prayers', 'godlie ditties' or 'anthems', many of these later broadsides described their contents as 'ballads'. Printers Edward White and William Blackwall describe their songs as ballads in 1594 and 1595.[112] Secondly, all the titles are more secular in tone. With the exception of John Cherlewood's 1587 ballad, God is no longer mentioned.[113] The title of John Danter's *Englandes Trymphe* avoids any religious reference.[114] Rather than praising or thanking God, these songs declare that they will 'shew[ ] the happiness of England for her maiesties blessed reigne', tell of England's 'aboundant blessings' and be sung 'in honour of the Quenes maiestie'.[115] Finally, secular tunes were also being used: *A Pleasant Newe Ballad* of 1600 was sung to the tune of 'The Queen's Hunt's Up' (fig.5.8).[116] Claude Simpson shows this was probably identical to the tune known as 'The Hunt is Up' which appears both in earlier ballads and in variations for lute and virginals of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The tune may have been used for a previous ballad about the Queen, as Anthony Munday's 'Women are strongest' from *Banquet of Daintie Conceits* (1588) is to be sung to 'The Queenes Majesties New Hunt is Up' (again fitting this 'Hunt is up' tune).[117]

Figure 5.8: *A Pleasant Newe Ballad of the Most Blessed and Prosperous Raigne of Her Maiestye for the Space of Two and Fortye Yeeres* set to the tune of 'The Hunt is Up'.[118]



[112] Arber, *Transcript*, Vol.2, p.665, Vol.3, p.53.
[113] ibid., Vol.2, p.479.
[114] ibid., Vol.3, p.53.
[115] ibid., Vol.2, p.665, Vol.3, p.53.
[116] Andrew Clark, ed., *The Shirburn Ballads, 1585-1616* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907), pp.179-81.
[117] Simpson, *British Broadside Ballad*, pp.324-25.
[118] Tune from Simpson with the following alterations: in bars 3, 7 and 11 the second minim has been split into crotchets; in bars 4 and 8 the rest was original a minim on the same note as the preceding semibreve.

A Pleasant New Ballad's more secular tone is apparent from the opening verse:

> Ring out your bels!
> what should yow doe els?
> Stricke vp your Drums for ioy!
> The Noblest Queene
> that ever was seene
> In *England* doth Raigne this day.

The ballad evokes bells and drums, typical sounds associated with the festivities. The repetition of the last three lines of the verses as a refrain would allow one person with the broadside to sing the verses, with a crowd joining in the refrains. The sacred element of Accession Day had not disappeared completely as the second verse begins:

> Now let vs pray
> and keepe holy-daye
> The seaventeenth day of November

Anti-Catholic sentiments also remain, with the ballad describing how Elizabeth has:

> banisht away
> all Papisticall play,
> And maintaynes the Ghospell true.

However, other verses describe how Elizabeth has defended England with naval forces, maintained castles and fortifications and been called to help foreign kings. This increase in secular songs coincides with other types of Accession Day printing, including commemorative literature such as Kyffin's *Blessednes of Brytaine* (1587), George Peele's poems, and broadside ballads printed by John Wolfe (1588), John Danter (1593 and 1595) and Edward White (1594) describing the court Accession Day tilts.[119] The printing of Accession Day ballads continued until the very last year of Elizabeth's reign with Edward Allde printing *A Comfortable Songe or Thanke Giving* in 1602.[120]

It is possible that the rise in secular songs corresponded to more widespread popular festivities after the Armada rather than a celebration encouraged by the church. The triumph of the Armada had also been marked by ballads. Thomas Woodcock printed a 'godly prayer' after the initial defeat in July 1588 and several ballads celebrated Elizabeth's entry into London for the official triumph in November (see Appendix E). Yet the contexts for these Accession Day songs were always more varied than this narrative of sacred moving to secular might suggest. Tessa Watt has argued that broadside ballads were not a homogenous group but produced for a wide variety of markets, whether middling Londoners, poor Northumberland men or minstrels performing for the nobility. She also identifies a number of focal points from which

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[119] Kyffin, *Blessednes of Brytaine*; Peele, *Anglorum Feriae*; Peele, *Polyhymnia*; Arber, *Transcripts,* Vol.2, pp.508, 640, 664; Vol.3, p.53.
[120] Arber, *Transcript*, Vol.3, p.220

ballads could be disseminated into communities: the parish church, marketplace, household and the alehouse.[121] The Accession Day songs certainly demonstrate such diversity: some use plain style and language, others presume a high degree of education in their audience, and they would be suited to many different contexts.

The relationship between the broadsides and the service books, as well as the publication of two songs as a collection of 'anthems', suggests that such songs were learned and promoted initially through the church. There are records of several London churches purchasing songs or ballads in 1577 and 1578, including St Benet Gracechurch ('bookes and songes' and 'Books and Ballats the 17 daie of novembre Sett for the … praier and thanksgeving for the queens maiestie'), St Margaret Pattens ('two Bookes and two Ballades'), St Matthew Friday Street ('two prayer books and a ballad'), St Mary Woolnoth (music 'for the pson and clarke to Singe') and St Michael Cornhill ('bookes of prayers & songes for the Quene').[122] The books would have been the Accession Day Service books, while the songs and ballads were probably the broadsides produced by the court printer. The description of the songs as 'ballads' (rather than a psalm, godly ditty or hymn) might refer to the broadside format, or might suggest that the songs were not used as part of the service but as a continuation of festivities after the main service. The five extant editions of the service book indicate its wide popularity and the associated broadsides would probably have been purchased in even greater numbers.

As psalms were popular for household devotions it is likely that the Accession Day hymns were also used in domestic settings.[123] In 1582 Thomas Bentley's devotional collection for women, *The Monument for Matrones*, included psalms, prayers and meditations suitable for Accession Day, though none was designed to be sung.[124] The practice of singing of prayers for Elizabeth in the home alongside psalms is also suggested by several devotional music books including:

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[121] Watt, *Cheap Print*, pp.1-5.
[122] Cressy, *Bonfires*, p.53; Willis, *Church Music,* p.112.
[123] Beth Quitslund, *The Reformation in Rhyme: Sternhold, Hopkins and the English Metrical Psalter, 1547-1603* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), pp.243, 248; Peter Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England 1549-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), pp.370-402.
[124] Thomas Bentley, ed., *The Monument of Matrones Conteining Seuen Seuerall Lamps of Virginitie, or Distinct Treatises* (London, 1582), pp.253-362.

- Sternhold and Hopkins, *The Whole Psalmes in Foure Partes* (1563): 'Prayer for the Queene' by W. Parsons[125]
- William Daman, *The Psalmes of David in English Meter* (1579): 'A Prayer and Thankesgeuyng to God for the Queenes Maiestie'[126]
- William Daman, *The Former Booke of the Musicke of M. William Damon* (1591): 'A Prayer for the Queenes Most Excellent Maiestie'[127]
- Thomas East, *The Whole Booke of Psalmes, with their Wonted Tunes* (1592):'A Prayer for the Queens most excellent Maiestie' by John Dowland[128]

These prayers are four-part harmonisations requiring musical literacy to read and perform them. In addition, the domestic use of ballads is suggested by two copied in MS Rawlinson Poet 185 (a manuscript collection of ballads and songs): *A Hartie Thankes Giuinge to God for Or Queens Most Excellent Maiestie and is to be Sounge to Ye Tune of Ye Medley* (possibly Edward Johnson's *Medley* see fig.5.9) and *A Proper New Ballade Wherein is Plaine to be Seene how God Blesseth England for Loue of Or Queene Soung to Ye Tune of Tarletons Caroll*.[129] References to the Armada in the lyrics indicate that these ballads were composed after 1588, but there is no indication of the occasion. Although they are not sung to psalm tunes, they have a strong religious and anti-Catholic tone, more so than the printed ballads. For example, the first ballad begins with a lengthy warning (turning to praise of Elizabeth only in the second verse) while the second describes how 'Gods word... from foes she doth defend' though 'pagan pope yt filthy sort of Roeme/ ye devill doth legat send'.[130]

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[125] Thomas Sternhold and John Hopkins, *Tenor of the Whole Psalmes in Foure Partes Whiche May be Song to Al Musicall Instrumentes* (London, 1563), sig.T2^{v}-T3^{r}.
[126] William Daman, *The Psalmes of David in English Meter, with Notes of Foure Partes Set Vnto Them,* [TENOR] (London, 1579), p.78.
[127] William Daman, *The Former Booke of the Musicke of M. William Damon, Late One of her Maiesties Musitions Conteining All the Tunes of Dauids Psalmes, as they are Ordinarily Soung in the Church.*(London, 1591), p.46-47.
[128] Thomas East, *Whole Booke of Psalmes: With Their Wonted Tunes, As They are Song in Churches, Composed into Foure Parts* (London, 1592), sig.V2^{v}-V3^{r}.
[129] GB-Ob: MS Rawlinson Poet 185, fol.11^{v}-13^{v}. Extant Tarleton pieces include an anonlymous *Tarleton's Jigg* (Warwick Edwards , ed., *Music for Mixed Consort*, Musica Britannica 40 (London: Stainer and Bell, 1977), p.117) and John Dowland's *Tarleton's Riserrectione* (Diana Poulton and Basil Lam, ed., *Collected Lute Music of John Dowland* (London, Faber and Faber, 1974), p.186) but neither fits these lyrics.
[130] GB-Ob: MS Rawlinson Poet 185, fol.12^{r}, 13^{r}.

Figure 5.9: ***A Hartie Thankes Giuinge to God for Or Queens Most Excellent Maiestie and is to be Sounge to Ye Tune of Ye Medley*** **set the tune of Edward Johnson's** ***Medley*** **(1st stanza).**[131]

I pre - pare with speed, Crist comm - yng is at hand; as by
workes plain- ly de-clares each day vn - to us all, yt___

5
stra - ing signes and to - kens_ both, the learn - ed sort haue stand. Gods mor -tall. Fyre
sodd - en - ly an end shal - be of things on earth

10
fearce a - broad shall flye, from east vn - to ye west, con -
su - ccor shal - be found, for fav - our, gould nor fee; but

14
sum - yng things yt earth - ly be, the great - est with ye
e - ven as all ye world was drownd, so bournt shall all things

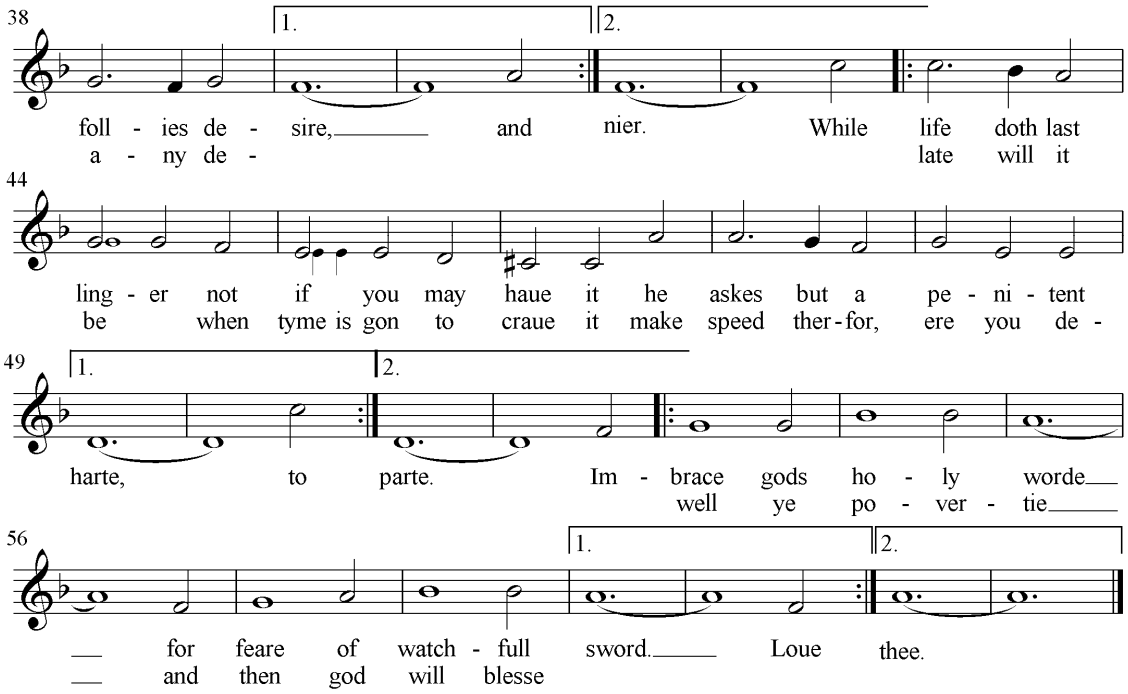
17
least. No bee. Where - for I say, make no de - lay, un -
it is hee yt re - me - die must

23
folde and hould on Christ our on - ly stay, For crye. We
be we see; or els with op - en

28
shal to hell fire our deeds de - serue no les, meet -presse. Then
meed for our hire, our lives do so ex -

33
un - to our Christ in - clyne quick - ly and fly from
aske of him mer - cie for re - me - die, he will not be

[131] Edward Johnson's Medley is found in the Tisdale and Fitzwilliam Virginal Books. The tune is also used for the anonymous Scottish song 'Flaming Fire' (Kenneth Elliott and Helena Mennie Shire, eds., *Music for Scotland 1500-1700,* Musica Britannica 15 (London: Stainer and Bell, 1975), p.168-69**)** and this tune is used here as the plainest version. The melody is a near perfect fit despite the unusually long stanza and the text's frequent changes of metre (it only requires an additional upbeat at the start, and also the omission of a minim and semibreve in bar 55-56 which follows the tune in the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book), except for the bars 33-46, where much splitting semibreves and minims has been necessary. Comparison with the Tisdale and Fitzwilliam books showed no better fit for these sections: J.A. Fuller Maitland and W. Barclay Squire, ed., *The Fitzwilliam Virginal Book* (New York: Dover, 1979), pp.366-69;Alan Brown, ed., *Tisdale's Virginal Book* (London: Stainer and Bell, 1966), pp.1-4.



The Latin titles of William Patten's two psalm adaptations (in 1583 and 1598) mark these broadside ballads out as unusual.[132] They were written to commemorate the 25th and 40th anniversaries of Elizabeth's reign. Patten includes a Latin version of the psalm by Iohannis Campensis alongside his English adaptation and a preface with a scholarly stance, in both cases explaining the numerical symbolism of the seven verses each of seven lines in connection with the Hebrew meaning of Elizabeth's name 'Seventh of God'. Furthermore, Patten's choice of Campensis's metrical psalms (which use ten-syllable lines rather than the six and eight-syllables usual in settings by Sternhold and Hopkins) required him to supply a new psalm tune (fig.5.10).[133] This was printed on the 1583 sheet. Livingston suggests that the unusual wording of the imprint – 'forbidding all other to print this, or the like'- suggests that this was a private commission from Patten for presentation to the Queen, a few court worthies or friends and family.[134] The fashion for psalm singing had begun in the court during the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI, and William Patten did have courtly connections.[135] He had been a teller of

[132] Patten, *Ann: Foelicissimi Regni Reginae Elizabeth*; Patten, *Anno Foelicissimi Regni Augustae Reginae Nostrae Elizabeth Quadragesimo Primo* (London, 1598).
[133] Sternhold and Hopkins, *Whole Booke of Psalmes*.
[134] Livingston, *British Broadside Ballads,* p.807.
[135] Rivkah Zim, *English Metrical Psalms: Poetry as Praise and Prayer, 1535-1601* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p.113.

Figure 5.10: W. Patten, *Ann: Foelicissimi Regni Reginae Elizabeth XXVI* (1583).

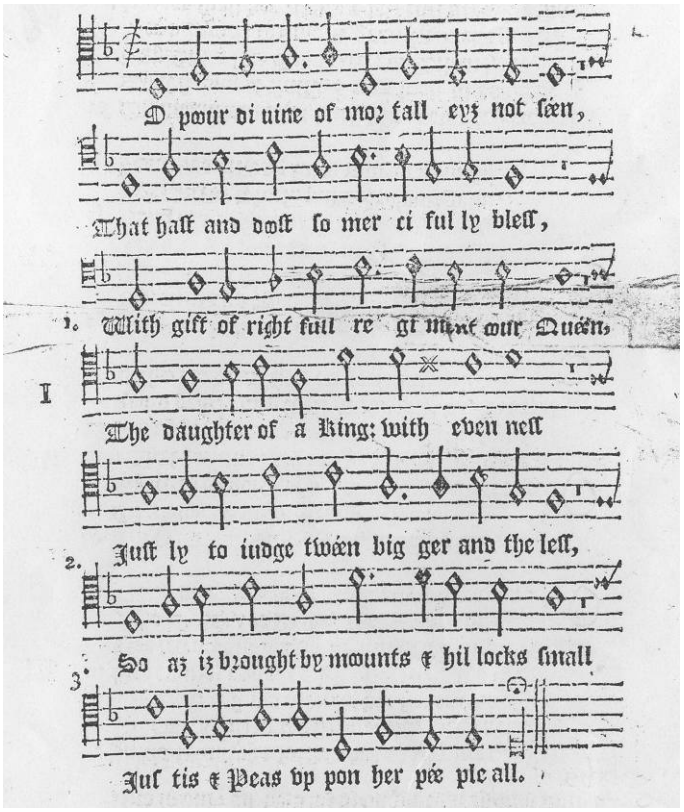


Image from Albert Sloman Library, University of Essex (Harsnett I.f.11(29))

the exchequer until a scandal in 1568 and he later enjoyed patronage from Henry Fitzalan, the Earl of Arundel, Sir Christopher Hatton and the Earl of Leicester (for whom he wrote verses for the Kenilworth Entertainment of 1575).[136] However, it is unlikely that the distribution of the 1583 psalm was restricted to court, for there would have been little need for it to be printed rather than distributed by manuscript, especially given the efforts needed to include musical notation which was still rare in England in the early 1580s. Furthermore Jeffes's warning, 'forbidding all other to print this, or the like,' would have been unnecessary on a sheet intended for a select few at court. The surviving sheet (Albert Sloman Library, University of Essex: Harsnett I.f.11(29)) does indeed seem to be a special copy because of an ink drawing of Patten's own shield and motto that has been added in the bottom corner. This sheet is likely to have been a personal gift from Patten to the Queen, but other sheets were probably distributed more widely. Yet Rivkah Zim's description of the sheet as designed for 'mass circulation' does not seem adequate either: these particular broadsides were aimed at a learned, elite audience with musical literacy.[137]

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[136] Julian Lock, 'Fitzalan, Henry, twelfth earl of Arundel (1512–1580)', in *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, 2008) <www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9530> [accessed 29/01/2010]

[137] Zim, *English Metrical Psalms,* pp.133-34.

Other ballads were designed for more popular occasions and wider audiences. The increasing secularity of the 1590s ballads suggests contexts such as the ale-house or even in the street as the towns increasingly initiated civic celebrations with bonfires, pageants and plays.[138] Ballads could be pasted up in public places or learned orally, and sung for communal entertainment.[139] Earlier in the reign psalms may have been used in this way too. Psalm tunes were originally sung in a similar style to popular songs, earning them the nickname 'Geneva jigs', but Temperley has argued that by the 1590s psalms were being sung at half the tempo and had become distinct from popular songs.[140] Strype's *Annals* suggests that psalms were sung to celebrate the defeat of the Armada and the foiling of the Babington plot, which had aimed to depose Elizabeth and replace her with the Catholic Mary Queen of Scots.[141]

Local festivities are particularly suggested by *A Prayer & Thanksgiving to God for Ye Blessed, Prosperous & Peaceable Raigne of that Gratious & Famous Q: Eliz: Made in Berwick, Sung there in Triumphe, ye . 17. of Novemb: 1586* from the commonplace book of Gilbert Frevile from Bishop Middleton, near Durham.[142] However, the long, 73-line text with no stanzas marked and little repetition does not suggest popular participation in this case and make it hard to envisage a musical setting. The phrase 'sung in triumphe' might suggest it was part of a public celebration (processions, pageants and tournaments could all be referred to as triumphs). Alternatively, its sermon-like quality – informing those present of why it is fitting to give thanks to God for Elizabeth – might suggest a church setting.

R. Thacker's *A Godlie Dittie to be Song for the Preseruation of the Queens Most Exclent Maiesties Raigne* (1586) may have originated in a civic festivity (see pp.229-31).[143] While the reference in the lyrics to 'this day of ioye' and the use of Psalm 81 suggest a connection with Accession Day, it might also have been one of the Psalms described by Strype intended for public rejoicing after the Babington plot. Several news ballads commemorate the executions (see Appendix E), a special form of prayer was

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[138] Strong, 'Popular Celebration', pp.91-94
[139] Watt, *Cheap Print*, p.6.
[140] Temperley, *Music of the English Parish Church*, pp.63-66.
[141] John Strype, *Annals of the Reformation and Establishment of Religion and Other Various Occurrences in the Church of England During Queen Elizabeth's Happy Reign*, 4 vols (Oxford, 1824), Vol.3.1, p.607, Vol.3.2, pp.27-28.
[142] Gilbert Frevile, GB-Lbl:Egerton MS 2877 [Gilbert Frevile's Commonplace Book], fol.104^{v}-105^{r}.
[143] Thacker, *Godlie Dittie*.

issued to be used at any daily common prayer in the church and there was ringing of bells and lighting of bonfires in towns and villages.[144] The *Godlie Dittie* certainly makes clear references to traitors, for example:

> If on our side God had not beene,
> When traitors sought much blood to spill:
> This day of ioy we had not seene,
> but had been subiect to their will.
> But God doth aye all those defend,
> That on him doe only depend.

However, the plot had been uncovered in August and the traitors executed on 20th September, less than two months before Accession Day, and so would still have been a current concern. (Mary herself was not executed until 1587.) Traitors were also a theme in John Wolfe's *Song Wherein is Conteyned the Treacherie of the Wicked* made for Accession Day in 1588.[145]

The decision to publish Thacker's ballad may have been encouraged by the market for four-part psalm harmonisation for domestic use we saw above. Especially noteworthy is the line 'cum privilegio Maiestatis' at the bottom of the sheet. This line was usually associated with patents granted by the Queen. Patents could be used as patronage and rewards (see pp.12, 202), or for works in which the Elizabethan government had a particular interest.[146] The suggestion of privilege might therefore indicate government involvement or patronage. However, there was no specific licence granted to Jeffes or Thacker in the patent rolls at this time. The privilege referred to was probably the one for printing psalms: D.W. Krummel has shown that the typeface used for the music of this sheet belonged to John Wolfe, who was one of five printers to whom the privilege for printing psalms had passed on John Day's death in 1584.[147]

The Accession Day songs reveal how the ideal of a harmonious Protestant kingdom, singing in praise of its Queen was fashioned both from above (by church, government and civic authorities) and below (through commercial printing, local enthusiasm and private household devotions). The celebrations moved easily between secular and sacred spheres under the influence of these various authorities: from bell-ringing to church services and from psalms to ballads, bonfires and pageants, or in various

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[144] Anon., *An Order of Prayer and Thankesgiuing, for the Preseruation of Her Maiestie and the Realme, From the Traiterous and Bloodie Practises of the Pope, and His Adherents* (London, 1586); Cressy *Bonfires,* p.76.
[145] Arber, *Transcripts*, Vol.2, p.506.
[146] Clegg, *Press Censorship*, p.13.
[147] Krummel, *English Music Printing,* p.162.

combinations. Such boundary-crossing was partly connected to Elizabeth's dual role of head of church and monarch of the kingdom (both of which were always honoured on Accession Day) but also indicated the different contexts into which celebrations spread. For one day a year, at least some English subjects resembled the singing and dancing shepherds and nymphs that they were imagined to be in courtly entertainments.

Music and the Representation of England to Foreigners

In addition to this inclusive image of a harmonious England, music also had a part in creating the more exclusive image of England, that of the English court, that was presented to the rest of Europe. Peter Le Huray and Craig Monson have shown the diplomatic role of sacred music, arguing that the Chapel Royal served to persuade foreign ambassadors and visitors of the moderate nature of Elizabeth's Protestantism with of its ceremonial (crucifixes, candles and rich vestments), use of Latin and elaborate polyphony designed to underplay the difference between the Anglican and Catholic Churches.[148] This section examines how secular music conveyed an image of the court, nobility and Queen that not only relied on English arts and music, but also displayed the international and cosmopolitan nature of the court. Analogous processes occurred at European courts, as Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly has demonstrated at Dresden where the Electors of Saxony sought to establish themselves as rulers of European importance through patronage of Italian architects, craftsmen, artists and musicians. The Italianisation extended to education with the teaching of Italian dancing, riding, conversation and etiquette.[149] To impress on the European stage, the English court too had to demonstrate its participation in European standards of court culture.

Chapter 2 showed how Elizabeth herself was always keen to impress with her own music-making, and she also promoted the cosmopolitan music of her court to foreign guests. Monsieur de Maisse, the French Ambassador, reported: 'She told me that she

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[148] Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, pp.33-34; Craig Monson, 'Elizabethan London', in *The Renaissance: From the 1470s to the End of the 16th Century*, ed. Iain Fenlon (London: Macmillan, 1989), pp.304-40 (pp.305-10).
[149] Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly, *Court Culture in Dresden: From Renaissance to Baroque* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), pp.37-59.

entertained at least sixty musicians.'[150] Elizabeth inherited a large and international establishment of household musicians mostly put in place by Henry VIII (see p.22 and Appendix A): the violinists were mostly Jews from Italy (the Galliardellos and Kelims) or Spain and Portugal (the Lupos and possibly the Comeys), the Bassano family (also Jewish) came from Venice, while the flautists were largely French or Dutch.[151] The trumpeters and drums and fifes, however, were mostly English. The sackbut consort also contained some Englishmen (such as Raphe Greene and Robert Howlett), and in the 1590s places in the violins, recorders and flutes began to be filled with Englishmen (for example Robert Baker joined the recorder consort and William Warren, the violins). In contrast to the household musicians, the Gentlemen of Chapel Royal were Englishmen. This mix allowed the court to highlight both its talented English musicians and its ability to maintain international consorts.

These foreign musicians could bring new genres, instruments and performing styles to enhance the reputation of Elizabeth's court as modern and cosmopolitan. Around the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, for example, GB-Lbl Royal Appendix MSS 74-76 (the dances in which Peter Holman has argued were connected with the court violin ensemble in the 1550s and 60s) contained Flemish and Italian dances, showing how continental repertory was brought to the court.[152] There are also divisions based on dance tunes that are related to Italian *viola bastarda* pieces (which were modelled on chanson, madrigals or motets and accompanied by a keyboard reduction of the original). The MSS 74-76 pieces differ from Italian *bastarda* pieces in applying the technique to dance music and a treble instrument but Holman has suggested that, being nearly contemporary with the earliest Italian *bastarda* pieces, these divisions must have been written by someone with direct experience of Italian music. One possibility is Peter Lupo, who may be the 'Peter' whose name appears above the setting of 'Pied de cheval', and who was born and educated in Italy.[153] In addition David Lasocki and Roger Prior have suggested that Frenchman Nicholas Lanier I may have had a role in teaching the flute ensemble to play cornetts (although some possibly played already),

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[150] André Hurault de Maisse, *A Journal of All that was Accomplished by Monsieur De Maisse, Ambassador in England from King Henri IV to Queen Elizabeth Anno Domini 1597*, ed. Robert Jones and George Harrison (London: Nonesuch Press, 1931), p.95.
[151] Roger Prior, 'Jewish Musicians at the Tudor Court', *The Musical Quarterly* 69 (1983), 253-265; Peter Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court, 1540-1690* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), pp.81-85.
[152] Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, pp.90-99.
[153] ibid.

while Matthew Spring and Christopher Field have both suggested that Alfonso Ferrabosco I may have encouraged the establishment of the lute fantasia in England.[154] A few fantasias were already circulating in England before he arrived in the 1560s (such as those of Francesco da Milano) but Ferrabosco wrote around twelve fantasias, mainly for the lute and bandora.[155] The lute fantasia came to be a significant genre in the output of both Antony Holborne (also a musician in Elizabeth's Privy Chamber) and John Dowland.[156] Furthermore, Joseph Kerman has considered Ferrabosco's influence on the English madrigal. Ferrabosco had left a decade before the fashion for English madrigals developed in the late 1580s, and his extant Italian madrigals of the 1560s-70s were probably written for an Italian patron, perhaps during his departure from the court in 1569-71.[157] However, it would be surprising if he was not involved in bringing Italian madrigals and madrigalian techniques into the English court, particularly given his known involved with court entertainments in 1572 and 1576.[158]

As Elizabeth's reign progressed fewer musicians were recruited from abroad, but the international connections of her court musicians would have provided a route for new continental music to continue being imported. For example, the manuscript US-NH: Filmer 2, which contains dance music composed by court musicians c.1600, also includes textless Italian madrigals that were also played by court ensembles, and George Peele's play *The Araygnement of Paris* (performed by the Chapel Royal children and published in 1584) included 'Si Diana nel cielo è vna stella', sung by Helen of Troy (possibly a madrigal as Helen is described as with four attendants).[159] Similarly, instrumental developments – such as increases in the number of courses or the use of unison double courses for the bass strings of the lute seen in England from c.1590 – could well have been introduced through the continental connections of court musicians.[160] For example, the Bassano family maintained connections with Italy: John

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[154] David Lasocki and Roger Prior, *The Bassanos: Venetian Musicians and Instrument Makers in England, 1531-1665* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1995), p.175; Matthew Spring, *The Lute in Britain: A History of the Instrument and its Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p.145; Christopher Field, 'Fantasia', in *GMO* <www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/40048> (accessed 10/03/2011).
[155] Richard Charteris, *Alfonso Ferrabosco the Elder (1543-1588): A Thematic Catalogue of his Music with a Biographical Calendar* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1984), pp.151-163.
[156] Spring, *Lute in Britain*, p.145.
[157] Joseph Kerman, 'An Italian Musician in England', in *Write All These Down: Essays on Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), pp.139-51 (pp.144-46).
[158] Kerman, 'An Italian Musician in England', p.142, 145; Charteris, *Alfonso Ferrabosco,* p.11.
[159] Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, p.145; George Peele, *The Araygnement of Paris A Pastorall. Presented before the Queenes Maiestie, by the Children of her Chappell* (London, 1584). sig.C1^{r-v}.
[160] Spring, *Lute in Britain*, pp.98-101.

Bassano had a business partnership with his brother Jacomo in Venice (probably in instrument-making) and the family still owned a house in Bassano. They also made visits to Italy, such as that by Arthur and Andrea in 1577 to deal with issues relating to the recent deaths of their father and uncle Jasper and Baptista.[161] Similarly the Galliardello family (from Brescia) also had branches in Antwerp (a significant centre for music printing) and Paul Galliardello owned a house there; while Francis Lupo, a cittern and violin-maker in Amsterdam, was born in London and probably a relative of court musician, Joseph Lupo.[162] The Lanier family were from Rouen and Nicholas's licence to import French wine might indicate his continued French connections (see p.202). The numerous family and business links of foreign court musicians with various European countries were means through which ideas on instrument-making, performance and composition could be shared, in addition to music.

As well as performing, the Bassano family also contributed to the reputation of the English court through the fine instruments they were selling abroad. In 1567 their reputation was such that Ciudad Rodrigo Cathedral decided to petition Guzman de Silva, the Spanish ambassador in England, to order recorders and crumhorns (*flautas* and *orlos*) from England, most probably from the Bassanos, and in March 1571 the Bassanos offered for sale to the Bavarian court a large chest of wind instruments (including recorders, flutes, cornetts, shawms and crumhorns among others), plus six violas da gamba and a chest of three lutes.[163]

The itinerary of foreigners visiting the English court, particularly those not important enough to be entertained by the Queen herself, would normally have included two aspects of the court's secular music (a visit to the Chapel Royal to hear English sacred music was also common[164]). The first was the ceremonial serving of dinner in the Presence Chamber. Although the Queen was not usually present (she took dinner in her Privy Chamber) it was a particularly grand affair with processions of people bearing the various dishes to the accompaniment of trumpets and drums. It was designed both to look and sound impressive. Paul Hentzner wrote (1598):

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[161] David Lasocki, 'Professional Recorder Players in England, 1540-1740' (PhD Dissertation: University of Iowa, 1983), Vol.2,p.606; Lasocki and Prior, *Bassanos*, pp.211, 245.
[162] Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, pp.105, 121.
[163] Lasocki and Prior, *Bassanos*, p,216; Lasocki, 'Professional Recorder Players', Vol.2, pp.561-63.
[164] Le Huray, *Music and the Reformation*, pp.33-34; Monson, 'Elizabethan London', pp.305-10.

> Dum satellites isti... supradictos cibos adportarent, erant in Aulae area XII Tubicines, & duo Tympanistae, qui tubis, buccinis, & tympanis magno sonitu per sesqui horam clangebant.
>
> [While these attendants had carried the dinner... there were in the hall of the royal palace twelve trumpeters and two drummers, who were resounding with trumpets and drums with a great sound for an hour and a half.][165]

The trumpet and kettledrum ensemble had been used in courts across Europe since c.1500.[166] Specific trumpeters were responsible for different registers and they would perform short pieces in which trumpeters playing in the higher registers improvised around a given theme over a pattern of tonic and dominant (provided by the kettledrums and lower trumpet parts).[167] The two sets of drums and large number of trumpets here perhaps suggests that they performed antiphonally. Music for dinner also involved various consorts, as Thomas Platter recorded:

> Nach dem man zum dritten mahl also aufgetragen, credentzet unndt widerumb abgetragen hatte, auch den nachtisch zugerichtet unndt widerumb hinauβ getragen, hatt sich der königin music von trommeten unndt schalmeyen in diser presentz kammer presentieret, welche nachdem sie ihr music versehen, ist yederman widerumb mitt gleichförmiger reverentz wie hinein, also auch hinaus gangen, unndt haben die tafelen auch widerumb hinweg getragen.
>
> [After the third course had been thus brought in, served and removed again, and the dessert prepared and cleared off, the queens' musicians appeared in the presence chamber with their trumpets and shawms, and after they had performed their music, everyone withdrew, bowing themselves out just as they had come in, and the tables were carried away again.][168]

Trumpets and shawms would not have played together as an ensemble, so presumably the trumpets preceded consort music provided by an ensemble of shawms and sackbuts. This ceremony was less concerned with presenting the eloquence of English music than evoking wonder at the splendour of the occasion. Music played its part in presenting the magnificence of court, which led Lupold von Wedel to describe the English as 'very rich and... fond of pomp and splendour' and may have underpinned Hentzner's

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[165] Paul Hentzner, *Itinerarium Germaniae; Galliae; Angliae; Italiae* (Nuremberg, 1612), p.137.
[166] Margaret Sarkissian and Edward Tarr, 'Trumpet', in *GMO* <www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/49912> [accessed 07/03/2011].
[167] Don Smithers, *The Music and History of the Baroque Trumpet Before 1721* (Buren: Uitgeverij Frits Knuf, 1988), p.111; Sarkissian and Tarr, 'Trumpet'.
[168] Thomas Platter, *Beschreibung der Reisen durch Frankreich, Spanien, England und Die Niederlander 1595-1600*, 2 vols, ed. Rut Keiser (Basel: Schwabe, 1968), vol.2 pp.829-30. English translation: Thomas Platter and Horatio Busino, *The Journals of Two Travellers in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England: Thomas Platter and Horatio Busino*, ed. P.E. Razzell (London: Caliban, 1995), p.62. Thomas Platter was a Swiss medical student who travelled in England in 1599..

conclusion that the English are 'greatly delighted with sounds that fill the ears, such as the firing of cannons, drums, and the ringing of bells'.[169]

Also notable from the diaries of these foreign travellers are the lists of musical instruments which they saw while touring the Queen's palaces. Some instruments were notable for their novelty, including one that made music by itself; one which looked like a large high box and contained in the interior various other instruments (Wedel); and one on which two people could perform at the same time (Hentzner).[170] This last instrument might have been a 'mother and child' virginal of the kind made by Ruckers, which had two keyboards (the second being a small octave keyboard).[171] Others were singled out for their beauty or richness: Frederic Gerschow noted the beauty of one 'in the Queen's cabinet', which was 'a virginal or other keyboard instrument of glass, artistically made [it looked] as if it were set with pearls and precious stones'.[172] This instrument may have been similar to a glass virginal in the Victoria and Albert Museum (London). Made in Innsbruck, c.1600, the case of this virginal is highly decorated with glass.[173] Gerschow's reference to the 'Queen's cabinet' suggests that these instrument collections were related to the trend for creating collections known as cabinets of curiosities. Several were founded across Europe in the 1560-70s including examples in Italy and at German courts such as Dresden. These were made up of natural or manmade objects which were intended to elicit wonder. Man-made objects were collected for their skill of manufacture, for their beauty or for the richness of their

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[169] Gottfried von Bulow, 'Journey through England and Scotland made by Lupold von Wedel in the Years 1584 and 1585', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 9 (1895), 223-70 (p.251); Lupold von Wedel, *Lupold von Wedels Beschreibung seiner Reisen und Kriegserlebnisse, 1561-1606*, ed. Max Bär (Stettin, 1895), p.358: 'rich, vormugen, von großer Tracht und Wollust'. Hentzner, *Itinarium,* p.156: 'delectantur quoq: valde sonitibus, qui ipsis aures implent, uti explosionibus tormentorum, typanis & campanarum boatu'. Hentzner's experience of bell-ringing was not at the court, but the drums and canon seem to evoke courtly pomp.

[170] Bulow, 'Journey through England', p.237: Wedel, *Lupold von Wedels Beschreibung*, p.325: 'Es ist fast in einem ideren Gemach ein Instrument... darunter eines, welches wie ein grosser hoger Rastern anzusende, in deme file Instrumenten gewesen auf mannigerleig Urt, darunter eines, welches silbest schlagen und hofeiren kunt'; Hentzner, *Itinarium,* p.128: 'unum in quo duo simul & una vice ludere possunt'.

[171] Edward Kottick, *A History of the Harpsichord* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003), pp.60-61.

[172] Gottfried von Bulow and Wilfred Powell, 'Diary of the Journey of Philip Julius, Duke of Stettin-Pomerania, through England in the Year 1602', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6 (1892), 1-67 (pp.52-54): 'In der Königin Cabinet stunde ein Virginal oder Instrument von Glas, so künstlich ausgearbeitet, als ob es mit Perlen und Edelsteinen versetzetwäre'. Frederic Gerschow was the tutor of a young German nobleman, Philip Julius, Duke of Pomerania-Wolgast, who ordered him to keep a record of his tour of Europe.

[173] *Victoria and Albert Museum*, 'The Glass Virginal' in *V&A Collections* <www.vam.ac.uk/images/image/44991-popup.html> [accessed 28/02/2011].

materials.[174] Cabinets of curiosity were considered in the masque brought to court by the Gentlemen of Gray's Inn (1594). This show consisted of a visit to Elizabeth's court by the mock court of the Prince of Purpoole. The Prince asks his counsellors to debate 'the Scope and End whereunto you think it most for our Honour, and the Happiness of Our State, that Our Government be rightly bent and directed'. The second counsellor advised the study of Philosophy for which he recommended the Prince to have a library, a garden, a cabinet and a still-house (distilling room). The cabinet should be 'goodly huge Cabinet, wherein whatsoever the Hand of Man, by exquisite Art or Engine, hath made rare in Stuff, Form, or Motion, whatsoever Singularity, Chance and the Shuffle of things hath produced, whatsoever Nature hath wrought in things that want Life, and may be kept, shall be sorted and included'. In this way, people shall wonder at the Prince's reason and knowledge:

> Thus when your Excellency shall have added depth of Knowledge to the fineness of Spirits, and greatness of your Power, then indeed shall you lay a *Trismegistus*; and then, when all other Miracles and Wonders shall cease, by reason that you shall have discovered their natural Causes, your self shall be left the only Miracle and Wonder of the World.[175]

Cabinets of curiosity and Elizabeth's collection of striking musical instruments promoted the court as a place of richness, knowledge and discovery. The wonder they evoked was intended to rub off on the possessor of the objects too, encouraging viewers to be in awe of the sovereign who owned these items.

The accounts of foreign travellers suggest that attention was drawn to these instruments by their guides, with an emphasis on Elizabeth's musical talents. Frederick Duke of Württemberg noted that 'her Majesty is particularly fond of' of organs and other keyboard instruments, while Thomas Platter was shown 'a lovely positive organ' (*schöne positiff*) and spinets (*spineten*) on which Elizabeth might play.[176] Baron

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[174] Watanabe-O'Kelly, *Court Culture*, pp.71-72.

[175] William Canning, ed., *Gesta Grayorum: or, The History of the High and Mighty Prince, Henry Prince of Purpoole…who reigned and died, A.D.1594* (London, 1688), pp.34-35. 'Trismegistus' literally means 'Thrice-greatest' and was an epithet applied to the Egyptian god Thoth who was identified with the Greek god Hermes and known as Hermes Trismegistus. Hermes Trismegistus was considered the father and protector of all knowledge. (Margaret Howatson and Ian Chilvers, ed., 'Hermes Trismegistus', in *The Concise Oxford Companion to Classical Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), on *Oxford Reference Online* <www.oxfordreference.com/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t9.e1395> [accessed 28/01/2010].

[176] William Brenchley Rye, ed., *England as Seen by Foreigners in the Days of Elizabeth and James the First* (London, 1865), p.18; Jacob Rathgeb, *Warhaffte Beschreibung zweyer Raisen, welcher Erste... der Dorchleuchtig fürst unnd herz, Friderich Hertzog zu Württemberg* (Tübingen 1603), fol.18^{v}: 'Vil schöner langer Säl seind mit...Orgelen/ auch Instrumenten (deren Kön Man ein sondere Liebhaberin ist) herzlich gezieret'. In German usage of the period, the term 'Instrumenten' refers to small keyboard instruments such as spinet or virginal. Platter, *Beschreibung der Reisen*, Vol.2, p.790; Platter and Busino, *Journals of Two Travellers*, p.26.

Waldstein was shown 'ivory flutes which are used by the Queen's musicians'.[177] These instruments on display served as a constant reminder of the musicality and artistic culture of court and Queen. Waldstein's account reveals that many of the instruments were specifically engraved with references to the Queen and his copying of the verses in his diary suggests that they were pointed out by his guide. He described a 'most interesting and ingenious musical instrument made in Germany' within whose case was written:

> *Cantabis moneo, quisquis cantare rogaris,*
> *Vivat ut aeternos ELISABETHA dies.*
> [Whoso is asked, I tell you, sing
> 'May Elizabeth live for ever']

And over the keyboard:

> *Phoebe ades et modulos cum tractat pollice princeps*
> *Fac resonent plaidum tinula corda melos*
> [Phoebus be present; and when Her Grace's finger strikes the keys
> Make the tingling strings resound with tuneful melodies.][178]

The engraved verses reminded the observer of the practical music-making that these musical objects represented: the talents of the Queen and those who sang for her. A mother-of-pearl instrument evoked courtly dancing:

> *Anlica nunc plantas, plantas et Hyberniaproles*
> *Orphei variis organa tange modis.*
> *Reginae laudes celeres modo ferto per aures,*
> *Subvertit nostras altra Maria lues.*
> [Dance true-born sons of England, dance you of Ireland's Isle,
> Play upon Orpheus's instrument in tunes of varied style:
> Carry the praises of our Queen over the rapid airs
> Since she, another Mary, has relieved us from our cares.]

The instrument was presumably decorated with mother-of-pearl like the 'very fayre lute, the backeside and necke of mother-of-perle' presented to Queen by musicians and Groom of the Privy Chamber, Thomas Lichfield as a New Years gift in 1579.[179] The reference to Orpheus might imply it was an Orpharion: a wire-stringed instrument often strung like the lute in seven courses, which took its name from contracting 'Orpheus and Arion'.[180] The verses reminded the observer of the stretch of Elizabeth's kingdom from England to Ireland and employed imagery of the harmonious realm, singing and dancing, to suggest the love of English subjects for their Queen.

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[177] Zdenek Brtnický z Valdštejna, *The Diary of Baron Waldstein, a Traveller in Elizabethan England*, ed. G.W. Groos (London: Thames and Hudson, 1981), p.151. Baron Waldstein was born in Iglau, in the present day Czech Republic, and visited London in 1600 during his European travels.
[178] ibid., p.155.
[179] *RECM*, Vol.6:1558-1603, p.38.
[180] Ian Harwood, *Wire Strings at Helmingham Hall: An Instrument and a Music Book*, Lute Society Booklet 10 (Albury: Lute Society, 2005), pp.23-24.

Many of Elizabeth's instruments may have been diplomatic gifts and therefore representative of her international connections and reputation. Ian Woodfield has shown that keyboard instruments were common diplomatic gifts because they displayed craftsmanship, art (in the painting of the case) and mechanical ingenuity at a reasonable cost.[181] The keyboard instrument made in Germany, as described by Waldstein, was probably one such instrument. Elizabeth too sent musical instruments as gifts. In league with the Levant Company, she commissioned the organ-maker Thomas Dallam to build an organ for the Sultan Mahomed II, to secure their continued ability to trade in Turkey. The organ had been set up at Whitehall for her inspection before it was shipped in 1599.[182] This was no ordinary organ but a novel creation able to be played or to play itself. As Dallam described it in his diary:

> First the clocke strouke 22; then the chime of 16 bels went of, and played a songe of 4 partes. That beinge done, tow personages which stood upon to corners of the second storie, houldinge tow silver trumpetes in their handes did lifte them to their heades, and sounded a tantarra. Than the muzicke went of and the organ played a song of 5 parts twyse over. In the tope of the organ, being 16 foute hie, did stand on a holly bushe full of blacke birds and thrushes, which at the end of the musicke did singe and shake theire wynges..[183]

Later Dallam was called to play the organ himself. This was not just a musical instrument but a feat of English engineering with its clock and moving pieces creating a visual accompaniment to the varied sounds. Yet the importance of this gift extended beyond Turkey and the Levant Company's trade interests; it enhanced England's reputation in Europe too. John Chamberlain wrote to Dudley Carleton in January 1599 that 'a great and curious present is going to the Grand Turk, which will scandalize other nations, especially the Germans', while the Venetian ambassador in Constantinople also reported the 'organ very cunningly designed, which serves as a clock and can play several airs by itself'.[184] There was also a bass lute delivered by an embassy to Morocco in 1577 to secure the Barbary Company's trading rights, and the Russia Company presented organs and virginals to the Tsar in 1586, though the extent of Elizabeth's involvement with these gifts is less clear.[185]

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[181] Ian Woodfield, 'The Keyboard Recital in Oriental Diplomacy, 1520-1620', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 115 (1990), 33-62 (p.33).
[182] Gerald MacLean, *The Rise of Oriental Travel: English Visitors to the Ottoman Empire, 1580-1720* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp.3, 9.
[183] James Bent, ed., 'The Diary of Master Thomas Dallam, 1599-1600', in *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant* (London, 1893), pp.67-68.
[184] John Chamberlain, 'John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton: 31 January 1599', in *MS Secretaries of State: State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth* I: GB-Lna: SP12/270, fol.41^{r-v} (fol.41^{v}), in *SPO* <http://go.galegroup.com/mss/i.do?id=GALE|MC4304580375v=2.1&u=britlib&it=r&p=SPOL&sw=w&viewtype=Manuscript> [accessed 27/08/2010]. *CSP Venice*, Vol.9, p.375 [18 September 1599].
[185] Woodfield, 'Keyboard Recital', pp.37-40.

The travel diaries show that visitors were impressed with the music of the English court. The Duke of Württemberg heard 'such sweet and enchanting music (which in all probability belonged to the Queen), that he was highly astonished at it.'[186] Wedel judged that 'the music during the dinner was very magnificent and good.'[187] Hentzner wrote that the English 'excel in dances and musical skill, for they are agile and lively'.[188] The Mantuan ambassador, Il Schifanoya's dismissive attitude to the music at banquets after Elizabeth's coronation is the only surviving critical reaction to English court music, and it comes in the very first months of the Queen's reign. He declares: 'much music was performed, but it not being remarkable and having heard better I will say nothing about it.'[189] Perhaps the German gentlemen, nobles and minor princes were more easily impressed than ambassadors from Italy, France or Spain. Yet it is clear that the English wanted to promote their musical reputation and succeeded in gaining the admiration of at least some foreigners, though perhaps as much by the splendour and noise of the ceremonial occasions and the beauty and novelty of the displayed instruments than by the skilled players and composers. Conveying magnificence, cultural and economic prosperity, native talents and the internationalism of the court, music assisted in presenting England as a significant participant in European culture, and, by extension, its politics.

Conclusion

Music-making, musical objects and metaphors of musical harmony were all part of representations of England. These two images of England – one inclusive and emphasising the harmony of the whole kingdom, the other exclusive and courtly – were interlinked. The Whitehall Accession Day tournaments showcased court music to London spectators, and civic entertainments during progresses brought the court to a local community and involved court musicians as well as local. Conversely, the popular Accession Day music-making could serve as a demonstration of the strength and unity of Protestant England not only to Elizabeth's subjects, but also to foreign ambassadors

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[186] Rye, *England as Seen by Foreigners*, p.11; Rathgeb, *Warhaffte Beschreibung*, fol.15^{v}: 'solche herzliche liebliche Music (die/ wie zuvermuthen/ der Königen zugehört) gehabt/ daßlich höchlich darab zuuerwundern'.
[187] Wedel, *Lupold von Wedels Beschreibung*, p.360: 'in hut gehabt, imgelichen ire Musica, welche gar herlich und gut'. Translation differs slightly from: Bulow, 'Journey through England', pp.264.
[188] Hentzner, *Itinarium*, p.156: 'in saltationibus & arte Musica excellunt; sunt enim ahile & alacres'
[189] *CSP Venice*, Vol.7, p.18 [23 January 1559].

who were present. The celebration of Accession Day was a specifically English occasion, as most Catholic monarchies in Europe would have considered it blasphemous to celebrate a monarch's accession as if it were a holy day.[190] Although court and country were only physically brought together at the London Accession Day tournaments, those who used the appointed service books and the shared repertory of printed ballads were united in celebration. While musical harmony could easily be turned into discord by dissenting individuals, it was also a persuasive image that could encourage unity and stability in times of unrest. In this way music-making was designed to create the conditions for a peaceful, harmonious realm, to represent this concord both to its own people and abroad, and to enhance England's reputation as a prosperous and cultured place within Europe.

[190] Cressy, *Bonfires*, p.53.

6. Conclusion

Music emerges in this thesis as an ever-present aspect of court entertainment and imagery. We find music in private recreation and public spectacle, performed by professionals and amateurs, praising or criticising the monarchy, being played or evoked in literature, both within the court and emanating outwards into wider culture. The value of music to Elizabeth's court appears far more significant than from an analysis of her musical establishment alone, which saw little change in the types of ensembles or musicians employed. Broadening the investigation of court music beyond the royal music establishment has presented a new picture of Elizabeth's courtly music-making and suggested further avenues for considering the role of music in other European courts.

Firstly, this dissertation's twin themes of image and influence summarise a multitude of functions performed by music at the Elizabethan court. The images projected by music could be royal, noble or national and could portray qualities such as harmony, unity, rationality, authority, youth, status, intimacy, education, culture or marriageability. Music communicated not just through its sound or notation, but through the cultural connotations it evoked. Messages of influence could be complaints, advice or petitions, and be diplomatic or intended to gain royal favour. Political music-making took place not only on state occasions to large audiences (either courtly or more public), but also privately and intimately between individual courtiers or diplomats and the Queen. Music had more numerous uses than its traditionally recognised courtly functions of magnificence (with connotations of wealth and prosperity) and entertainment.

Secondly, musical entertainments were not solely controlled by the monarch, but influenced, and often commissioned, by courtiers. Elizabeth's participation in musical politics was largely confined to her own performances and patronage of court musicians. While there is some evidence that Elizabeth was involved with planning when performances within the court would take place, the ensembles who would perform and the masquers who would dance, there is no evidence that she directly influenced the themes or political content of these entertainments (though the requirement that such entertainments be pleasing to the Queen provided indirect limitations). Furthermore, a large number of entertainments were planned outside the

court (for progresses or tournament entries) or used external acting companies. Even during court tournaments, the entry pageants were usually commissioned by each individual knight. Hence the meanings of musical entertainments were shaped not only by Elizabeth, but by individual courtiers and noblemen, city officials, authors, composers and performers. Evidence of performances and surviving songs reveal Elizabeth's toleration of complaint, competition for favour and self-promotion within entertainments that were in theory produced for her benefit and praise. In addition, political messages could be aimed outwards towards international princes or the kingdom as a whole, as well as directly at the Queen or court.

Thirdly, we have seen that the political functions and meanings of music changed as new occasions for music-making were created (such as Accession Day), as courtiers grew more aware of the political potential of the arts and as the political circumstances altered. One of the strengths of this study has been to consider the music of the first decades of Elizabeth's reign. This period has been hitherto overlooked because there are no surviving accounts of large-scale entertainments and English printing of secular music (the source of most extant music from the 1590s) had yet to develop. Therefore the later genres of the lute song and the madrigal have received more scholarly attention than the consort song. My study has shown how Elizabeth's musical performances evolved from suggestions of marriageability early in the reign into part of her illusion of eternal youth and beauty in her later years. While the early part of her reign saw songs presenting a range of moral and political advice, this tone was largely absent after 1580. Private musical petitions with lyrics composed by courtiers seem to have been characteristic of the late 1580s and 1590s rather than earlier periods. Portrayals of English concord and Elizabeth's harmonious governance (sometimes with hints of discord too) were especially strong in the 1590s either as an antidote to or criticism of increasing political uncertainty.

These new insights suggest that research into other courts might illuminate other potential functions of music. Although some brief comparisons have been made with other courts, additional extensive research is required to assess the extent to which the use of music by the Elizabethan court is typical. Further study of earlier Tudor courts might reveal how Elizabeth's use of music was influenced by that of her father, brother and sister. The impact of gender could be better understood through further research into the courts of both queens (for example Mary I, Mary Queen of Scots, Christina of

Sweden (1632-1654), and the regencies of Catherine (1560-1574) and Marie de Medici (1610-1617)) while a detailed assessment of the role of music in the courts of kings would also aid in the understanding of the particular limitations and possibilities that are determined by the monarch's gender. Comparison with other European states, particularly the politically influential Spanish and French courts, might reveal national differences and the exchange of musical ideas. The role of the nobility in court music-making in particular requires closer study to discover whether the tournaments and progresses gave the Elizabethan aristocracy unprecedented outlets for musical politics and whether there are parallels to the private musical pleas of Essex, Ralegh and Cecil (and possibly Clanricarde). Scrutiny of the more private occasions for music-making would illuminate the workings of music in the politics of intimacy, as the varying personalities of each monarch created different styles of courts and potentially disparate political roles for music.

Nor has this thesis provided an exhaustive discussion of the functions of music at Elizabeth's court. My focus on the secular music of the court has left the political significance of the Chapel Royal largely unexplored. Also, while a few plays performed by choirboys in the 1560-80s have been considered here as one of the few sources of information about court music-making in the first decades of Elizabeth's reign, the plays performed by the adult companies in the 1580s and 1590s are still to be examined (though these contained considerably less music). For several aspects of the court's musical life there is insufficient evidence to assess its political significance. Sources for the music of the Elizabethan court masque consist merely of a short reference to a song to be devised for a masque planned for a meeting in 1562 between Elizabeth and Mary Queen of Scots (which never took place), two song-texts from the *Masque of Proteus* and the lyrics of a song from an unknown masque in November 1602.[1] Even less is recorded of the music-making that must have taken place in the Privy Chamber.

Despite these limitations, the insights into Elizabethan court music-making achieved in this thesis add new dimensions to our knowledge of the workings of the Elizabethan court. Music contributed to the politics of intimacy that allowed personal relationships

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[1] E.K. Chambers and W.W. Greg, ed., 'Dramatic Records from the Lansdowne Manuscripts', in *Malone Society Collections*, 15 vols (Oxford: Malone Society, 1908), Vol.1.2, pp.143-215 (pp.144-48); William Canning, ed., *Gesta Grayorum: or, The History of the High and Mighty Prince, Henry Prince of Purpoole…Who Reigned and Died, A.D. 1594* (London, 1688), pp.57-68; John Manningham, *The Diary of John Manningham of the Middle Temple, 1602-1603,* ed. Robert Parker Sorlien (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1976).

with the monarch to be a means to political power and influence. My examinations of Elizabeth's music-making and of the private performances or commissioned songs by courtiers reveal that music could shape political relationships, either signalling favour or intimacy or manipulating the power relations between performer and listener to achieve political concessions. When ambassadors' reports or courtiers' letters reported a musical performance, they did so because the musical occasion carried political meanings indicative of the state of diplomatic or political relationships or the atmosphere at the court.

While Elizabeth's musical talents have long been acknowledged, it is now clear that her musical reputation was one means of justifying her ability to rule in the face of misogynist critics. The ambiguous gendered connotations of music were manipulated to attribute to Elizabeth a blend of feminine sensuality and masculine rationality that asserted her power and authority, promoted her ability to govern and justified female monarchy. While previous studies have examined the relationship between music and gender in Renaissance music, the examples of Elizabeth and particular noblemen in this thesis show how the contradictory theories expressed in conduct books could be navigated in practice by individuals. The reports of ambassadors also reveal that Elizabeth's musical performances played a key role in her many protracted marriage negotiations, while the reports of foreign visitors to the court demonstrate that their guides specifically drew attention to the instruments in the palaces and the musicality of the Queen. The encouragement of the singing of Accession Day hymns through their publication in broadside ballads is an example of the public image of the harmonious kingdom projected in order to inspire political loyalty and stability.

Music became a political tool because it provided an opportunity to command the attention of Queen, court or subjects. It spanned the full range of the court's activities from the public and magnificent to the private and intimate. Like the giving of a gift, the offering of musical entertainment placed social pressure on the recipient to listen politely. As a medium that was entertaining and pleasurable it was likely to be well-received and this was recognised in sixteenth-century discourses which saw music as able to soften the mind (especially of a woman) and encourage virtuous conduct. Music also offered an arena for courteous complaint. Conveying criticism through music contained the potentially subversive message within convention and artifice, displaced the complaint from an immediate relationship to political reality and thereby allowed it

to be made without threatening Elizabeth's authority. Yet equally, music was believed to be highly persuasive and, within these conventional genres, could convey a courtier's message with considerable emotional and rhetorical force. The transitory nature of performance also made song an ideal vehicle for complaint: songs were never so essential to the overall entertainment that they could not be silently omitted from any written record if they caused offence. Finally, the broad spectrum of Elizabethan views on music's feminine or masculine qualities and its merits or dangers allowed considerable flexibility in musical meaning. This fluidity could be harnessed to support particular political messages, with limitations on the music's meaning supplied by the specific context: visual and verbal cues in dramatic performances or the conversation, use of space, sense of intimacy and chosen audience in social contexts. The Queen, courtiers, composers and performing musicians all used music to fashion personal or national images, and to influence politics, favour and patronage in the Elizabethan court.

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Appendix A

Musicians Employed at the Court of Elizabeth I

Constructed using: Andrew Ashbee, ed. *Records of English Court Music*, 9 vols (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1992), Vol.4 (1558-1603); Andrew Ashbee and David Lasocki, assisted by Peter Holman and Fiona Kisby, *Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians 1485-1715*, 2 vols (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), Peter Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court, 1540-1690* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

Musicians in Elizabeth's Privy Chamber

	1558	1560	1570	1580	1590	1600	1603
	Funeral/ Coronation lists						
Groom of the Privy Chamber, 'Master of the Music', Singer, [Lute]		Thomas Lichfield c.1547-1575[1]	Thomas Lichfield c1547-1575				
Lute of the Privy Chamber[2]				Mathias Mason 1578-1610	Mathias Mason 1578-1610	Mathias Mason 1578-1610	Mathias Mason 1578-1610
Viol, Lutenist of the Privy Chamber	Peter van Wilder 1519-1559, pension to 1562						

[1] Thomas Lichfield surrendered his position as Groom of the Privy Chamber on 9 December 1575. However, in March 1582 he was commissioned to examine the court accounts for unlawful payments for eight years.

[2] Listed as 'lute of the privy chamber' in funeral list, 1603.

	1558	1560	1570	1580	1590	1600	1603
Singer, Yeoman of the chamber, Viol	Thomas Kent 1543-1590? [3]	? Thomas Kent 1543-1590?[3]	? Thomas Kent 1543-1590? [3]	? Thomas Kent 1543-1590?[3]			
Singer of Privy Chamber	John Temple 1544-1559, pension to 1595						
Groom of Privy Chamber, Keyboard				Ferdinando Heybourne alias Richardson 1586-1611	Ferdinando Heybourne alias Richardson 1586-1611	Ferdinando Heybourne alias Richardson 1586-1611	Ferdinando Heybourne alias Richardson 1586-1611
Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, [Composer]			Alfonso Ferrabosco I 1562-1578[4]				
Keeper of Instruments	William Treasourer 1550-1583	William Treasourer 1550-1583	William Treasourer 1550-1583	William Treasourer 1550-1583	Edmund Schetts 1567-1603[5]	Edmund Schetts 1567-1603	Edmund Schetts 1567-1603
Page of the Chamber, Assistant to Keeper			Edmund Schettes alias Treasourer 1567-1603	Edmund Schetts 1567-1603		Robert Henlake c.1587- 1610	Robert Henlake c.1587- 1610
Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, Virginalist	Walter Earle 1539-1558						

[3] Received an annuity from Midsummer 1558. However, if riding charges for a Thomas Kent in 1575, 1576 and 1581 refer to this singer, this would suggest he was still travelling with the Queen and probably still performing.
[4] Ferrabosco left for Paris in 1578 and did not return, though he was paid until 1582.
[5] Received Treasourers place in 1587/8.

	1558	1560	1570	1580	1590	1600	1603
?Virginals, Extraordinary Gentleman of Privy Chamber?[6]					Anthony Holborne?		

Musicians Employed at the Court of Elizabeth I

	1558	1560	1570	1580	1590	1600	1603
	Funeral/ Coronation lists						
Lute			Anthony Conti 1550/1-1557, 1563-1579[7]	**John Johnson 1579-1594**[8]	**John Johnson 1579-1594**[8]	[Edward Collard 1598-1599]	
Lute				**Mathias Mason 1578-1610**[8]	**Mathias Mason 1578-1610**[8]	**Mathias Mason 1578-1610**[8]	**Mathias Mason 1578-1610**[8]
Lute				[Frances Fiavet] 1582	**Walter Pierce 1588-1604**[8]	**Walter Pierce 1588-1604**[8]	**Walter Pierce 1588-1604**[8]
Lute, voice					Robert Hales 1582-1616	Robert Hales 1582-1616	Robert Hales 1582-1616
Lute						Alfonso Ferrabosco II 1592-1628[9]	Alfonso Ferrabosco II 1592-1628[9]

[6] Holborne claimed to be ‘gentleman and servant’ of the Queen, though there is no record of his payment. He may have been an extraordinary gentleman who served without payment. In 1599 he delivered messages in the Netherlands for Elizabeth: Brian Jeffrey, ‘Antony Holborne’, *Musica Disciplina* 22 (1968), 129-205 (pp.129, 133-34, 136).
[7] Officially reappointed by warrant in December 1564, but given livery 1563.
[8] Musicians in bold were employed as 'musicians of the three lutes'.
[9] Listed with lutes 1593-1603, despite official appointment as a member of viol consort.

	1558	1560	1570	1580	1590	1600	1603
Harp	William Moore 1515-1565	William Moore 1515-1565					
Musician	Richard Pike c.1553-1568	Richard Pike c.1553-1568					
Musician, Bagpiper (listed as such 1553)	Richard Woodward 1545-1570	Richard Woodward 1545-1570	Richard Woodward 1545-1570				
Musician, Rebec	Robert Woodward 1553-1599	Robert Woodward 1553-1599	Robert Woodward 1553-1599	Robert Woodward 1553-1599	Robert Woodward 1553-1599		
Viol/ Violin [Singer]		Thomas Browne c.1547-1582	Thomas Browne c.1547-1582	Thomas Browne c.1547-1582			
Dance master, Lute			Thomas Cardell 1574-1621[10]	Thomas Cardell 1574-1621	Thomas Cardell 1574-1621	Thomas Cardell 1574-1621	Thomas Cardell 1574-1621
Virginals[11]				[?Richard Bowman 1550-1559, 1582[12]]			

[10] Listed as lutenist 1593-1602
[11] The list of court offices of 1593 states that there were three virginalists (Ashbee, *RECM*, p.63).
[12] Surrendered his post in February 1559 but rewarded by Elizabeth in 1582 alongside Mason, Johnson, Woodward and Browne as her majesty's musicians (as opposed to the consorts).

Musical Consorts at the Court of Elizabeth I (1558-1603)

	1558	1560	1570	1580	1590	1600	1603
	Funeral/ Coronation lists						
Viol/ Violins							
1	Albert [Kellim] of Venice 1540-1559		Peter Lupo 1566-1608	Peter Lupo 1566-1608	Peter Lupo 1566-1608	Peter Lupo 1566-1608	Peter Lupo 1566-1608
2	Paul Galliardello 1555-1563	Paul Galliardello 1555-1563	Joseph Lupo 1563-1616	Joseph Lupo 1563-1616	Joseph Lupo 1563-1616	Joseph Lupo 1563-1616	Joseph Lupo 1563-1616
3	Mark Anthony Galliardello 1545-85	Mark Anthony Galliardello 1545-85	Mark Anthony Galliardello 1545-85	Mark Anthony Galliardello 1545-85	Caesar Galliardello 1585-1627	Caesar Galliardello 1585-1627	Caesar Galliardello 1585-1627
4	George Comey 1545-1574[13]	George Comey 1545-1574	George Comey 1545-1574	Ambrosio Grasso 1578-1582			
5	Ambrose [Lupo] of Milan 1540-1591	Ambrose [Lupo] of Milan 1540-1591	Ambrose [Lupo] of Milan 1540-1591	Ambrose [Lupo] of Milan 1540-1591	Ambrose [Lupo] of Milan 1540-1591	William Warren 1594-1612	William Warren 1594-1612
6	Francis [Kellim] of Venice 1543-1588	Francis [Kellim] of Venice 1543-1588	Francis [Kellim] of Venice 1543-1588	Francis [Kellim] of Venice 1543-1588	Thomas Lupo [I] 1588-1619	Thomas Lupo [I] 1588-1619	Thomas Lupo [I] 1588-1619

[13] George Comey and Peter van Wilder were listed as separate group of viols for coronation. George Comey continues to be listed separately until 1570 (and his wages also increased).

	1558	1560	1570	1580	1590	1600	1603
7	Innocent Comey 1551-1603	Innocent Comey 1551-1603	Innocent Comey 1551-1603	Innocent Comey 1551-1603	Innocent Comey 1551-1603	Innocent Comey 1551-1603	Innocent Comey 1551-1603
8 [Previously Viol]	Thomas Browne [c.1547] 1554-1583[14]	Thomas Browne [c.1547] 1554-1583	Thomas Browne [c.1547] 1554-1583	Thomas Browne [c.1547] 1554-1583			
9						Thomas Lupo [II] 1598-1642	Thomas Lupo [II] 1598-1642
10						Alfonso Ferrabosco [II][15] [1592] 1601-1628	Alfonso Ferrabosco [II][15] [1592] 1601-1628
Flutes							
1	Allen Robson c.1547-1568	Allen Robson c.1547-1568	Renaldo Paradiso 1568-1570	Gommar van Oostrewijk 1570-1592	Gommar van Oostrewijk 1570-1592	Peter Edney 1592-1610	Peter Edney 1592-1610
2	James Foienyart 1558-1592	James Foienyart 1558-1592	James Foienyart 1558-1592	James Foienyart 1558-1592	James Foienyart 1558-1592	Innocent Lanier 1592-1625	Innocent Lanier 1592-1625
3	Piero Guy [I] [1541] 1546-1606	Piero Guy [I] [1541] 1546-1606	Piero Guy [I] [1541] 1546-1606	Piero Guy [I] [1541] 1546-1606	Piero Guy [I] [1541] 1546-1606	Piero Guy [I] [1541] 1546-1606	Piero Guy [I] [1541] 1546-1606

[14] Thomas Browne seems to have occupied a separate post as musician on the viols/violins.
[15] Officially appointed to the Viols/Violins in 1601, but listed with the lutenists 1593-1603, suggesting he usually worked as a lutenist and not a violinist.

	1558	1560	1570	1580	1590	1600	1603
4	Guille Troches c.1529-61	Guille Troches c.1529-61	Nicholas Lanier [I] 1561-1612	Nicholas Lanier [I] 1561-1612	Nicholas Lanier [I] 1561-1612	Nicholas Lanier [I] 1561-1612	Nicholas Lanier [I] 1561-1612
5	Guilliam Duvait c.1529-1573	Guilliam Duvait c.1529-1573	Guilliam Duvait c.1529-1573	James Harden 1574-1626	James Harden 1574-1626	James Harden 1574-1626	James Harden 1574-1626
6	Thomas Pagington [c.1547] 1559-1586	Thomas Pagington [c.1547] 1559-1586	Thomas Pagington [c.1547] 1559-1586	Thomas Pagington [c.1547] 1559-1586	Piero Guy [II] 1586-1642	Piero Guy [II] 1586-1642	PieroGuy [II] 1586-1642
Recorders							
1	Lodovico Bassano 1554-1593 [official appointment 1568]	Lodovico Bassano [1554] 1568-1593	Lodovico Bassano [1554] 1568-1593	Lodovico Bassano [1554] 1568-1593	Lodovico Bassano [1554] 1568-1593	Robert Baker[I] 1594-1621	Robert Baker[I] 1594-1621
2	Jasper Bassano 1539-1577	Jasper Bassano 1539-1577	Jasper Bassano 1539-1577	Jeronimo Bassano [II] 1578-1622	Jeronimo Bassano [II] 1578-1622	Jeronimo Bassano [II] 1578-1622	Jeronimo Bassano [II] 1578-1622
3	John Bassano 1539-1570	John Bassano 1539-1570	John Bassano 1539-1570	Arthur Bassano 1570-1624	Arthur Bassano 1570-1624	Arthur Bassano 1570-1624	Arthur Bassano 1570-1624
4	Anthony Bassano [I] 1539-1574	Anthony Bassano [I] 1539-1574	Anthony Bassano [I] 1539-1574	Edward Bassano [I] 1575-1615	Edward Bassano [I] 1575-1615	Edward Bassano [I] 1575-1615	Edward Bassano [I] 1575-1615
5	Baptista Bassano 1539-1576	Baptista Bassano 1539-1576	Baptista Bassano 1539-1576	William Damon 1576-1591	William Damon 1576-1591	Alphonso Lanier 1591-1613	Alphonso Lanier 1591-1613

	1558	1560	1570	1580	1590	1600	1603
6	Augustine Bassano 1550-1604	Augustine Bassano 1550-1604	Augustine Bassano 1550-1604	Augustine Bassano 1550-1604	Augustine Bassano 1550-1604	Augustine Bassano 1550-1604	Augustine Bassano 1550-1604
Sackbuts							
1	Edward Devis 1552-1559	Edward Petala 1559-1587	Edward Petala 1559-1587	Edward Petala 1559-1587	Richard Greaves 1587-1600	Richard Greaves 1587-1600	Thomas Mason 1600-1626
2	Nicholas Coteman 1550-1563	Nicholas Coteman 1550-1563	John Lanier [I] 1563-1572	Andrea Bassano 1572-1626	Andrea Bassano 1572-1626	Andrea Bassano 1572-1626	Andrea Bassano 1572-1626
3	Nicholas Andrew c.1538-1564	Nicholas Andrew c.1538-1564	Mark Anthony Bassano 1564-1599	Mark Anthony Bassano 1564-1599	Mark Anthony Bassano 1564-1599	Jerome Lanier 1599-1642	Jerome Lanier 1599-1642
4	John Peacock c.1553-1565	John Peacock c.1553-1565	Raphe Greene 1565-1599	Raphe Greene 1565-1599	Raphe Greene 1565-1599	John Snowsman 1599-1641	John Snowsman 1599-1641
5	Anthony Maria 1539-1572	Anthony Maria 1539-1572	Anthony Maria 1539-1572	Guillam van den Borre 1572-1582	John Lanier [II] 1582-1616	John Lanier [II] 1582-1616	John Lanier [II] 1582-1616
6	[Robert Welshe recently deceased]	Robert Howlett 1559-1576	Robert Howlett 1559-1576	Samuel Garshe 1576-1626	Samuel Garshe 1576-1626	Samuel Garshe 1576-1626	Samuel Garshe 1576-1626
7	Robert Maye 1558-1577	Robert Maye 1558-1577	Robert Maye 1558-1577	Henry Troches 1577-1617	Henry Troches 1577-1617	Henry Troches 1577-1617	Henry Troches 1577-1617

	1558	**1560**	**1570**	**1580**	**1590**	**1600**	**1603**
Drums & *fifes*							
1	Alexander Pennax 1538-1585	Alexander Pennax 1538-1585	Alexander Pennax 1538-1585	Alexander Pennax 1538-1585	John Shingwell 1585-1608	John Shingwell 1585-1608	John Shingwell 1585-1608
2	*Thomas Curson 1554-1567+*	*Thomas Curson 1554-1567+*	?	?	?	*George Pulliard 1591-1603*	*George Pulliard 1591-1603*
3	Robert Brewer 1546-1567	Robert Brewer 1546-1567	William Garson 1567-1576	Gavin Smith 1576-1603	Gavin Smith 1576-1603	Gavin Smith 1576-1603	Gavin Smith 1576-1603
4	John Hutchins 1546-1560	John Hutchins 1546-1560	John Thomas 1560-1579	Thomas Shingwell 1579-1582	Thomas King 1582-1599	William Gosson[16] 1599-1629	William Gosson 1599-1629
5	*Henry Bell 1550-1569*	*Henry Bell 1550-1569*					

[16] Drum Major

Appendix B

Sources Containing Evidence of Music at Elizabethan Tournaments

Date	Event	Source	Author	Summary of Musical Details
?1577	?Accession Day	GB-Ob: Harley MS. 7392, fol.48^{r}-49^{v}, 37^{v}-38^{v} (St Loe Kniveton's commonplace book); GB-AB: Ottley Manuscript[1]	Sir Philip Sidney	Two poems and a song text probably used in an entry by Sir Philip Sidney as Philisides the good shepherd, accompanied by ploughmen
c.1580 or earlier	Unknown	GB-Ckc: MS KC1 King's College, Cambridge [Manuscript roll containing a collection of rounds, catches and canons]	Collected by Thomas Lant	*Alegra Anglia*: a canon in praise of Elizabeth which contains the motto of the Order of the Garter: 'honi soit qui mal y pense'
1581	Tournament performed before the Queen during the visit of the French Ambassadors (*The Four Foster Children of Desire*)	*A Briefe Declaratio[n] of the Shews, Deuices, Speeches, and Inuentions, Done & Performed before the Queenes Maiestie, & the French ambassadours, at the Most Valiaunt and Worthye Triumph, Attempted and Executed on the Munday and Tuesday in Whitson weeke last, anno 1581* (London, 1581)	Henry Goldwell	Descriptions of the music used in the devices performed before the tilting began on both days. Includes two song texts. [except copy GB-Lbl:C.33.a.38, which omits the songs]
1581	*The Four Foster Children of Desire*	F-Pn: MS Dupuy 33, fol.77^{r}-81^{r}. Letter by an eyewitness from the French embassy	M. Nellot,	Descriptions of the music used in the opening devices and in the entrance of the knights

[1] See Peter Beal, 'Poems by Sir Philip Sidney; The Ottley Manuscript', *The Library* 33 (1978), 284-95.

Date	Event	Source	Author	Summary of Musical Details
1581	Unknown ?Accession Day	*Axiochus. A most excellent dialogue, written in Greeke by Plato the phylosopher: concerning the shortnesse and vncertainty of this life, with the contrary ends of the good and wicked... Heereto is annexed a sweet speech or oration spoken at the tryumphe at White-hall before her Maiestie, by the page to the right noble Earle of Oxenforde* (London, 1592), sig.D1^{r}-D4^{r}.	Edmund Spenser	'A solemne sound of Most sweet Musique' accompanies the Earl of Oxford's entry pageant.
1584	Accession Day Tilt	Gottfried von Bülow, 'Journey through England and Scotland Made by Lupold von Wedel in the Years 1584 and 1585', *Transactions of the Royal History Society* 9 (1895), 223-270	Lupold von Wedel, German nobleman	Passing reference to trumpets and 'other musical instruments' sounding as the knights enter the lists
1590	Accession Day Tilt, including the Resignation of Sir Henry Lee as Queen's Champion	*Polyhymnia Describing, the Honourable Triumph at Tylt, before Her Maiestie, on the 17. of Nouember, Last Past, being the First Day of the Three and Thirtith Yeare of Her Highnesse Raigne. with Sir Henrie Lea, His Resignation of Honour at Tylt, to Her Maiestie, and Receiued by the Right Honorable, the Earle of Cumberland* (London, 1590)	George Peele	Describes the use of trumpets and drums as well as other sounds of the tilt. Includes the lyrics to 'His Golden Lockes' as 'a sonet'.
1590	Accession Day Tilt	*Honor Military, and Ciuill Contained in Foure Bookes. Viz. 1. Iustice, and Iurisdiction Military. 2. Knighthood in Generall, and Particular. 3. Combats for Life, and Triumph. 4. Precedencie of Great Estates, and Others (London, 1602)*	Sir William Segar	Describes the music for the device as Sir Henry Lee resigns. Gives the text for 'My Golden Lockes', which it says was performed by Robert Hales
1590	Accession Day Tilt	GB-Ob: Rawlinson MS Poet 148, fol.75^{v}.	Compiled by John Lilliat	Text for 'Time's Eldest Son, Old Age' attributed to Lee and the occasion of him yielding up his tilt staff

Date	Event	Source	Author	Summary of Musical Details
1590	Accession Day Tilt	'His Golden Lockes', in *The Firste Booke of Songes or Ayres of Fowre Partes* (London, 1597)	John Dowland	Music probably performed at this Tilt
1590	Accession Day Tilt	'Time's Eldest Son, Old Age', in *The Second Booke of Songs or Ayres* (London, 1600)	John Dowland	Music probably performed at this Tilt
1590	Fictional account of a Tilt	*The Faerie Queene Disposed into Twelue Books, Fashioning XII. Morall Vertues* (London, 1590), pp.60-61, 64-65.	Edmund Spenser	Describes trumpeters, music by minstrels, bards and chroniclers, and music played at the bedside of a wounded knight
1590	Fictional Account of a tilt	*The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia* (London, 1590), fol.196^{r-v}.	Sir Philip Sidney	Describes the device of the shepherd knight where the knight's train includes bagpipers, recorder players and singers.
1595	Accession Day Tournament	*Anglorum Feriae Englandes Hollydayes Celebrated the 17th Novemb. Last, 1595, Beginning Happyly the 38 Yeare of the Reigne of our Soveraigne Ladie Queene Elizabeth* (London, 1595)	George Peele	Associates music with Accession Day celebrations of the court and the country but no description of music in relation to the tilt.
1595	Accession Day Tournament	? 'Behold a Wonder Here', in *The Third and Last Booke of Songs or Aires* (London, 1603)	John Dowland	Possibly from 'A Device by the Earl of Essex for the Queen's Entertainment', in GB-Lna SP12/254, fol.139^{r}-140^{v} ([17 Nov] 1595). The line break in the speech may indicate where the song was inserted.
1602	Poem describing a tournament	'Faiths pure shield the Christian Diana', in *Obseruations in the Art of English Poesie* (London, 1602), p.30.	Thomas Campion	'Close obserue, the speeches and the musicks/ Peacefull arms adorning'

Appendix C

Secular Songs connected to Elizabeth and the Court

This list was compiled using: Joseph Kerman's table of 'Madrigals for Queen Elizabeth' (*The Elizabethan Madrigal: A Comparative Study* (American Musicological Society, 1962), pp.196-97); Philip Brett, ed., *Consort Songs*, Musica Britannica 22 (London: Stainer and Bell, 1974); Diana Poulton, *John Dowland* (London: Faber, 1982), G.E.P. Arkwright, 'Elizabethan Choirboy Plays and Their Music', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 40 (1913/14), 117-38; Joseph Kerman, 'Byrd, William' in *GMO* <www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/04487> (accessed 18/03/2011); and other works as referenced. Songs are arranged in approximate chronological order by the event with which the lyrics are connected (if known), or else by publication.

1) Songs connected to specific court entertainments

Secular Songs	Composer	Source	Genre	Connection with Court
Awake Ye Wofull Wights	Anon.	GB-Lbl: Add MS 15117 The tune is also printed in a broadside, *A New Ballade of a Louer/ Extollinge his Ladye To the tune of Damon And Pithias*, dated 1568.[1]	Lute song (original probably a consort song)	Sets a lament text from Richard Edwards' *Damon & Pithias*, performed by Children of the Chapel Royal 1564

[1] John Long, 'Music for a Song in 'Damon and Pithias', *Music and Letters* 48 (1967), 247-50.

Secular Songs	Composer	Source	Genre	Connection with Court
Ah, Alas Ye Salt Sea Gods	Richard Farrant (also attributed to Robert Parsons)	GB-Och: Music MSS 984-88 [Dow Partbooks] US-NNSc: Drexel MSS 4180-5 GB-Lbl: Add MS 29427 GB-Lbl: Egerton MSS 3665 GB-AB: Brogyntyn MS27 (*Lute & Voice)* GB-Lbl: Add MSS 17786-91 GB-Ob: Tenbury MS 3089 IRL-Dtc: Press B.1.32	Consort Song	Composed by Master of the Children of Windsor and the Chapel Royal. From a story of Panthea & Abradatas. This lament would fit the final scene of *The Warres of Cyrus*, performed by the Children of the Chapel Royal between 1567 and 1584.[2] The similarity of the opening to *O Jove* suggests attribution to Farrant is correct.
Mistrust Not Truth	Nicholas Strogers	GB-Och: Music MSS 984-988 [Dow Part Books], no 121 GB-Ob: Tenbury MS 389	Consort Song	Text listed in Richard Edwards, *The Paradyse of Daynty Deuises* (1576) as 'A Worthy Dittie, Song before the Queenes Maiestie at Bristow' and in Thomas Churchyard's *Churchyard's Chance* (1580) as 'written of the Queene, when her highnesse was in trouble'
His Golden Locks	John Dowland	*The First Booke of Songes or Ayres*, 1597	Lute Song/ Four-Part Ayre	Sung by Robert Hales on Accession Day 1590 for the retirement pageant of Sir Henry Lee
Times Eldest Sonne, Old Age	John Dowland	*The Second Booke of Songs or Ayres*, 1600	Lute Song with bass viol	Ob: Rawlinson MS Poet 148 f.75^{v} says this was said by Henry Lee 'In yeelding vp his Tilt staff'[3]

[2] James Brawner, ed., *The Wars of Cyrus: An Early Classical Narrative Drama of the Child Actors* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1942), p.15. Brawner does not believe this play was performed at court. However, it was written at a time when the court was the focus of the choirboy's activities so would almost certainly have been intended for court, even if not actually performed their.

[3] Edward Doughtie, *Liber Lilliati: Elizabethan verse and song (Bodleian MS Rawlinson Poetry 148)* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1985), p.165.

Secular Songs	Composer	Source	Genre	Connection with Court
This Sweet and Merry Month of May	William Byrd	*The First Sett, of Italian Madrigalls Englished*, 1590	Madrigal (two settings: one four-part, one six-part)	'I choose the first for holly daie & greet Elyza with a Ryme' Uses a refrain beginning 'O Beauteous Queene of Second Troy' just as 'With Fragrant Flowers' from the Elvetham progress (1591).[4] However the Elvetham text cannot be fitted to Byrd's madrigal without considerable alteration.
With Fragrant Flowers we Strew the Way	Francis Pilkington	*The First Booke of Songs or Ayres*, 1605	Lute Song/ Four-Part Ayre	Text from Elvetham progress 1591, modified to 'O gracious King of second Troy', rather than 'queen'. Probably a later resetting of the lyrics.
In the Merrie Monthe of Maye	John Baldwin	GB-Lbl: rm.24.d2	Three-Voice song	Text from Elvetham progress, 1591. Setting dated 1592 in the manuscript. Tells the story of Phyllida and Corydon.
Elisa is ye Fairest Quene	Edward Johnson	GB-Lbl: Add MSS 30480-4	Consort Song	Text from Elvetham progress, solo song as stated in the account of the entertainment. Copied with the song below. Printed account suggests originally for mixed consort.
Com Agayne Fair Natures Trasor	Edward Johnson	GB-Lbl: Add MSS 30480-4	As above, but for two voices in canon.	Text from Elvetham progress. A duet as described in the account of the entertainment. Printed account suggested originally for mixed consort. Copied with the song above.

[4] The songs connected to the Elvetham progress (the next five entries in this list) were identified in Ernst Brennecke, 'The Entertainment at Elvetham, 1591', in *Music in English Renaissance Drama*, ed. John Long (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1968), pp.32-56

Secular Songs	Composer	Source	Genre	Connection with Court
Behold her Lockes	Robert Jones	*The Muses Gardin for Delights, or the Fifth Booke of Ayres*, 1610	Lute Song/ Four-Part Ayre	Text from Cowdray progress, 1591 (omitting last verse). Jones was probably too young to have been the original setter of these lyrics for Cowdray.
My Heart and Tongue were Twinnes	John Dowland	*A Pilgrimes Solace*, 1612	Lute Song/ Four-Part Ayre	Text from Sudeley progress, 1592. Dowland may have been the 'Do' who sang 'Hearbes, Words and Stones' later in the same progress[5]
Behold a Wonder Here	John Dowland	*The Third and Last Booke of Songs or Aires*, 1603	Lute Song with Bass Viol Part	Conceit that Cynthia has given blind love his sight. May be from the entry of a knight disguised as an Indian Prince on Accession Day 1595.
Scinthia Queene of Seas and Lands	Robert Jones	*Ultimum Vale, with a Triplicity of Musicke*, 1605 GB-Lbl: Add MSS 24665	Lute Song/ Four-Part Ayre	Text from Harefield progress, 1602

2) Songs which address or contain references to Queen Elizabeth

Secular Songs	Composer	Source	Genre	Connection with Court
Eliza, Her Name Gives Honor	John Bennet	GB-Lbl: Add MSS 17786-91	Consort Song	In praise of Elizabeth (1590s)
Blow Shepherds Blow	Thomas Morley	*Canzonets. Or Little Short Songs to Three Voices*, 1593	Three-Part Song	'faire Eliza see shee comes' 'All haile Eliza faire, all haile the countries pride and goddess, long mayest thou liue our Mistresse'

[5] Diana Poulton, *John Dowland* (London: Faber, 1982), pp.29-30.

Secular Songs	Composer	Source	Genre	Connection with Court
Turne About and See Mee	John Mundy	*Songs and Psalmes Composed into 3.4. and 5. Parts*, 1594	Three-Part Song	'a mightie Prince & excelent, Sweet Eglentine the best'
Fair in a Morn	Thomas Morley	*The First Booke of Ayres*, 1600	Lute Song with bass viol	Lyrics by Nicholas Breton. Robin Headlam Wells believes the poem's imagery of the Sun and incomparable beauty refers to Elizabeth[6]
My Thoughts are Wingd with Hopes	John Dowland	*The First Booke of Songes or Ayres*, 1597	Lute Song/ Four-Part Ayre	Words by Earl of Cumberland 'she doth change and yet remain the same' possibly a reference to Elizabeth's motto 'semper eadem'. 'till Cynthia shine as she hath done before'
Away with these Selfe Louing Lads	John Dowland	*The First Booke of Songes or Ayres*, 1597	Lute Song/ Four-Part Ayre	Words by Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke (Caelica Sonnet No. 52) 'my songs they be of Cinthia's praise/ I wear her rings on holidays'
Come Gentle Swains and Shepherd	Michael Cavendish	*Ayres in Tabletorie to the Lute*, 1598	Five-Part Madrigal	'then sang ye shepherds & nimphs of Diana, Long liue faire Oriana' (another setting of these words by Cavendish appears in *The Triumphes of Oriana*, 1601)
Humor Say What Makst Thou Heere	John Dowland	*The Second Booke of Songs or Ayres*, 1600	Dialogue Lute, four voices and four viols.	'in the presence of a queen'

[6] Robin Headlam Wells, 'Thomas Morley's "Fair in a Morn" ', *The Lute Society Journal* 18 (1976), 37-42 (pp.38-39).

Secular Songs	Composer	Source	Genre	Connection with Court
?Cleare or Cloudie	John Dowland	*The Second Booke of Songs or Ayres*, 1600	Lute Song / Five-Voice Ayre with Treble Viol	'Rain on your herbs and flow'rs that truly serve,/ And let your weeds lack dew and duly starve' Possibly addressing the Queen
Time Stands Still	John Dowland	*The Third and Last Booke of Songs or Aires*, 1603	Lute Song	'all other things shall change, but she remains the same'– as in Elizabeth's motto, *semper eadem* 'Fortune captive at her feet contemn'd and conqur'd lies'
Say Loue If Thou Didst Euer Find	John Dowland	*The Third and Last Booke of Songs or Aires*, 1603	Lute Song/ Four-Part Ayre	The conceit that Love has only found one woman with a constant mind and she is 'Queen of love and beauty'. References to the moon, the theme of changing yet always the same and chastity
By a Fountaine Where I Lay	John Dowland	*The Third and Last Booke of Songs or Aires*, 1603	Lute Song/ Four-Part Ayre	'Was never Nymph more fairly bless'd/ Blessed in the high'st degree' 'Welcome fair Queen of May… Welcome be the shepherds' Queen/ the glory of our green'
When Phoebus First did Daphne Loue	John Dowland	*The Third and Last Booke of Songs or Aires*, 1603	Lute Song/ Four-Part Ayre	'Past fifteen none but one should live a maid'- the 'but one' seem to imply Elizabeth.
The Triumphes of Oriana, 1601	Compiled by Thomas Morley		Collection of Madrigals	All songs end with the refrain 'Then sang the shepherds and nymphs of Diana, Long live fair Oriana!'[7]

[7] Jeremy Smith has recently questioned whether Oriana was originally intended to be understood as Elizabeth: 'Music and Late Elizabethan Politics: The Identities of Oriana and Diana', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 58 (2005), 507-58. However, Thomas Bateson's 1604 madrigal is a farewell to an Oriana who is now in heaven. In this case Oriana does seem to represent Elizabeth.

Secular Songs	Composer	Source	Genre	Connection with Court
Orianes Farewell	Thomas Bateson	*The First Set of English Madrigales to 3. 4. 5. and 6. Voices*, 1604	Five-Voice Madrigal	Uses the refrain 'then sing ye shepherds and nimphs of Diana, in heauen liues Oriana'
Now We Haue Present Made	Anon.	GB-Ob: MSS Tenbury 1162-7, No.58	Consort Song with chorus and two soloists	Text by Sir Walter Ralegh. The lyrics refer to offering a present to 'Cynthia, Phoebe, Flora, Diana and Aurora', 'princes of world's affection'. The original event was probably in the late 1580s-1590s. However, this setting survives in a source from c1640 and the 'verse and chorus' idiom is more reminiscent of later composers such as Martin Peerson or Thomas Ravenscroft[8]

3) Other Songs likely to be from court entertainments

Secular Songs	Composer	Source	Genre	Connection with Court
Pour Down, Your Pow'rs Divine (with second part: 'No Grief is like to Mine')	Robert Parsons (also attributed to Nicholas Strogers)	GB-Lbl: Add MSS 17786-91 GB-Lcm; MS 2049 GB-Ob: Tenbury MS 3089 IRL-Dtc: Press B.1.32 GB-Ckc: MS2 *Voice & Bass Lute*	Consort Song	Written by a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal Exclamations to a character called 'Pandolpho' Possibly from a choirboy play of the 1560s
O Jove from Stately Throne	Richard Farrant	GB-Lbl: Add MSS 17786-91	Consort Song	Composed by Master of the Children of Windsor and the Chapel Royal. References to the character 'Altages' suggests it was possibly from a choirboy play of *King Xerxes*[9]

[8] Craig Monson, *Voices and Viols in England, 1600-1650: The Sources and the Music* (Ann Arbor, Mich: UMI Research Press, 1982), pp.227-30.
[9] Peter Le Huray and John Morehen, 'Farrant, Richard', in *GMO* <www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/09332> [accessed 20/08/2010].

Secular Songs	Composer	Source	Genre	Connection with Court
Come Tread the Paths	Anon.	GB-Lbl: Add MSS 17786 GB-Och: Music MSS 984-88 [Dow Partbooks] GB-Lbl: Add MS 29427 GB-Ob: Tenbury MS 3089 GB-AB: Brogyntyn MS27 *Lute & Voice*	Consort Song	Exclamations to 'Guichardo'. This could be the story of Tancred and Gismond, which was performed by the Inner Temple in 1567-8 (though these lyrics are not included in published version in 1591) or from a choirboy play of the same story.[10]
Cease Now, Vain Thoughts	Nathaniel Giles	GB-Lbl: Add MSS 17786 GB-Lbl: Add MSS 29372-7 GB-Lbl: Add MS 29427	Consort Song	Possibly from a choirboy play. Composed by a Master of the Children of Windsor and Chapel Royal.[11] This is likely to be from early in his career, probably the 1580s as consort-song laments were not in fashion in the second period of choirboy plays.[12]
Virgo Per Incertos Casus	Alphonso Ferrabosco	GB-Lbl: Add MSS 30810-5 GB-Lbl: Add MS 31417 GB-Lbl: Madrigal Society MSS.G.21-26 GB-Lcm: Mus MS2041 GB-Lcm: Mus MS2089 GB-Ob: Tenbury 340 GB-Ob: Tenbury 341-44 GB-Ob: Tenbury 389[13]	Six-Voice Latin Song	Possibly from a court drama- introduces the tale of a Virgin driven over land and sea who reaches Britain. Kerman suggests it might be the story of Io[14]

[10] Brett, ed., *Consort Songs*, p.178.
[11] J. Bunker Clark, 'Giles, Nathaniel', in *GMO* <www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/11136> [accessed 20/08/2010].
[12] Linda Austern, *Music in English Children's Drama of the Late Renaissance* (Philadelphia: Gordon and Breach, 1992), p.242.
[13] Alfonso Ferrabosco the Elder, *Latin Songs, French Chansons and English Songs*, ed. Richard Charteris, Corpus Mensurabilis Musice XCVI (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology, 1984), pp.xv, 7-11.
[14] Joseph Kerman, 'An Italian Musician in England', in *Write All These Down: Essays on Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), pp.139-51 (p.149[n1]).

Secular Songs	Composer	Source	Genre	Connection with Court
Where Fancy Fond	William Byrd	*Psalmes, Sonets and Songs*, 1588 GB-Och: Music MSS 984-88 [Dow Partbooks][15]	Consort Song	Brett suggests the elaborate allegories imply the context of a court entertainment.[16] Byrd was a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal
Come Yee Heauy States of Night	John Dowland	*The Second Booke of Songs or Ayres*, 1600	Lute Song/ Four-Part Ayre	Poulton suggests from a song or masque. A young woman laments death of father[17]

4) Further songs related to Elizabethan courtiers

This list includes song which set lyrics written by courtiers and songs written about courtiers. Probably few of these songs were written with the intention of direct political influence. Not all of the lyrics will have had a political meaning, many composers will have set poems written for earlier occasions, and it is not possible to distinguish between those performed at court and those composed for entertainment in aristocratic houses. This list excludes songs dedicated to courtiers, elegies, and seventeenth-century settings unlikely to have been made until after the death of the poet.

[15] William Byrd, *Madrigals, Songs and Canons*, ed. Philip Brett, The Byrd Edition 16 (London: Stainer and Bell, 1976), pp.99-101.
[16] ibid., pp.191-92.
[17] Poulton, *Dowland*, p.268.

Secular Songs	Composer	Source	Genre	Connection with Court
Musica Laeta	Alphonso Ferrabosco	GB-Ob: Mus Sch MSS c.45-50 GB-Ob: Mus.E.1-5 GB-Ob: Tenbury MS 341-44 GB-Ob: Tenbury MS 1018 GB-Och: Music MSS 78-82 GB-Och: Music MSS 463-67 GB-CF: D/DP Z6/1 GB-Lbl: Egerton MSS 2009-2012 GB-Lbl: Madrigal Society MSS.G .44-47, 49 US-NH: Filmer MS 1[18]	Six-Voice Latin Song	Farewell song. Charteris suggests it was written to Elizabeth, Kerman that it was written to Ferdinando Heybourne/Richardson, Groom of the Privy Chamber.[19]
I Ioy Not in No Earthly Blisse	William Byrd	*Psalmes, Sonets and Songs*, 1588	Five-Part Song	Text is attributed to Sir Edward Dyer
My Minde to Me a Kingdome is	William Byrd	*Psalmes, Sonets and Songs*, 1588	Five-Part Song	Text is attributed to Sir Edward Dyer or Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford
O You That Heare This Voice	William Byrd	*Psalmes, Sonets and Songs*, 1588	Five-Part Song	Text by Sir Philip Sidney
If Weemen Could be Faire	William Byrd	*Psalmes, Sonets and Songs*, 1588	Five-Part Song	Text attributed to Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford
Farewell, False Loue	William Byrd	*Psalmes, Sonets and Songs*, 1588	Five-Part Song	Text by Sir Walter Ralegh in the context of political rivalry with Sir Thomas Heneage (who responded with his own poem: 'Most welcome love'). This setting probably postdates the poetic exchange.[20]

[18] Ferrabosco, *Latin Songs*, pp.xv, 1-6.
[19] Ferrabosco, *Latin Songs*, p.1; Kerman 'An Italian Musician in England', p.142.
[20] Steven May, *The Elizabethan Courtier Poets: The Poems and their Contexts* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1991), p.116.

Secular Songs	Composer	Source	Genre	Connection with Court
O Deere Life	William Byrd	*Songs of Sundrie Natures*, 1589	Five-Part Song	Text by Sir Philip Sidney
What Vaileth it	William Byrd	GB-Lbl: Add MS 31992	Six-Part Song	Text by Sir Philip Sidney
Were I a King	John Mundy	*Songs and Psalmes Composed into 3.4. and 5. Parts*, 1594	Five-Part Song	Text by Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford
Who Euer Thinks or Hopes of Loue	John Dowland	*The First Booke of Songes or Ayres*, 1597	Lute Song/ Four-Part Ayre	Love complaint by Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke (an altered version of Caelica sonnet 50)
Can She Excuse My Wrongs	John Dowland	*The First Booke of Songes or Ayres*, 1597	Lute Song/ Four-Part Ayre	Instrumental settings are entitled 'the Earl of Essex Galliard', but there is no clear evidence that the lyrics are connected to Essex.
Now, O Now I Needs Must Part	John Dowland	*The First Booke of Songes or Ayres*, 1597	Lute Song/ Four-Part Ayre	To the tune of the 'Frog Galliard', whose name may be related to Elizabeth's suitor, Duke of Anjou, whom Elizabeth called her 'frog'.
Fly Loue That Art So Sprightly	Thomas Morley	*Canzonets or Litle Short Aers to Fiue and Sixe Voices*, 1597	Five-Part Ayre	Bonny Boots[21]
Our Bonny Bootes Could Toote It[22]	Thomas Morley	*Canzonets or Litle Short Aers to Fiue and Sixe Voices*, 1597	Five-Part Ayre	Bonny Boots

[21] Bonny Boots appears to have been a courtier with a talent for singing and dancing. The name has been suggested as a pseudonym for Henry Noel or Christopher Morley (possibly a relation of the composer, Thomas Morley): David Greer, ' "Thou Court's Delight": Biographical Notes on Henry Noel', *Lute Society Journal* 17 (1975), 49-59; Sukanta Chaudhuri, 'Marlowe, Madrigals, and a New Elizabethan Poet', *Review of English Studies*, n.s.39 (1988), 199-216 (pp.213-15).

[22] On the death of Bonny Boots, William Holborne wrote 'Since Bonny-Boots Was Dead' which was published in Anthony Holborne, *The Cittharn Schoole* (1597).

Secular Songs	Composer	Source	Genre	Connection with Court
O Sweet Woods	John Dowland	*The Second Booke of Songs or Ayres*, 1600	Lute Song/ Four-Part Ayre	Lyrics refer to Wanstead, where Essex often withdrew to from court (they also quote from Sir Philip Sidney's *Old Arcadia*)
Faction That Euer Dwels	John Dowland	*The Second Booke of Songs or Ayres*, 1600	Lute Song/ Four-Part Ayre	Words by Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke (Caelica Sonnet 29)
Thus Bonny Boots the Birthday Celebrated	John Holmes	*The Triumphes of Oriana* , 1601	Six-Voice Madrigal	Bonny Boots
Come Blessed Bird!	Edward Johnson	*The Triumphes of Oriana*, 1601	Six-Voice Madrigal	Bonny Boots
It Was a Time When Silly Bees	John Dowland	*The Third and Last Booke of Songs or Aires*, 1603	Lute Song/ Four-Part Ayre	Steven May concludes that this poem is likely to have been written by Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, although though some sources attribute it to his secretary, Henry Cuffe[23]
The Lowest Trees Haue Tops	John Dowland	*The Third and Last Booke of Songs or Aires*, 1603	Lute Song/ Four-Part Ayre	Lyrics attributed to Sir Edward Dyer.
Change Thy Minde Since She Doth Change	Richard Martin	Robert Dowland, *A Musicall Banquet*, 1610	Lute Song	Words by Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex
My Heauie Sprite	Anthony Holborne	Robert Dowland *A Musicall Banquet*, 1610	Lute Song	Words by the George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland
To Plead My Faith	Daniel Bacheler	Robert Dowland *A Musicall Banquet*, 1610	Lute Song	Words by Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex

[23] Steven May, 'The Poems of Edward De Vere, Seventeenth Earl of Oxford and of Robert Devereux, Second Earl of Essex. An Edition and Commentary', *Studies in Philology* 77 (1980), 1-132 (p.113).

Appendix D

Accounts of Progress Entertainments with Evidence of Music

Date	Place	Extant Accounts of the Entertainment	Summary of Evidence For Music
1573?	Rye	*The First Anointed Queene I Am, Within this Town which Euer Came* (n.p., 1573?)	Broadside ballad, exhorting people to sing and rejoice
1574 (Aug)	Bristol	Thomas Churchyard, 'The Whole Order Howe Oure Soueraigne Ladye Queene Elizabeth, was Receyued into the Citie of Bristow, and the Speaches Spoken Before Her Presens, at Her Wntry, with the Residue of Versis and Matter that Might Not be Spoken (for Distance of the Place) but Sent in a Boek Ouer the Waetter', in *The Firste Parte of Churchyardes Chippes* (London, 1575)	Gives the text of a hymn sung by a boy in Sunday when she went to hear a sermon at the college.
1574 (Aug)	Bristol	Adam's Chronicle of Bristol: GB-BRO:13748(4)[1]	During Elizabeth's entry orphans sang 'a solemn song'
1574 (Aug)	Bristol	D.S., 'A Woorthy Dittie, Song Before the Queenes Maiestie at Bristowe', in Richard Edwards, *The Paradyse of Daynty Deuises*, (London, 1576)	Lyrics for 'Mistrust not Truth'
1574 (Aug)	Bristol	Thomas Churchyard, 'Written of the Queene, when Her Highnesse was in Trouble', in *A Pleasaunte Laborinth Called Churchyardes Chance* (London, 1580)	Lyrics for 'Mistrust not Truth'
1575 (July)	Kenilworth	Robert Laneham, *A Letter Whearin Part of the Entertainment vntoo the Queenz Maiesty at Killingwoorth Castl in Warwik Sheer in this Soomerz Progress 1575 is Signified* (London, 1575)	➢ six giant trumpeters at the gate for the Queen's arrival ➢ 'Hautboiz, Shalmz, Cornets, and such oother looud Muzik' after the Lady of the Lake pageant ➢ Lutes, viols, shawms, cornetts, flutes, recorders & harps, displayed on the castle bridge as presents from Apollo, and an 'armony of Flutez' performed. ➢ music of sundry instruments (mixed consort) accompanied dancing on Sunday afternoon ➢ Elizabeth heard music played from a barge

[1] Mark Pilkinton, ed., *Records of Early English Drama: Bristol* (University of Toronto Press, 1997), pp.91-92.

Date	Place	Extant Accounts of the Entertainment	Summary of Evidence For Music
			➢ a morris dance ➢ dancing in the chamber distracts Elizabeth from watching the rustic Brideale ➢ Arion [Proteus] sings accompanied by six musicians (mixed consort) hidden in a dolphin ➢ Device of an Ancient Minstrel singing a song of King Arthur to his harp was prepared but not performed (some lyrics given)
1575 (July)	Kenilworth	George Gascoigne, 'The Princely Pleasures Kenelworth Castle', in *The Pleasauntest Workes of George Gascoigne* (London, 1587)	➢ giant trumpeters ➢ musical instruments given as gifts ➢ sweet music, drums and fifes and trumpets on Elizabeth's arrival at the house itself. ➢ Lyrics for 'The Song of Protheus' accompanied by a consort hidden in a Dolphin (mixed consort) ➢ Lyrics for 'O Muses Now Come Helpe Me to Reioyce' from an unperformed show about the nymph Zabeta (a song or 'rondled' for Diana and her nymphs to sing to an accompaniment of unseen music) ➢ Lyrics for 'Come Muses Come and Help Me to Lament' (The Song of Deep Desire) at Elizabeth's departure accompanied by a hidden consort (mixed consort)
1575 (Sept)	Woodstock	*The Queenes Maiesties Entertainement at Woodstock* (London, 1585)	➢ 'A diuine sound of vnacquainted instruments in the hollow roome vnder the house' during a banquet (mixed consort) ➢ Edward Dyer's lyrics for 'The Song in the Oke' (with 'ye sound both of voice and instrument')
1578 (May)	Wanstead	Sir Philip Sidney, 'Her Most Excellent Maiestie Walking in Wanstead Garden', published at the end of *The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia*, (London, 1598)	➢ Lyrics for a singing contest between Espilus (with shepherds playing recorders made to look like bagpipes) and Therion (with Foresters playing cornets made to look like hunting horns) ➢ lyrics for Espilus's victory song: 'Siluanus Long in Love'

Date	Place	Extant Accounts of the Entertainment	Summary of Evidence For Music
1578 (Aug)	Norwich	Bernard Garter, *The Ioyfull Receyving of the Queenes Most Excellent Maiesie into Hir Highnesse Citie of Norwich* (London, 1578)	➢ Waytes with loud music welcome Elizabeth into the city ➢ Loud music in the chambers of a gate for the second pageant ➢ Beneath the gate: soft music (mixed consort) and for the song 'From slumber softe' (lyrics given) ➢ Te Deum sung at Cathedral ➢ Masque accompanied by a consort of six musicians (mixed consort) ➢ Lyrics for 'It Seemeth Straunge' sung by Apollo to a bandonet during the masque. ➢ Lyrics for 'What Vayleth Life', sung at Elizabeth's departure
1578 (Aug)	Norwich	Thomas Churchyard, *A Discourse of the Queenes Maiesties Entertainement in Suffolk and Norffolk* (London, 1578)	➢ Lyrics for 'The Deaw of Heauen', sung by the 'Waytes and best voyces' during Elizabeth's entry ➢ 'noyse of Musicke' on the stage at Master Peckes door, as well as bellringing ➢ A 'Song of chast life' during the *Show of Dame Chastity* (no lyrics) ➢ 'consorte of broken Musicke'(mixed consort) and a dance with timbrels for the unperformed show of the water nymphs ➢ 'dolefull song for the death of *Manhood, Fauour,* and *Dezartes'* composed for the unperformed *Shew of Manhode* & *Dezart* (no lyrics) ➢ Fairies dance with timbrels
1578 (Aug)	Norwich	Raphael Holinshed, *The Third Volume of Chronicles, Beginning at Duke William the Norman, Commonlie Called the Conqueror; and Descending by Degrees of Yeeres to All the Kings and Queenes of England in their Orderlie Successions* (London, 1586), pp.1292-93	Combines the details of Garter and Churchyard's account. In addition it includes the lyrics 'Chast life liues long and lookes' for the *Show of Dame Chastity*.

Date	Place	Extant Accounts of the Entertainment	Summary of Evidence For Music
1584 (Nov)	London	Richard Harrington, *A Famous Dittie of the Ioyfull Receauing of the Queens Moste Excellent Maiestie, by the Worthy Citizens of London the Xij Day of Nouember, 1584. at Her Graces Coming to St James* (London, 1584)	Broadside Ballad
1591 (Aug)	Cowdray	*The Speeches and Honorable Entertainment Giuen to the Queenes Maiestie in Progresse, at Cowdrey in Sussex, by the Right Honorable the Lord Montacute* (London, 1591), STC 3907.7	➢ Music as Elizabeth approaches the house ➢ Lyrics for 'Behold her Lockes' accompanied by 'her Highnesse musicians' (possible extant setting by Richard Jones – see Appendix C) ➢ Lyrics for 'There is a bird' ➢ Lyrics for 'The song of the Fisherman' ('The fish that seekes for food'
1591 (Aug)	Cowdray	*The Honourable Entertainment Given to Her Majestie in Progresse at Cowdray in Sussex, by the Right honourable the Lord Montague, Anno 1591, August 15* (London, 1591), STC 39025.[2]	Excludes the song texts given in the other edition Additionally describes a dance of 'countrie people' accompanied by taber and pipe on Thursday.
1591 (Sept)	Elvetham	*The Honorable Entertainement Gieuen to the Queenes Maiestie in Progresse, at Eluetham in Hampshire, by the Right Honorable the Earle of Hertford* (London, 1591)	➢ Lyrics for 'The Song sung by the Graces and the houres at her Majesties first arrival', a song in six parts ('With Fragant flowers we strew the way'). A setting survives by Francis Pilkington – see Appendix C) ➢ A consort of six musicians (mixed consort) provided after-dinner entertainment. ➢ Elizabeth renames a Pavan by Thomas Morley ➢ In the show on the lake: - Tritons with trumpets - three virgins in a boat with cornetts play Scottish gigs 'made three parts in one' - A pinnace contained three voices and one lute, and two further boats of lutes and voices provided echoes. Lyrics for 'The Sea Nymph Dittie' (an echo song) which was

[2] See Jean Wilson, *Entertainments for Elizabeth I* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1980), p.88. Her version pairs the information from both editions (pp.86-95). John Nichols prints the second edition in *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth: Among which are Interspersed Other Solemnities, Public Expenditures, and Remarkable Events, during the Reign of that Illustrious Princess* (London, 1823), Vol.3, pp.90-96.

Date	Place	Extant Accounts of the Entertainment	Summary of Evidence For Music
			sung to the lute 'with divisions' ➢ Lyrics for 'The Plowans Song', sung beneath Elizabeth's window in the morning. A song of Coridon and Phyllida in 'three parts of purpose'. A setting by John Baldwin is extant – see Appendix C) ➢ Lyrics 'Elisa is the Fairest Quene' sung by the Fairy Queen and her maids. A song of six parts with a consort including lute, bandora, bass viol, cittern, treble viol and flute (mixed consort). A setting by Edward Johnson is extant – see Appendix C) ➢ Lyrics for 'Come Againe, Faire Nature's Treasure' performed by a hidden (mixed) consort of musicians and two singers. A setting survives by Edward Johnson – see Appendix C)
1591 (Sept)	Elvetham	'newlie corrected and amended' edition'[3]	As above with the following changes: ➢ Slightly different lyrics for 'The Sea Nymph Dittie' ➢ 'The Plowmans Song' is called 'The Three Men's Song' ➢ The lyrics are altered for 'Come Againe, Faire Nature's Treasure'
1592 Aug	Bisham	*I.B., ed., Speeches Deliuered to Her Maiestie this Last Progresse at the Right Honorable the Lady Russels, at Bissam, the Right Honorable the Lorde Chandos at Sudley, at the Right Honorable the Lord Norris, at Ricorte* (Oxford, 1592)	➢ Cornetts sounded in the wood and follow Elizabeth's procession to Bisham house ➢ Lyrics for Ceres's song, 'Swel now for other Gods are shrinking'
1592 Aug	Sudeley		➢ Apollo sings 'My Heart and Tongue were Twinnes' (extant setting by John Dowland – see Appendix C) ➢ Lyrics for 'Hearbes, Wordes and Stones', sung by 'Do.' during the shepherds' device.

[3] Wilson, *Entertainments*, pp.99-118 collates both editions. John Nichols the prints second version (*Progresses*, Vol.3, pp.101-21).

Date	Place	Extant Accounts of the Entertainment	Summary of Evidence For Music
1592 Sept	Ricote		After letters and gifts were delivered there was 'sweete musicke' and two sonnets.
1592 Sept? -before Ricote	Ditchley	GB-Lbl: Add MS 41499a [Ditchley MS][4]	➢ 'The Maiden's Song' ('Unconstancie and presumptious yocke') ➢ 'The Thirde Knights Songe' ('When first I entred this enchaunted wood') ➢ 'The Song at the Ladies Thangkgevinge' ('To that Grace that sett us free') ➢ 'The Song at Ther Departure' ('Happie houre, happie daie')
1592 Sept? -before Ricote	Ditchley	Hamper MS (now lost)[5]	➢ 'The Song at the Ladies Thangkgevinge' ('To that Grace that sett us free') ➢ 'The Song at Ther Departure' ('Happie houre, happie daie')
1598 (Sept)	Mitcham	GB-Lbl: Add MS 12497, fol.253^{r}-262^{v} (The Papers of Dr Julius Caesar)[6]	➢ Text for the song 'I Cannot Chuse but Laugh' in the Device of the Painter, Poet and Musician ➢ The Dite of the Greak Song ['Cupid as he lay among']
1602 (July)	Harefield	US-Ws: Folger MS X.d.172 [Conway MS][7]	Lyrics for 'Cynthia Queene of Seas and Lands', sung before a Lottery.
1602 (July)	Harefield	I.D., 'A Lottery Presented Before the Late Queenes Maiestie at the Lord Chancellor's House 1601', in Francis Davison's *A Poetical Rapsodie* (London, 1608), sig.B2^{v}	Lyrics for 'Cynthia Queene of Seas and Lands', sung by a mariner. (Extant setting by Richard Jones – see Appendix C)

[4] See Wilson, *Entertainments*, pp.119-142. Her edition pieces together of these fragmentary accounts, as well as Inner Temple: Petyt MS 538/43 and 'An Excellent Dialogue Betweene Constancie and Inconstancie', in R.S., *The Phoenix Nest* (London, 1593), which do not include evidence of music.
[5] Printed in Nichols, *Progresses*, Vol.3, p.193.
[6] Leslie Hotson, ed., *Queen Elizabeth's Entertainment at Mitcham* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953).
[7] Printed in Peter Cunningham, ed., Shakespeare Society Papers, 4 vols (London, 1845), Vol.2, pp.65-75.

Appendix E
Political Broadside Ballads from Elizabeth's Reign

This list of ballads has been compiled using: Hyder Rollins, *An Analytical Index to the Ballad-Entries (1557-1709) in the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1924); E. Arber, ed., *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London: 1554-1640*, 5 vols (London: Stationers Company, 1875-94); Carol Livingston, *British Broadside Ballads of the 16th Century* (New York: Garland, 1991).

Extant copies are given in **bold**. Other titles are taken from the Stationers' Register.

Ballads in Praise of Elizabeth

Date	Title	Author	Publisher/ Manuscript	Motivation
1558-59	*A Dyloge Sett Further by Twine the Queens Maiestie and Englonde*	[Rollins suggests this is the same as William Birche's 1564 ballad]	William Copland	Elizabeth's Accession and/or Coronation
1561-62	*In Prayse of Worthy Ladyes Here in by Name and Especially or Queen Elysabeth so Worthy of Fame*		Thomas Hackett	
1562?	***A Newe Ballade***	**R.M.**	**John Tisdale?**	**Anti-Papist Advice to Elizabeth about religion**
1564 4 Sept?	***A Songe Betweene the Quenes Maiestie and England***	**William Birche**	**William Pickering**	**Reprint of 1558-59 song?**
1569?	***A Godly Ditty or Prayer to be Song Vnto God for the Preseruation of His Church, Our Queene and Realme, Against all Traytours, Rebels, and Papisticall Enemies***	**John Awdelay**	**John Awdelay**	**At the time of the Northern Rising**
1569-70	*A Godly Meditation in Myter for the Preservation of the Queens Maiestie for Peace*		John Kingston	At the time of the Northern Rising

Date	Title	Author	Publisher/ Manuscript	Motivation
1577	***A Prayer and Also a Thankesgiuing Vnto God for His Great Mercy in Giuing, and Preseruing Our Noble Queene Elizabeth, to Liue and Reigne Ouer Vs, to His Honour and Glory, and Our Comfort in Christ Iesus: To be Sung the Xvii Day of Nouember 1577***	**I. Pit, minister**	**Christopher Barker**	**Accession Day**
1578 April 9	*A Song of Reioycinge Wherein Maie be Seene Howe Muche Little England is Bound to Our Queene*		Richard Jones	
1578 3 Oct	*A Psalme or Songe of Praise and Thankes Gyvinge to be Songe on the Xviith Day of November for the Quenes Maiesty*		Christopher Barker	Accession Day
1578 15 Nov	*An Antheme or Songe Beginnine the Lord Save and Blesse with Good Encrease the Churche Our Queen and Realm in Peace*		Christopher Barker	Accession Day
1578 15 Nov	*ii Little Anthemes or Thinges in Meeter of Hir Maiestie*		Christopher Barker	Accession Day
1578 15 Nov	*A Song for Yche Subiect that in England Beare Breathe to Praise God and Saie God Save Quene Elizabeth*		Richard Jones	Accession Day
1579 [13 Aug]	***A Dittie to the Tune of Welsh Sydãnen Made to the Queenes Maj.***	**Lodovic Lloyd**	**[Richard Jones]**	
1583	***Ann: Foelicissimi Regni Reginae Elizabeth: XXVI***	**William Patten**	**Abel Jeffes**	**Accession Day**
11 Nov 1584	*A Psalme to be Songe as a Thankesgyvinge on the Xvijth of November 1584, for the Queenes Happie Reigne &c*		Abel Jeffes	Accession Day
1586 27 Aug	*A Ioyfull Songe Made by a Citizen of London in the Behalfe of All Her Maiesties Subiectes Touchinge the Ioy for the Takinge of the Traitours*		Richard Jones	After Babington Plot
1586	***A Godlie Dittie to be Song for the Preseruation of the Queens Most Exclent Maiesties Raigne***	**R Thacker**	**Abel Jeffes**	**After Babington plot ?Accession Day**

Date	Title	Author	Publisher/ Manuscript	Motivation
1586	***A Prayer & Thanksgiving to God for Ye Blessed, Prosperous & Peaceable Raigne of that Gratious & Famous Q: Eliz: Made in Berwick, Sung There in Triumphe, ye . 17. of Novemb: 1586***	**Ste. Barnclough**	**GB-Lbl: Egerton MS 2877, fol.104^{v}-105^{r}**	**Accession Day celebrations in Berwick**
1586 21 Dec	*A Prayer or Thankesgyving made by the Prisoners of Ludgate in ye 29 Yere of the Queens Reign*		Thomas Nelson	
1587 6 Feb	*A Ballat of the Peoples Reioycing for the Late Orders Appointed by Her Maiestie for their Relief*		Richard Jones	?Response to proclamation against engrossers of corn 2 Jan 1587
1587 6 Feb	*The Thankfull Hartes of the Poore Commons to Our Gracious Queen &c*		Thomas Purfoote	?Response to proclamation against engrossers of corn 2 Jan 1587
1587 14 Nov	*A Prayer and Thancksgyvinge Vnto God for the Prosperous Estate and Longe Contynuance of the Queenes Maiestie to be Songe on the Xvijth of November 1597*		Jno. Cherlewood	Accession Day
1587 20 Nov	*A Newe Yeres Remembrance Wherein We May Ween Howe Muche We Be Beholden to Ye Quene*		Thomas Duffield	Post Accession Day. Marking a new year in reign
1588 31 July	*A Godly Prayer for the Preservation of the Queens Maistie, and for Her Armys Bothe by Sea and Land Againste the Enemies of the Church and this Realme England*		Thomas Woodcock	Post-Armada
1588 7 Oct	*A Ballad of Thankes Gyvinge Vnto God for His Mercy Toward Hir Maiestie Begynnynge Reioyce England*		Henry Kirkham	Post Armada

Date	Title	Author	Publisher/ Manuscript	Motivation
1588 4 Nov	*A Songe Wherein is Conteyned the Treacherie of the Wicked and is Made to be Songe on the Coronacon Daye or at Any Other Tyme*		John Wolfe	'Coronation Day' was a common name for Accession Day. Also Armada Triumphs due to be held 19 Nov in London
1588	***Ad Serenissimam Elizabetham Angliae Reginam***	**Théodore de Bèza**	**George Bishop and Ralph Newbery**	**Post-Armada**
1588-89?	***A Hartie Thankes Giuinge to God for Or Queens Most Excellent Maiestie and is to be Sounge to Ye Tune of Ye Medley***		**GB-Ob: MS Rawlinson Poet 185 fol.11^{v}-12^{r}**	**After the Armada**
1588-89?	***A Proper New Ballade Wherein is Plaine to be Seene how God Blesseth England for Loue of Or Queene Soung to Ye Tune of Tarletons Caroll***		**GB-Ob: MS Rawlinson Poet 185 fol.13^{r-v}.**	**After the Armada**
1594 15 Nov	*A Most Ioyfull Newe Ballad Shewinge the Happiness of England for Her Maiesties Blessed Reigne and the Subiects Ioy for the Same*		Edward White	Accession Day
1595 19 Nov	*A Triumphant Newe Ballad in Honour of the Quenes Maiestie and Her Most Happie Gouernement Who Hath Reigned in Great Prosperitie 37 Yeres*		William Blackwall	In the wake of Accession Day celebrations
1595 20 Nov	*Englandes Trymphe Conteyning Diuerse of those Aboundant Blessings Wherewith This Our Realme Hathe Ben Blessed by Our Most Gratious Queene Elizabethes Reigne*		John Danter	In the wake of Accession Day celebrations
1598 [17 Nov]	***Anno Foelicissimi Regni Augustae Reginae Nostrae Elizabeth Quadragesimo Primo, Fauste[m] Iam Incepto Psal. Terseptimus, Domine in Virtute Tua***	**William Patten**	**Thomas Purfoote**	**Accession Day**

Date	Title	Author	Publisher/ Manuscript	Motivation
1600	***A Pleasant Newe Ballad of the Most Blessed and Prosperous Raigne of Her Maiestye for the Space of Two and Fortye Yeeres, and Now Entring into the Three and Fortieth to the Great Ioy and Comfort of All Her Ma[iestyes] Faythfull Subiects***		**GB-Lbl: Add MS 82923, fol.184^{v}-185^{r} [Shirburn Ballads] (probably copied from printed ballad)**	**Accession Day**
1602	*A Comfortable Songe or Thanke Giving to be Song the Xvijth Day of Nouember for the Most Gratious and Happie Reigne of Our Sovereigne Lady Quene Elizabethe*		Edward Allde	Accession Day

Ballads about Royal Entries and Court Entertainments

Date	Title	Author	Publisher/ Manuscript	Topic
1573	***The First Anointed Queene I Am: Within this Town which Euer Came. A Saying of Each Good Subiect of Rye***			**Elizabeth's Visit to Rye on progress**
1579 24 Mar	*Ye Receiving of the Quenes Maiestie into Norwiche*		John Cherlewood	Queens Progress to Norwich Aug 1578
1579 31 Mar	*A Pleasant Sonnet of the Joyfull Receyvinge of ye Quenes Maiestye into Norwyche with the Dolor of ye same at Hir Departure*		Richard Jones	Queens Progress to Norwich Aug 1578
1581 16 Jan	*The Challenge of the Justes*		John Cherlewood	Tournament at Court
1581 1 Oct	*The Entertainment of the Frenchemen*		Roger Ward	Entertaining French Ambassadors
1584 [c12 Nov]	***A Famous Dittie of the Ioyful Receauing of the Quens Moste Excellent Maiestie, by the Worthy Citizens of London the Xij day of Nouember, 1584, at Her Graces Coming to Saint James***	**Richard Harrington**	**Edward Allde**	**Elizabeth's entry into London prior to Accession Day**

Date	Title	Author	Publisher/ Manuscript	Topic
1586 1 Aug	*The Queens Passage into the Parliament 23 Novembris Anno 27&c*		Edward White	Queen going to Parliament
1588 [10 Aug]	***A Ioyful Song of the Royall Receiuing of the Queenes Most Excellent Maiestie into Her Highnesse Campe at Tilsburie in Essex: On Thursday and Fryday the Eight and Ninth of August. 1588***	**T.I.**	**John Wolfe for Richard Jones**	**Elizabeth's reviewing of the troops at Tilsbury**
1588 [10 Aug]	***The Queenes Visiting of the Campe at Tilsburie with Her Entertainment There***	**Thomas Deloney**	**John Wolfe for Edward White**	**Elizabeth's reviewing of the troops at Tilsbury**
1588 7 Sept	*The Martiall Shewes of Horsmen Before Her Maiestoe at Sainct James*		John Wolfe	After Armada
1588 4 Nov	*A Joyfull Ballad of the Roiall Entrance of Quene ELIZABETH into Her City of London the [ ] Day of November 1588 and of the Solemnity Used by Her Maiestie to the Glory of God for the Ouerthrowe of the Spaniardes*		John Wolfe	Entry into London for Armada Celebrations
1588 14 Nov	*A Newe Ballad of the Famous and Honorable Commyng of Master Candishes Shippe Called the Desyer Before the Quenes Maiestie at Her Court at Grenwich the 12 November 1588 &c*		John Wolfe	Receiving of Thomas Cavendish, Explorer at Court
1588 25 Nov	*A Joyfull Songe or Sonnett of the Royall Receauinge of the Queens Maiestye into the Cyttye of London on Sondaye the 24th of November 1588 All Alonge Flete Street to the Cathedrall Churche of Sainct Paule*		Thomas Orwin	Entry into London for Armada Celebrations
1588 26 Nov	*An Excellent Dyttie of the Queenes Comminge to Paules Crosse the 24th Daie of November 1588*		Thomas Nelson	Entry into London for Armada Celebrations

Date	Title	Author	Publisher/ Manuscript	Topic
1588 27 Nov	*Ioyfull Tryumphs Perfromed by Dyvuerse Christian Princes Beyond the Seas for the Happiness of England and the Ouerthrowe of the Spanishe Navye, Shewinge Also the Justinge at Westminster on the Coronacon*		John Wolfe	Armada and Accession Day Tournaments
1589 5 Feb	*A Ballad of Her Maisties Ridinge to Her Highe Court of Parliamente*		William Blackwall	Queen going to Parliament
1593 18 Mar	*A Ioyfull Newe Ballad of Our Queens Going to the Parliament Shewing Her Most Happie and Prosperous Reigne and the Great Care She Hath for the Government of Her People Made this Yere 1593*		Abel Jeffes	Queen going to Parliament
1593 21 Nov	*The Honnour of the Tilthe. Xvij Novembris 1593*		John Danter	Accession Day Tournament
1594 15 Nov	*A Ballad of the Triumph at the Title and Thanksgyving the Xvijth of November 1594 for Her Maiesties Xxxvj Yeares Reigne*		Edward White	Accession Day Tournament
1595 18 Nov	*A Newe Ballad of the Honorable Order of the Runnynge at Tilt at Whitehall the 17 of November in the 38 Yere of Her Maiesties Reign*		John Danter	Accession Day Tournament
1597 31 Oct	*A Newe Balled Yoifullie Shewinge Our Queenes Goinge to the Parliament Howse the 24 October 1597*		Robert Dowsy	Queen going to Parliament

Other Political Ballads

Date	Title	Author	Publisher/ Manuscript	Topic
1564 4 Sept?	***A Complaynt Agaynst the Wicked Enemies of Christ in That They Haue So Tyrannusly Handled the Poore Chrystians***	**Anon.**	**Printed for William Pickering**	**Anti-Catholic Criticising continuing access of Catholics to Elizabeth and her treatment under Mary.**
1569?	***A Godly Ditty or Prayer to be Song vnto God for the Preseruation of His Church, Our Queene and Realme, Against All Traytours, Rebels, and Papisticall Enemies***	**John Awdelay**	**John Awdelay**	**At the time of the Northern Rising**
1569-70	*The Confusion of ye Rebelles with a Songe of Thankes for the Same*		John Allde	Northern Rising
1569-70	*The Dysordered Rebbelles in the North*		Henry Kirkham	Northern Rising
1569-70	*A Letter with Spede Sent to the Pope Declaringe the Rebelles*		William Griffiths	Northern Rising
1569-70	*A Manyfest or a Playne Dyscourse of a Hole Packefull of Popish Knavery*		Richard Jones	Northern Rising
1569-70	*The Marchyng Mates of Rebelles Starte*		John Allde	Northern Rising
1569-70	*A Newe Yeres Gife to the Rebellious Persons in the North Parties of Englande*		Thomas Purfoote	Northern Rising
1569-70	*Newes to Northumberlande yt Skelles Not Where to Syr John Shorne, a Church Rebel There*		Thomas Colwell	Northern Rising
1569-70	*The Papestes in Nowyse the Truthcan Abyde*		James Roberts	Northern Rising
1569-70	*The Rebelles*		John Arnold	Northern Rising
1569-70	*This Geare Goeth Well and Better yt Shall*		Thomas Colwell	Northern Rising
1569-70	*Ye Welcom to London Agaustnst the Rebelles Come into Northumberlande and Those Yat of the Side Hath Bene*		William Griffiths	Northern Rising

Date	Title	Author	Publisher/ Manuscript	Topic
1570	***A Ballat Intituled Northomberland Newes Wherin You Maye See What Rebelles Do Vse.***	**William Elderton**	**Thomas Purfoote**	**Northern Rising**
1570	***Newes from Northumberland***	**William Elderton**	**Thomas Colwell**	**Northern Rising**
1570	***Ioyfull Newes for True Subiectes, to God and the Crowne the Rebelles are Cooled, their Bragges be Put Downe.***	**William Kirkham**	**William How for Richard Jones**	**Northern Rising**
1569-70	*Prepare Yow Popelynges Vnto Shrifte Before Yow Take Your Newe Yeres Gyfte &c*		William Griffiths	Northern Rising
1569-70	*Rebelles Not Fearunge God Oughte Therfore to Fele the Rodde*		John Fairbeard	Northern Rising
1570	***A Lamentation from Rome, How the Pope Doth Bewayle, That the Rebelles in England Can Not Preuayle***	**Thomas Preston**	**Wylliam Gryffith**	**Northern Rising**
1570	***A Ballad Intituled, A Newe Well a Daye as Playne Maister Papist, as Donstable Waye.***	**William Elderton**	**Thomas Colwell**	**Northern Rising**
1570	***A Ballad Reioycinge the Sodaine Fall, of Rebels that Thought to Deuower Vs All***		**William How for Henry Kirkham**	**Northern Rising**
1570	***The Plagues of Northomberland***	**John Barker**	**Thomas Colwell**	**Northern Rising**
1570	***A Ballad Intituled, Prepare Ye to the Plowe***	**William Elderton**	**William How, for Richard Jones**	**After Northern Rising**
1570	***A Discription of Nortons Falcehod of Yorke shyre, and of His Fatall Farewel***	**William Gibson**	**Alexander Lacie, for Henry Kirkham**	**Northern Rising**
1570	*A Revye to Rome because Pope Malyparte ys in a Fume*		Thomas Cowell	Northern Rising
1570	*The Severall Confessions of Thomas and Christopher Norton*		Richard Jones	Northern Rising
1570	*The Replye to the Popes Bull*		John Sampson	Papal Bull
1570	***The Braineles Blessing of the Bull***		**Alexander Lacie**	**Papal Bull**

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1570	***A Newe Ballade Intituled, Agaynst Rebellious and False Rumours***	**Thomas Bette**	**Wylliam Gryffyth**	**Condemning wild rumours of Catholic Uprising**
1570	***The End and Confession of Iohn Felton Who Suffred in Paules Churcheyeard in London, the. Vii. of August, for High Treason***	**F. G.**	**William How for William Pickering**	**Papal Bull**
1570	***A Letter to Rome, to Declare to ye Pope, Iohn Felton His Freend is Hangd in a Rope and Farther, a Right His Grace to Enforme, He Dyed a Papist, and Seemd Not to Turne***	**Steven Peele**	**Alexander Lacie for Henrie Kyrkham**	**Papal Bull**
1570-71	*The Begynnynge and Endynge of All Popery*		William Pickering	Northern Rebellion or Execution of John Felton?
1571?	***A Balad Intituled A Cold Pye for the Papists Wherein is Contained: The Trust of True Subiectes for Suppressing of Sedicious Papistire and Rebellion to the Maintenance of the Gospell, and the Publique Peace of England***	**John Phillip**	**William How for Richard Jones**	**Anti-Papist Prayer**
1572	***A Balad Intituled, the Dekaye of the Duke***	**William Elderton**	**Thomas Colwell**	**Treason of Duke of Norfolk**
1579 9 Aug	*A Ballat Wherein Yee Maye See Ye Hartie Sorowe of THOMAS APPLETREE*		John Allde	The accidental shooting of a gun at court
1579 10 Aug	***A Newe Ballade, Declaryng the Daungerons Shootynge of the Gunne at the Courte to the Tune of Sicke and Sicke***	**William Elderton**	**Edward White**	**The accidental shooting of a gun at court**

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1581	***Triumph for True Subiects and a Terrour unto Al Traitors By the Example of the late death of Edmund Campion, Ralphe Sherwin and Thomas Briars, Jesuites and Seminarie priestes: Who Suffered at Tyburne, on Friday, the First Daye of December Anno Domini 1581***	**?William Elderton**	**Richard Jones**	**Execution of Campion and fellow Jesuits**
1584	***England's Lamentation For the Late Treasons Conspired Against the Queenes Maiestie by Fraunces Throgmorton; Who was Executed at Tybourne, on the 10 Day of July Anno 1584***	**W.M.**	**T.H.**	**Execution of Throgmorton**
1586	***A Most Ioyfull Songe Made in the Behalfe of All Her Maiesties Faithfull and Louing Subiects of the Great Ioy which was Made in London at the Taking of the Late Trayterous Conspirators***	**Thomas Deloney**	**Richard Jones**	**Babington Plot**
1586 24 Aug	*A Newe Ballad of Reioycinge for the Revealinge of the Quenes Enemyes*		Edward Allde	Babington Plot
1586	***A Proper New Ballad, Breefely Declaring the Death and Execution of 14 Most Wicked Traitors, Who Suffred Death in Lincolnes Inne Feelde Neere London: the 20 and 21 of September 1586.***	**Thomas Deloney**	**Edward Allde**	**Execution of Babington and conspirators**
1586	***A Proper Newe Ballad Declaring the Substaunce of All the Late Pretended Treasons Against the Queenes Maiestie, and Estates of this Realme by Sundry Traytors Who were Executed in Lincolnes-Inne Fielde on the 20 and 21 Daies of September, 1586***	**Thomas Nelson**	**Thomas Purfoote for Edward White**	**Execution of Babington and conspirators**

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1586 21 Nov	*The Commons Crye of England Against the Quenes Maiesties Enemyes*		Robert Robinson	Babington Plot
1587 27 Feb	*An Excellent Dyttye Made as a Generall Reioycing For the Cuttinge of the Scottish Queene*		Edward White	Execution of Mary Queen of Scots
1588 29 June	*A Dyttie of Encouragement to English Men to be Bold to Fight in Defence of Prince and Cuntry*		Henry Kirkham	Armada
1588 9 July	*A Ballad of Encouragement to English Soldiours Valyantlyto Behaue Themselues in Defence of the True Religion and their Cuntrey*		John Wolfe	Armada
1588	***Warning to All False Traitors by Example of 14 Whereof Vi were Executed in Diuers Places Neere About London, and 2 Neere Braintford, the 28 Day of August, 1588. Also at Tyburne were Executed the 30 Day Vj Namely 5 Men and One Woman.***		**Edward Allde**	**Execution of Catholic Traitors**
1588 3 Aug	*An Excellent Newe Songe of Prayer and Prowesse*		Richard Jones	Armada
1588 3 Aug	*A Joyfull Sonnet of the Redines of the Shires and Nobilitie of England to Her Maiesties Service*		John Wolfe	Armada
1588 [10 Aug]	***A Ioyful New Ballad, Declaring the Happie Obtaining of the Great Galleazo, Wherein Don Pietro de Valdez Was the Chiefe Through the Mightie Power and Prouidence of God, Being a Speciall Token of His Gracious and Fatherly Goodnes Towards Vs, to the Great Encouragement of All Those that Willingly Fight in the Defence of His Gospel and Our Good Queene of England.***	**Thomas Deloney**	**John Wolfe, for Edwarde White**	**Armada – capturing of two ships**

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1588 18 Aug	*The English Preparacon of the Spaniardes Navigacon*		John Wolfe	Armada
1588 23 Aug	*An Excellent Songe of the Breaking Vp of the Campe*		John Wolfe	Armada
1588 28 Aug	*A Propper Newe Balled Brieflie Shewinge the Honorable Cumpanyes of Horsmen and Footemen Which Dyverse Nobles of Englande Brought Before Her Maiestie &c*		John Wolfe	Armada
1588 [31 Aug]	***A New Ballet of the Straunge and Most Cruell Whippes Which the Spanyards Had Prepared to Whippe and Torment English Men and Women which were Found and Taken at the Ouerthrow of Certaine of the Spanish Shippes in Iuly Last Past. 1588***	**Thomas Deloney**	**Thomas Orwin and Thomas Gubbin**	**Armada**
1588 28 Sept	*The Late Wonderfull Dyestres Whiche the Spanishe Navye Sustayned yn the Late Fighte in the Sea, and Vpon the West Coaste of Ireland in this Moneth of September 1588*		John Wolfe	Armada
1588 3 Nov	*A Ballad of the Most Happie Victory Obtained Ouer the Spaniardes and Year Ouerthrowne in July Last 1588*		Henry Carr	Armada
1588 3 Nov	*A New Ballad of the Glorious Victory of Christ Jesus, as was Late Seene by Thouerthrowe of the Spanyardes*		Henry Carr	Armada
1588 14 Nov	*A Dytty of the Exploit of Therle of Cumberland on the Sea in October 1588, and of Thouerthrowe of 1600 Spaniards in Irland*		John Wolfe	Armada
1588 21 Nov	*A Newe Ballad of Englandes Joy and Delight in the Back Rebound of the Spanyardes Spyght*		Richard Jones	Post-Armada Celebrations

Date	Title	Author	Publisher/ Manuscript	Topic
1589 20 Jan	*A Ballad Wherein is Declared the Great Goodnes of God in Preservinge Our Gratious Souereigne Ladie from Soe Manye Conspiracies &c*		Henry Carr	Armada and Babington Plot?
1589 4 Mar	*A Song to be printed in Duch, French or Englishe of Thouerthrowe of the Spanysh Navie*		John Wolfe	Armada
1591 23 July	*The Noble Departinge of the Right Honorable the Erle of Essex Lieutenant Generall of Her Maiesties Forces in Fraunce and All His Gallant Companie*		Edward White	Elizabeth Sending Forces to Support Henry IV of France
1599 31 Mar	*Londons Loathe to Departe to the Noble Erle of Essex Erle Marshall of England and Lord Generall of Her Maiesties Forces Aganst the Tyeronishe Irishe Rebelles*		Thomas Purfoote	Essex Going to put down Irish Rebels
1600-01	***A Lamentable New Ballad Upon the Earle of Essex Death. To the Tune of the Essex Last Goodnight***[1]		**GB-Lbl: Add MS 82923, fol.255^{r}-256^{v} [Shirburn Ballads] and GB-Lbl: c.20.f.7, 4 vols [Roxburghe Ballads], Vol.1, p.185**	**Execution of Earl of Essex**
1600-01	***A Lamentable Ditty Composed Vpon the Death of Robert Lord Devereux, Late Earle of Essex, who was Beheaded in the Tower of London on Ash Wenesday in the Morning 1600. To The Tune of Welladay***		**GB-Lbl: c.20.f.7, 4 vols [Roxburghe Ballads], Vol.1, p.184**	**Execution of Earl of Essex**

[1] Further ballads about Essex's death exist only as later reprints from the mid-to-late seventh century and are not listed here: see for example the Pepys Collection (Patricia Fumerton, ed., *The English Broadside Ballad Archive* , University of California at Santa Barbara, Department of English <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu> [acccessed 30/08/2010]).